



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



UC-NRLF



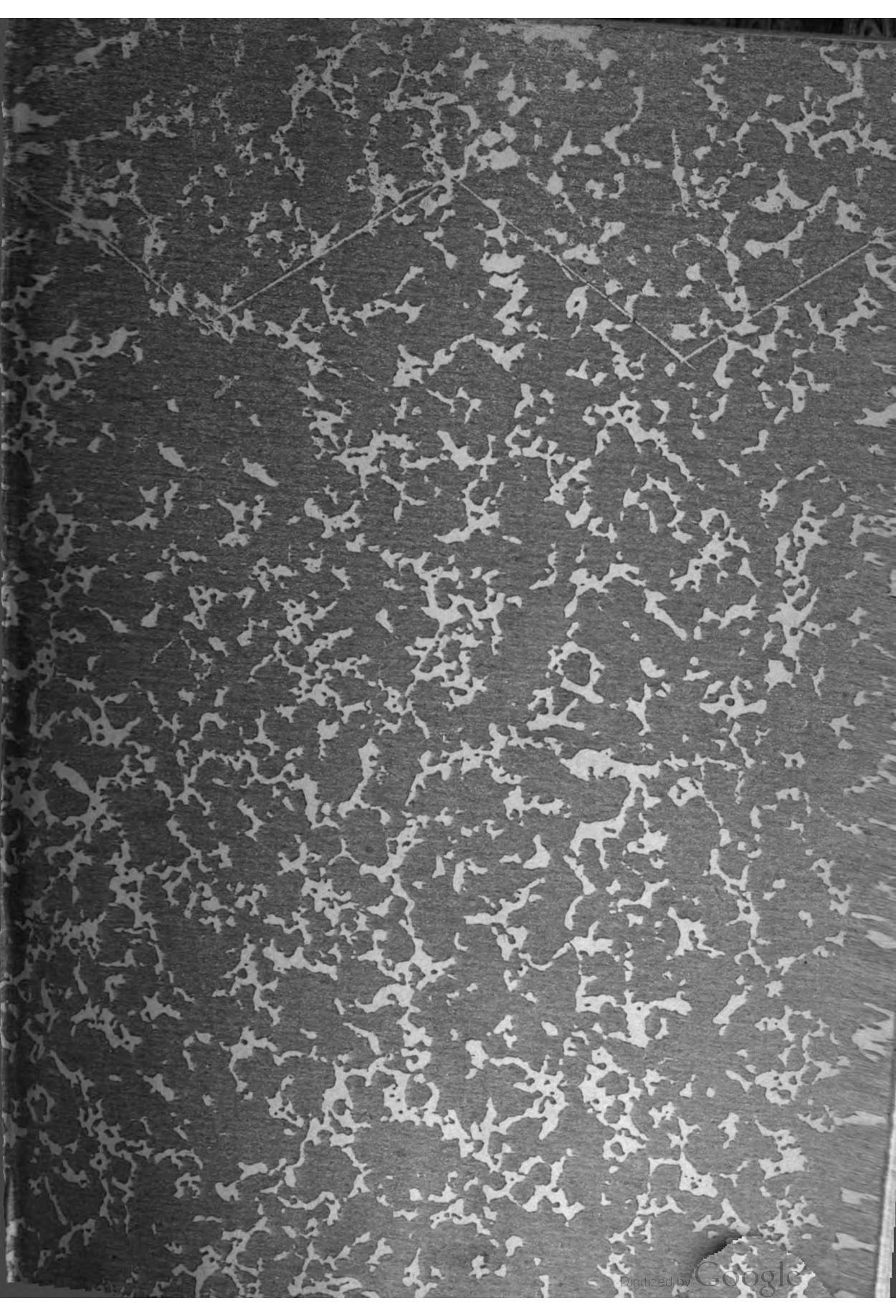
B 4 910 250





LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF  
CALIFORNIA  
SANTA CRUZ









# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

## A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSION, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE EARLY ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

with the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG  
MILTON A. BUCHANAN  
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD  
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET  
JOHN L. GERIG  
C. H. GRANDGENT  
GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG  
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON  
KENNETH MCKENZIE  
HUGO A. RENNERT  
HUGH A. SMITH

EDWARD S. SHELDON

## CONTENTS

Ogier le Danois and the Abbey of St. Faro of Meaux. BARRY CERF . . . . .	1
The Scribe of the Oaths of Strassburg: What was his Nationality? JOHN M. BURNAM	13
The Problem of the "Lonza," with an Unpublished Text. KENNETH MCKENZIE . .	18
The French Locution à la queue leu leu. COLMAN DUDLEY FRANK . . . . .	31
Golondrino y Calandria: An inedited <i>entremés</i> of the 16th Century. G. L. LINCOLN .	41
The Breviary of St. Louis (Arsenal MS. 1186) and the Central Portal of the Cathedral of Bourges. FRANCIS DIKE . . . . .	50
A Parallel between <i>Le Roman de Flamencū</i> and Dante's <i>Purgatorio</i> (IV, vv. 1-13). HELEN J. HARVITT . . . . .	57
The Comedia <i>El Segundo Séneca de España</i> of Dr. Juan Pérez de Montalván. GEORGE W. BACON . . . . .	64
<i>Roland 2165: tendent de l'espleitier.</i> H. A. TODD . . . . .	87
The Meaning of <i>Vita Nuova</i> . A. A. LIVINGSTON . . . . .	89
The Suffixes -aster, -ignus, etc., in Nouns of Relationship. A. A. LIVINGSTON . .	91

For continuation of Contents see next page

PUBLISHED BY

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK



CONTENTS—Continued from first page

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

F. M. Grajales, <i>Los Amantes, tragedia original de Andrés Rey de Artieda</i> , by MILTON A. BUCHANAN . . . . .	94
A. L. Terracher, <i>La Chevalerie Vivien, Chanson de geste</i> , by RAYMOND WEEKS . . . . .	96
J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, <i>Lecciones de Literatura española</i> , by HUGO A. RENNERT . . . . .	97
G. Lanson, <i>Manuel bibliographique de la Littérature française moderne (1500-1900)</i> , by J. L. GERIG . . . . .	98
Léon Séché, <i>Le Cénacle de la Muse française (1823-1827)</i> , by J. L. GERIG . . . . .	100
J. P. W. Crawford, <i>The Life of Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa</i> , by J. G. FITZ-GERALD . . . . .	101
C. Pasqualigo, <i>La lingua rustica padovana</i> , by A. A. LIVINGSTON . . . . .	102
A. Segarizzi, <i>La poesia di Venezia</i> , by A. A. L. . . . .	104
C. Trabalza, <i>Storia della grammatica italiana</i> , by A. A. L. . . . .	104
BRIEF REPORT ON AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ROMANCE SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1909 . . . . .	105
NOTES AND NEWS . . . . .	110

Articles to Appear in the Next Number

- Richard de Normandie dans les Chansons de geste. JOSEPH BÉDIER, Collège de France.  
 Magis,—mar,—men. OTTO JESPERSEN, University of Copenhagen.  
 A Brief Study of the Phonology of the Neapolitan Dialect. HERBERT H. VAUGHAN, Trinity College, N. C.  
 Berceo Inedited. JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD, University of Illinois.  
 Honor in the Spanish Drama. DONALD CLIVE STUART, Princeton University.  
 The Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis, Translated into English, with Textual Notes. A. A. LIVINGSTON, Columbia University.  
 Notes on the Foreign Elements in Rumanian. FELIX VEXLER, Columbia University.

PARIS

LEIPZIG

LONDON

Lemcke & Buechner

(ESTABLISHED 1848)

IMPORTERS and BOOKSELLERS

American and Foreign Books  
 AT LOWEST PRICES

30-32 West 27th Street

NEW YORK

Weekly importation from all European countries or by direct mail from our foreign offices.

Managers of the

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS BOOKSTORE

WEST HALL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

PC  
1  
R 7  
v. 1

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

## A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSION, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE EARLY ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

**HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS**

with the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG  
MILTON A. BUCHANAN  
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD  
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET  
JOHN L. GERIG  
C. H. GRANDGENT  
GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG  
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON  
KENNETH MCKENZIE  
HUGO A. RENNERT  
HUGH A. SMITH

EDWARD S. SHELDON

HUGH A. SMITH

---

The subscription price of the ROMANIC REVIEW is \$3.00 per year; single copies, \$1.00. Postage is prepaid by the publishers to destinations in the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai. Postage is charged extra as follows: To Canada, 12 cents for annual subscription; for single copies, 3 cents; to all other countries in the Postal Union, 20 cents for annual subscription; for single copies 5 cents. Name and address should be given exactly as they ought to appear on wrappers containing the REVIEW. Remittance should be made by New York cheque, draft or money order (ten cents should be added on all cheques drawn on banks outside New York City), payable to the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS.

The ROMANIC REVIEW is issued by the Columbia University Press, a corporation. The officers of the Press are Nicholas Murray Butler, president; William H. Carpenter, secretary, and John B. Pine, treasurer. The principal place of business of the corporation and the address of the officers is Columbia University, New York City.

All communications with regard to the ROMANIC REVIEW should be addressed to the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, at Lancaster, Pa., or at Columbia University, New York City.

# NEW SPANISH TEXTS

---

This new series is appearing under the editorship of Professor J. D. M. FORD, of Harvard University.

**Alarcón (Ruiz de): Las Paredes Oyen.**

Edited by CAROLINE BOURLAND, Professor in Smith College. [*In preparation.*]

**Ayala: Consuelo.**

Edited by AURELIO M. ESPINOSA, Professor in the University of New Mexico. [*In preparation.*]

**Calderón: El Magico Prodigioso.**

Edited by A. F. KUERSTEINER, Professor in the University of Indiana. [*In preparation.*]

**Calderón: El Alcalde de Zalamea.**

Edited by B. P. BOURLAND, Professor in Adelbert College. [*In preparation.*]

**Cervantes: Novelas Ejemplares. (Selections.)**

Edited by HUGO A. RENNERT, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. [*In preparation.*]

**Hartzenbusch: La Coja y el Encogido.**

EDITED by J. GEDDES, Jr., Professor in Boston University. [*In preparation.*]

**Hills's Modern Spanish Lyrics.**

Edited by E. C. HILLS, Professor in Colorado College. [*In press.*]

**Ibáñez (Blasco): La Barraca.**

Edited by R. H. KENISTON, Instructor in Harvard University. [*In press.*]

**Morley's Spanish Ballads.**

Edited by DR. S. GRISWOLD MORLEY. [*In preparation.*]

**Selgas: La Mariposa Blanca.**

Edited by H. A. KENYON, Instructor in the University of Michigan. [*Ready.*] 60 cents.

**Tres Comedias Modernas.**

Edited by F. W. MORRISON, of the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis. [*Ready.*] 60 cents.

**Valdés: La Hermana San Sulpicio.**

Edited by J. G. GILL, Professor in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. [*In preparation.*]

---

**HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY**

34 West 33d Street  
NEW YORK

378 Wabash Avenue  
CHICAGO





# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. I—JANUARY-MARCH, 1910—No. 1

---

## OGIER LE DANOIS AND THE ABBEY OF ST. FARO OF MEAUX

PROFESSOR BÉDIER in his *Légendes épiques*<sup>1</sup> has studied the relation of Ogier le Danois to the abbey of St. Faro of Meaux. He has shown to what a remarkable extent the monks of Meaux were instrumental in the formation of the legend of this epic hero. A romantic story was invented by them to account for his entrance into the abbey. A tale equally romantic was created, relating his rescue of the abbey in which he had become a monk from a horde of invading Saracens. The famous poet of Meaux, Fulcoius, wrote his epitaph in sonorous Latin verse. A magnificent tomb was erected in his memory. His sword, a gigantic one, was for centuries preserved at Meaux as a witness to his greatness.

The question I have here attempted to solve is, What is the origin of the connection of Ogier with this abbey? The work of Becker and particularly of Bédier has made familiar to all readers the practice of the medieval monks of seizing popular legend and ascribing it to one of their number, thereby enhancing the glory of their sanctuaries and attracting pilgrims. Exactly this certainly happened in the case of Ogier. There is no reason to suppose that the historic Carolingian Ogier was buried at Meaux.<sup>2</sup> It is only in the French tradition, which has been clearly proven to be dependent upon legends furnished by the monks of this abbey, that Meaux is declared to be Ogier's last resting place. In the *Roland* nothing is said of his death. According to the

<sup>1</sup> II, 281 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, 292.

*Pseudo-Turpin* (ed. Castets, p. 54) he died at Roncevaux and was buried at Belin, near Bordeaux. According to Albéric des Trois-Fontaines (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., XXIII, 891) he died at Saint-Patrice in the diocese of Nevers.

The legend of Ogier's death as a monk in the abbey of St. Faro of Meaux is easily traceable to its source in a hagiographic composition, the *Conversio Ogerii Militis*.<sup>3</sup> According to this document, first published and discussed by Mabillon, the mighty warrior Ogier, second in the empire to Charlemagne alone, decides to forsake the vanities of life and to spend his remaining days in holy contemplation. He departs from the court, assumes the garb of a pilgrim and wanders about in search of that monastery in which the monks are farthest removed from worldly thoughts. To the end of his pilgrim's staff he attaches straps from which are suspended small balls of iron. He enters monastery after monastery and while the monks are at prayers hurls his staff upon the pavement. Nowhere does he find such intent devotion as in the abbey of St. Faro of Meaux, for there, at the unusual sound, no one is disturbed from his prayers except a small boy, who is promptly punished. Ogier is satisfied and persuades his companion-in-arms Benoît to follow him in his renunciation of the world. Charlemagne, at the prayer of Ogier, gives into the possession of the abbey of St. Faro an abbey at Rez near Meaux and another at Vercelli in Piedmont. The sanctity of the hero is attested by miracles after his death.

With the exception of the mention of the abbeys of Rez and Vercelli all of this story is certainly apocryphal.<sup>4</sup> The test of the staff with the iron balls is a familiar one and was unquestionably

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, 288 ff. The *Conversio* has been published in full in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, Oct., XII, 620 ff.; in part in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, saec. IV, pars I, p. 622 ff. (Venice edition.)

<sup>4</sup> The *Conversio* is a saint's life of the conventional sort. It relates the worldly greatness of the hero, his realization of the vanity of life, his piety and self-chastisement after conversion, his prayer to the king to aid the "fratres famulantes," the miracles operated at his tomb. The composition is full of commonplaces, "moralitates," and borrowings from the gospels. (Compare Zöpf, *Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert*, in *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 1908, heft 1, especially p. 42 ff.)

not invented by an historic Ogier. There can be no doubt but that a monk of Meaux with a desire to glorify his abbey borrowed the story from the legend of Walter of Aquitaine, Otto the Great or some other hero and ascribed it to the French Ogier.

It is to be especially noticed that this story is subjoined to a life of St. Faro and is not an integral part of the work. There are two lives of St. Faro extant, one by Hildegare, bishop of Meaux (855-875), and an anonymous life which seems to be based in part on that of Hildegare.<sup>5</sup> To which one of these lives the *Conversio* was appended it is impossible to say. It appears in the MSS.<sup>6</sup> now of one life, now of the other, in all cases, so far as I know, introduced with the words: *Faronis vitae venerandae dignum est subscribere*. It is to be considered a separate work and we cannot with certainty date it farther back than the tenth century, when Mabillon's MS. (now lost) was probably written.<sup>7</sup>

The *Conversio Ogerii* is, then, without question unhistorical and was added to a life of St. Faro at an unknown date. What induced the author to write the *Conversio*, or rather what pretext did he have, for we know that he needed only a pretext to ascribe this fascinating legend to a hero of Meaux? Why did he choose Ogier rather than Naime, Olivier or some other paladin? Mabillon arrived at what seems to be the correct solution of the problem. In the life of St. Faro by Hildegare we find the story of the conversion of a certain Rogier.<sup>8</sup> This Rogier was a famous

<sup>5</sup> Mabillon declares so. Hecke, the editor of the anonymous life in the *AA. SS. Boll.*, affirms (p. 596, C) that the anonymous life is as old as that of Hildegare and independent of it. Compare Gröber in *Raccolta D'Ancona*, 1901, pp. 587, 595; Körting in *Zeit. f. Stud. franz. Sp. u. Lit.* XVI, 238; Bertoni in *Rev. Lang. Rom.*, LI, 1908, 45. This matter will probably be decided by Krusch, who, it seems, is preparing a critical edition of the *Vita* of Hildegare for the *Mon. Hist. Germ.* (See Suchier in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 1894, 176.)

<sup>6</sup> The *Conversio* is found, for instance, appended to the *Vita* of Hildegare in the Douai MS. 838 (see *Anal. Boll.*, XX, p. 389) and in the Brussels MS. 7460 (see *Catal. Codd. Hagiogr. Bibl. Reg. Brux.*, vol. I); to the anonymous life in the lost MS. used by the Bollandists and in the Paris MS., Bibl. Nat. 13763 (see *Catal. Codd. Hagiogr. Lat. Bibl. Lat. Paris.*, III, 201). It exists also separately, e. g. Brussels MSS. 8751-60 and 9578-80 (see *Catal. . . . Brux.* II, 252, 338).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, 291.

<sup>8</sup> Italia . . . regio cum plurimos Comites ex primoribus Magnatorum juxta regalem potentiam Regis Chlotharii filii Ludovici Imperatoris cognomento Pio



warrior at the court of Lothaire, king of Italy, son of Louis the Pious. In a battle of a war against the Bulgarians, Rogier finds himself in great peril. He calls upon St. Faro for aid and vows that if God spares him he will leave the world and enter the monastery of St. Faro at Meaux. He is saved and ends his life at Meaux. This account is certainly historically true. It is short and simple and gives a valid reason for Rogier's renunciation of the world. Furthermore, Hildegairé expressly states that he frequently heard the story from Rogier's own lips and that he had verified it.

Here we seem to have the source of the *Conversio Ogerii*. A monk, remembering vaguely that he has read or heard the story of the conversion of this great warrior of Lothaire's court, is satisfied with this pretext for attributing to him the legend of the staff with the iron balls. It seems probable that in reading the anonymous life of St. Faro he was shocked at not finding there

olim possedisset; specialius unum novimus ex his ad amorem Dei haereditasse ad dilectionem timoremque justitiae sanctitatem in omnibus quaesisse. Hic enimvero a bonis operibus passim divulgatus claruit de nomine Rotgarius. Ut enim gratia divina occultum mundo non redderet, magnificavit eum in quodam bello, quod Chlotharius superius memoratus exacuit contra Bulgarorum gentem. Ipsius praefati Rotgarii denique relatione frequenti ac probatione operis certum mente tenemus, sicut hoc ordine inferemus. Pugnae siquidem conflictus ex utrisque partibus Francorum ac Bulgarorum provocatus, inter mixtos cuneos adversariorum praefatum Rotgarium sors improvisa attulit, ac de equo fidenti circumseptione resistentium corruere compulit. Cumque telis aculeatis loricae reluctantem ad ejus mortem conarentur penetrare, illi ad memoriam invocationis in hoc agone posito accessit solum clarissimi Faronis nomen ex innumerabilibus Sanctorum nominibus. At ipsa momentanea hora voto firmissimo Deo se obligans ut si adesset liberator tantus praestantissimus Confessor, hoc in loco ad serviendum ei spreto malefido saeculo accederet devotissimus debitor; illico huic voto adfuit Divinum auxilium, quo invocatione tanti Confessoris mirabiliter liberatus evasit ab ipsis faucibus crudelissimae mortis inlaesus. Qui postmodum hanc devotionem obligationis libentissime exsecutus, quam laudabiliter pondus hujus abnegaverit saeculi, adhaerendo hoc in loco Religioni Monastici; quam assiduus in orationibus publicis atque furtivis, parcus in cibis, continuus in vigiliis, cotidie etiam intentus in renovandis Confessionum poenitentis exstiterit, non similem nobis tempora admirantur nostra, nec ad exemplum vix similem aut rarissime largiuntur. Talem ac tantum voluit sibi admirabilis Antistes Dei Faro in longinquis regionibus procurare, qui ad ejus loci excubias curasset vitam Angelicam ad illuminationem multorum ducere.

(Hildegairé's *Life of St. Faro*, ch. CXIX: Mabillon, *AA. SS.* saec. II, p. 595; also in saec. IV, pars I, p. 627; reprinted by Bouquet, *Recueil* etc. VI, 293).

the account of this glorious intervention of the saint, which he remembered indistinctly from the life of Hildegare. So it seemed worth while to him to subjoin the tale (*Faronis . . . vitae . . . dignum est subscribere*). Already in the course of the repetition, either orally or by writing, of the Rogier story the name had perhaps been changed to Ogier and the legend of the staff ascribed to the latter. No great paladin Rogier was known to the monks—there is no great Rogier in epic tradition (see Langlois, *Table des Noms propres dans les Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1904)—and it was a simple matter advertently or inadvertently to substitute the well-known name Ogier for the unknown Rogier. Legends certainly existed in regard to Ogier at this date (see below).

We come now to the difference in the names. This is very slight and anyone familiar with medieval chronicles and particularly with the transmission of epic traditions will not be surprised to find the names Ogier and Rogier confused.<sup>9</sup> Mabillon<sup>10</sup> did

<sup>9</sup> The forms in Foerstemann's *Altdeutsches Namensbuch*, Bonn, 1900, show that numberless names were pronounced both with and without an initial aspirate. For the name Ogier see vol. I, col. 193. Compare the Danish form *Holger*. In the north of France the aspirate of German names was surely distinctly felt at this period. Considering the uncertainty prevailing in Foerstemann there can be no question but that Germanic names, even though they were not originally aspirated, might be provided with an aspirate, particularly in non-germanic territory. This is, of course, especially true of names beginning with the back vowels (see Langlois' *Table* under H, O, U.) In the dialect of Meaux was the pronunciation of initial *r* such as to occasion the confusion of *Hogier* and *Rogier*? Compare the substitution of *r* for initial *h* in certain Norman dialects, e. g. *honte* > *ronte*; cf. also *environs* > *envihons* (see Eurén, *Étude sur FR français*, Diss., Upsala, 1896, pp. 36, 45, and his references to Joret in *Rom.* XII, 594; XIV, 285). This phonetic possibility is not, however, necessary to my argument. An accidental confusion, considering the willingness of the monks to be confused, is sufficient.

Compare with the fall of initial *r* the following analogous cases: the Lombard king *Rachis* is called *Achis* in a list of Lombard kings (see *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. Rer. Langobard. 6.24; *Radoaldi*, var. *Adoaldi*, ibid. 116.9; *Rodoald*, var. *Hodoaldus*, ibid. 136.22; *Raginpertum*, var. *Aginpertum*, ibid. 139.5; *Rhenum*, var. *Henum*, *Hinum*, ibid. 178.1; conversely *Ariulfi*, var. *Agiulfi*, *Ragclulfi*, ibid. 115.7. The *Rainfroi* of *Berthe au grand Pied* is called *Hainfroi* regularly in the *Mainet* and *Heinfrey* the only time he is mentioned in *Doon de Maience* (see Langlois' *Table*). Assimilation to the name *Heudri* (*Rainfroi*'s brother) facilitated the change (cf. Rajna, *Origini*, p. 211, n.). Another *Rainfroi* is called *Hainfroi* in *Huon de Bordeaux* (v. 51, *Hainfrois et Henris*: assimilation here also). That not once in the *chansons de geste* the variant *Rogier* should appear

not hesitate to identify the two on the score of the difference in the names. It is not until he discovered that he was wrong in supposing Ogier to be merely a poetic figure and never to have existed that he was willing to admit the independence of the Rogier of the one *Conversio* and the Ogier of the other. Knowing as we do and as Mabillon did not, that there is no reason to suppose that the historic Ogier died at Meaux, and knowing that the monks of Meaux had every reason to desire in this case to falsify history, we may with comparative certainty return to Mabillon's first conclusion and declare Ogier and Rogier to be one and the same. Nor did Gaston Paris consider a confusion of the names impossible.<sup>11</sup> Another great scholar and one thoroughly familiar with the vagaries of medieval scribes apparently admits the possibility of confusion of the two names. In the index to his edition of the epitaphs of Fulcoius of Meaux, Omont prints *Rogierius v. Otgerus*.<sup>12</sup> Barrois,<sup>13</sup> without suggesting the slightest difficulty in the identification, accepts as the epic Ogier a certain Rogier whose vision of paradise and purgatory Mabillon published in *AA. SS.* saec. IV, pars I, pp. 627-8.

The epic Ogier is once actually called Rogier by Albéric des Trois-Fontaines.<sup>14</sup> This chronicler is well known to have gath-  
for *Ogier* is not surprising since the name Rogier is almost unknown in the songs (see Langlois' *Table*). Both names are exceedingly common in the historical documents of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.

<sup>11</sup> *AA. SS.* II, 595, Note C.

<sup>12</sup> *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 307, n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Mélanges Havet*, Paris 1895, p. 211 ff. This is of course our Ogier. I cannot understand the reason for this introduction of the name *Rogier*. There is no reference to a Rogier in the epitaph of Ogier. In 1894 Suchier published a study of Lothaire's war against the Saxons in the *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.* (XVIII, 175 ff.). He adds (p. 193) a part of Fulcoius' metrical life of St. Faro, which was transcribed for him by Omont. Did Omont find here any reason to suppose that Ogier was sometimes called Rogier in the ecclesiastic writings of Meaux, or does he accept without further evidence the rejected theory of Mabillon which I am attempting to defend?

<sup>14</sup> *La Chevalerie Ogier*, Paris, 1842, p. XXVII. Barrois, who used the Paris edition of Mabillon, prints "t. I, p. 668." He probably meant "saec. IV, pars I, 668." I have not access to the Paris edition but feel sure that the legend referred to by Barrois is the one I have before me in the Venice edition.

<sup>15</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.* XXIII, 724.14: *Qui* (i. e. Ferracutus) *Rogierium Dacum, Raynaldum de Albaspina, Constantinum, Oellum misit in carcerem* (cf. *Ogerus rex Daciae*, 723.42; *rex Ogerus*, 723.54; *Ogerus*, 725.10). Compare G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, p. 307.



ered traditions from all sources. Besides the passage referred to he mentions Ogier twice<sup>15</sup> and in each case his statement in regard to our hero is unknown from other sources. So it is evident that the tradition familiar to Albéric was entirely separate from the Meaux tradition. No mention of Meaux is made in Albéric and Ogier is expressly stated to have died and received burial elsewhere. Therefore, we have here a second, entirely independent, case of the confusion of the names *Ogier* and *Rogier*. The passage of Albéric in which Ogier is called *Rogierius Dacus* relates the preliminary battles of Ferragu before his final contest with Roland. The story is familiar and Albéric's source is apparently the *Pseudo-Turpin* (see ch. XVII, ed. Castets). In none of the editions of the *Pseudo-Turpin* is there any trace of a Rogier in the recital of the battle against Ferragu. But in a passage of the Poitevin version (both MSS.), edited by Auracher (*Zeit. f. rom. Phil.* I, p. 284), interpolated some pages before the Ferragu episode, we read the following: *De qui ala Ocgiers a Cordis ob .XV. mire Crestiens. Lors eissit Aiguolanz de Cordis ob .CC. mire Sarrazins. E combatet sei ob Ocgier en la vau de Bucirande. E equi fu mors li dux Rainaumes e li dux Rogiers e .II. mire Crestien. Rogiers fu portez a Sainte Sone.*" The Rogier who died here is not Ogier, but a confusion might easily have resulted from a careless reading of this passage, particularly since there is no important Rogier in the French epics, at any rate in those extant. Ogier is not called *li dux Ogiers* in the Poitevin *Pseudo-Turpin*, but the term *dux* is commonly applied in Latin sources to the various personages who are supposed to be the historic prototypes of the epic Ogier.<sup>16</sup> Albéric calls him once *Auctarius dux*. It seems probable that in the version of the *Pseudo-Turpin* used by Albéric the confusion had already been consummated and that in Albéric's mind *Rogierius dux* and *Ogerius dux* were identical.

<sup>15</sup> The *Lotharius superbus* passage quoted below and the following: *A partibus Hispaniarum venit hoc tempore quidam valde senio confectus miles grandævus, qui se dicebat esse Ogerum de Dacia, de quo legitur in Historia Karoli Magni, et quod mater eius fuerit filia Theoderici de Ardenna. Hic itaque obiit hoc anno, ut dicitur, in dyocesi Nivernensi, villa que ad sanctum Patricium dicitur, prout illic tam clerici quam layci qui viderunt tulerunt.* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* SS. XXIII, 891.46 ff.)

<sup>16</sup> See the sources quoted in Voretzsch, *Ueber die Sage von Ogier dem Dänen*, Halle, 1891, passim.

In any case, the passage in Albéric is an indisputable example of the substitution of the name *Rogier* for the epic *Ogier* and this substitution is independent of the tradition current at Meaux.

A third independent case of the confusion of the two names may be cited, though here there is no thought of the epic *Ogier*. Monaci in his *Crestomazia italiana dei primi Secoli* (Città di Castello, 1889, p. 209) publishes a *canzone* which is found in only one MS. This song is headed *Rugieri Apulgliese*. But in v. 42 the poet calls himself *Ugieri Apulghiesi*.

The proneness of medieval clerics to identify distinct personages is once more exemplified in the case of our *Ogier*. In a necrology of the abbey of St. Faro, dating from the sixteenth century, after the statement *Obierunt Ogerius le Danois et Benedictus Fratres nostrae Congregationis*, the same scribe added that *Ogier* granted to the abbey of St. Faro all his possessions in Charmentray and that, at his prayer, Charlemagne conferred *multa bona* upon the same monastery. The real *Ogier* of Charmentray had nothing but his name in common with the epic *Ogier*. In 1070, persuaded by his sister, a nun, he entered the abbey of St. Faro with his two children and gave all his possessions to the same monastery.<sup>17</sup> The author of the necrology knew only the great *Ogier* and did not hesitate to identify with him another *Ogier* who lived three hundred years later.<sup>18</sup>

The abbey of St. Faro is not alone in claiming without reason the epic *Ogier* as one of its attractions. Adalbertus and Occarius, brothers, without much question both historic, founded a monastery at Tegernsee in Bavaria, in the time of Pippin. Occarius was certainly a Bavarian but was confused with the French *Ogier*; and the mere similarity of the names impelled the monks of Tegernsee to identify Occarius and *Ogier*. According to the legend as we find it in the work of Metellus of Tegernsee (about 1160), Occarius

<sup>17</sup> See Mabillon, *AA. SS.*, IV, I, pp. 619-620.

<sup>18</sup> A Saint Autharius (this name is easily confused in the Latin, though of course not in the popular, form with *Autcharius*, cf. below: *Rotharius*—*Rotcharius*) is mentioned in Hildegair's Life of St. Faro (ch. XIV: Mabillon, *AA. SS.* II, 585). He was apparently a man of importance in the world, was converted, lived in a manner to deserve canonization, and miracles were performed at his grave. It is possible that the story of this Saint Autharius facilitated the confusion of *Ogier* and *Rogier*.

is said to be a duke of the Burgundians whom they extol under the name *Osigerius*. Then is related the disastrous chess game as we have it in the *Chevalerie Ogier*.<sup>19</sup> We find here, therefore, another monastery claiming Ogier on the ground of a similarity in name.

Still a third benefactor of monasteries has, it seems, been identified with the epic Ogier and doubtless here too the inspiration came from a similarity in name. According to a chronicler of the monastery of St. Martin of Cologne, *Olgerus Daniae dux*, with the aid of Charlemagne, in the year 778 restored the monastery after it had been destroyed by the Saxons.<sup>20</sup> The *Olgerus* of the MS. may be a scribal error for *Otgerus* or it may be that this was really the name of the noble referred to. At any rate the designation *Daniae dux* shows that he was confused with the epic Ogier.<sup>21</sup>

Remembering that Ogier is called Rogier in one passage of Albéric des Trois-Fontaines, let us consider that most perplexing and much discussed statement of this same chronicler: *Qui Pipinus misit Chrodegangum, sororis sue filium, prius abbatem, post Mettensem episcopum, et Auctarium ducem, qui in cantilena vocatur Lotharius superbus, ut papam adducerent in Franciam*.<sup>22</sup> Voretzsch's view (*op. cit.*, p. 109) that we have here a reference to Lothaire's Saxon war is not convincing and is rightly rejected by Becker (*Litblatt.*, 1895, col. 406). Becker thinks that the text is corrupt and that we should read *Otcharius* instead of *Lotharius*. We have one instance of the use of the name *Rogier* for *Ogier* in Albéric. Have we not a second in this passage, and instead of Becker's emendation *Otcharius* ought we not read *Rotharius*? In two cases (there are doubtless more) I have found the variant *Lothari* for *Rothari* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. Rer. Langobard., p. 59. 23; p. 509). For the equivalence of *th* and *tch* (*Rotharius*, *Rotcharius*) see the index of this volume of the *Monumenta*. The phonetic change of initial *r* to *l* is exceedingly common in all sorts

<sup>19</sup> See Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32; 70-77.

<sup>20</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., II, 214.

<sup>21</sup> That this *Olgerus* is not the Danish hero (*Holger Danske*) is shown by Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., XXIII, 708.

of words. The denomination *superbus* applied to Ogier is fully in accord with his character as we know it from the *chansons de geste*.

We have no difficulty in identifying the Ogier of the *Conversio* with the epic Ogier. But who is Benoît, who enters the monastery at the same time with Ogier? He is unquestionably the Benoît of the French *chanson de geste* and we are tempted at first to assume that the author of the *Conversio* has simply taken this personage from the poem in its primitive form. But Bédier (*op. cit.*, II, p. 300; cf. Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 62) has presented an objection worthy of consideration. Benoît is not the name of a layman. It is a name frequently assumed on entering a monastery of the Benedictines.<sup>23</sup> What the original name may have been, we have, of course, no means of ascertaining. There were legends current on Ogier's account at this early period (cf., for instance, the story of Desiderius and Ogier on the tower of Pavia as related by the monk of St. Gall<sup>24</sup>). Ogier may have had a particularly dear companion according to these early legends, but how did he come to be called Benoît? Bédier has found a Benoît, vicomte de Toulouse, who lived at the beginning of the tenth century. It is not impossible that Ogier's companion was actually called Benoît in the legend before it was transformed by the monks of Meaux and that, therefore, neither the hero nor the name was invented at Meaux. Ample confirmation for the conjecture that Benoît played a part in the story before it reached Meaux is found in the *Chevalerie Ogier*. Here Benoît dies on the battle-field near Châteaufort, in southern France or in Italy (v. 8060). Suddenly, at the end of the poem, we are told that he lies beside Ogier in the abbey of St. Faro of Meaux. So it seems probable that according to the early legend Ogier had a companion named Benoît who died at Châteaufort. The monks of Meaux disregarded this legend and declared that he, the inseparable companion of Ogier, entered the abbey with Ogier and died there. A reviser of the old legend related his death in the battle near Châteaufort and then, under the influence of the tradition current at Meaux, not realizing his in-

<sup>23</sup> Compare the cases cited by Bédier, *l. c.*

<sup>24</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., II, 731.

consistency, asserted at the end of the poem that he was buried at Meaux.

Of the whole *Conversio Ogerii* only the mention of the abbeys of Vercelli and Reda seems historical. As Bédier (*op. cit.*, II, p. 292) remarks, the author might easily have gained this information from an obituary or some similar document.<sup>25</sup> No record of the abbey of Vercelli could be found by Hecke, the editor of the *Conversio* in the *AA. SS. Boll.* (p. 623 A). The author says it ceased to be the property of St. Faro when Italy was lost to France. Rogier, we know, lived at the Italian court of Lothaire. It is natural that he should have owned land in Italy, whereas it is extremely unlikely that any should have been held by Ogier. Reda is said by the author of the *Conversio* to be a few miles (*stadiorum octoginta*) distant from Meaux. Mabillon (*op. cit.*, p. 624) identifies this Reda with Rez. The author of the *Conversio* may have been mistaken and the place mentioned in his source may have been some other Reda, perhaps in Italy. A Reda in northern Italy is mentioned in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Dipl. Reg.*, II, 802.39, III, 699.35; cf. II, 695.15, III, 330.11. Is there a Reda near Vercelli? I have at hand no means of investigating this question. The abbey in Vercelli had ceased to be the property of St. Faro before the *Conversio Ogerii* was written. If the abbey of Reda was in Italy the same is true also of it. But the author of the *Conversio* identified the Italian Reda with the Reda in the neighborhood of Meaux, which had been long in the possession of his abbey. It is unlikely that the same man should have held land in northern Italy and near Paris. There can be no doubt about

<sup>25</sup> The wording of the *Conversio* seems to imply that the author drew his information in regard to the donation from a separate source. *Ubi* (at the abbey of St. Faro) *arma bellica et omnia, quae in saeculo habuerant, votivo corde pro nomine Jesu Christi relinquentes, quamdiu vixerunt, in sancta religione manserunt.* Immediately follows what seems to be an appendix (of course similar gifts are usual): *In eodem vero anno, quo monachi effecti sunt, Ogerius, jam cognoscens monasticas consuetudines ad Carolum regressus est, monens et humiliter exostulans, ut—S. Faronis monasterium a benefactis non exciperet.* Follows the donation of the abbeys. It is possible that the author is here attempting to validate a disputed claim to Reda by the not unusual means of a forgery; compare, for instance, the quarrel between Aniane and Gellone (see Bédier, *op. cit.*, I, ch. IV.)

the locality of Vercelli. Was not the Reda referred to also in Italy? Vercelli suggests Rogier as the owner of the land granted to the abbey. The author of the *Conversio* ascribes the gift to Ogier, confused with Rogier, just as we have seen the gift of Ogier de Charmentray attributed to the epic Ogier.

BARRY CERF

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

---



## THE SCRIBE OF THE OATHS OF STRASSBURG: WHAT WAS HIS NATIONALITY?

IT is the purpose of this paper to suggest an answer, based on reasons chiefly paleographical, to the query serving as its title. The writer has had at his disposal the plates in G. Paris: *Les plus anciens Monuments de la Langue Française*, 1875, planche I; M. Ennecerus: *Die ältesten deutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, Frankfurt am Main, 1897, Tafeln 34-36; and Steffens: *Lateinische Paläographie, Supplement zur zweiten Auflage*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1908, Tafel 31. The latter two collections have been of especial service in this inquiry, for the Ennecerus plates, for example, furnish six whole columns of the complete manuscript; i. e., not only the text of the *Oaths* in the Romance and German versions, but also, what is extremely important for our investigation, the Latin context in which the Romance and German texts are embedded. Few investigations of the *Oaths of Strassburg*, considered in their linguistic and paleographical aspects, have paid attention to the context of these monuments. Still more valuable as a reproduction than the plates of Ennecerus are the splendid photographs of Steffens, and their value is increased by the editor's learned and careful transcription and paleographical annotations.<sup>1</sup>

Steffens and other critics, such as Léopold Delisle,<sup>2</sup> have given brief bibliographical accounts of the unique manuscript which we are considering. For the purpose of this article, it is perhaps sufficient to recall that MS. 9768 *du fonds français*, in the National Library at Paris, was written about 970, and came from the North French monastery of Saint Médard de Soissons, being a copy

<sup>1</sup> That Steffens' work is not free from errors is, however, to be seen in his note on page 1: <saluari> "aus *saluarai*; es scheint wenigstens dass das dritte *a* durch einen untergesetzten Punkt getilgt ist." The "dot" of which he speaks is not a *punctum delens*, but one of the numerous blotches or possible water stains visible in the photograph of both Steffens' pages.

<sup>2</sup> This venerable scholar has published some little-known information about the manuscript of Nithardus in his delightful *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*: see the concluding article: *The Library*, London, 1908, pages 245-49.

(direct?) of an original which was more than a century and a quarter older.

Does this most valuable manuscript offer any evidence as to the nationality of the scribe who copied Nithardus' important text?

To answer this question at all adequately, we must observe

1°. That these manuscript pages contain texts in Latin, French and German.

2°. That the language used by a North French scribe would, if he was a native, probably be French in some one of its dialects, or some variety of German; if a foreigner, his language was in all likelihood Anglo-Saxon or Celtic.

3°. That any competent scribe must have had a knowledge of Latin.

4°. That this codex dates from a period when the Frankish or French or Caroline minuscule, sometimes known as the ordinary book-hand of the Middle Ages, had triumphed over other forms of script in France, Germany and England, not to mention its inroads on Beneventan and Visigothic territory. In this period, too, an effort is made to separate the words from one another, though this evolution is hardly complete for another half century. Let us now, by means of Ennecerus' plates, test the copyist's knowledge of Latin. He usually separates his words, and that, too, correctly. His mistakes in transcription are not numerous, the worst being the miswriting of *quo* for *qua*: 36 A 10; *que* for *qua*: 36 A 32; the omission or *non* after *nec*: 36 B 29; writing *contigi* for *contingere*. His other errors he has in the main corrected of his own volition, with the result that we have a good Latin text, one not differing materially in our printed copies from that of the codex. One thing which everywhere troubles the scribe is the combination *dh*. He divides it between lines: see 36 A 23-4. His use of the *ε* is not oftener incorrect than that of the average scribe of the time. He employs the sign *ʰ* (*spiritus asper*) for *h*, as was frequently the custom during this period. On the whole, he was not only a good copyist, but was a competent Latinist.

Now, as to his French. The text, as so many Romance scholars have found, contains a large number of problematical forms, such as: *podir*, *sendra*, *eo*, *eu*, *iu* and *io* from *ego*, *pro* for *por*, *ad iudha*, *a iūha* and *cad huna* (divided thus), etc. Making all due allow-

ance for the difficulties of the original scribe who first wrote down the French *Oaths*—and his task was not an easy one—we cannot believe that the scribe of our manuscript properly copied his original. Nor should we explain many of his apparent blunders so much by his defective paleographical knowledge, as by his comparative ignorance of the French language. In other words we do not believe that the scribe who copied the *Oaths* as we have them in the manuscript of Nithardus was a Frenchman.

If we now pass to the German portion of the text, here is what he actually writes for the first oath (36 B 16–24):

Ingodes minna indinthes x̄panes folches  
indunser bedhero gel<sup>t</sup> nissi. fonthese  
moda ge frammordesso framso mirgot  
geuizci indimadh furgibit so haldihtes  
an minanbruodher soso manmit rehtu  
sinan bruher scal inthi utha zermigsoso  
maduo. in dimit luheren in no<sup>t</sup> hein uit  
hing nege gango. zhe minan uuillon imo  
ces cadhen uuerhen.

These words are printed thus in W. Braune's *Altdeutsches Lesebuch*, 4te Auflage, Halle, 1897, p. 49:

In godes minna ind in thes christiānes folches ind unsêr bêdhero gehaltnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, sô fram sô mir got geuizci indi mahd furgibit, so haldih thesan minan bruodher, sôso man mit rehtu sinan bruodher scal, in thiū thaz er mig sô sama duo, indi mit Ludheren in nohheiniu thing ne gegango, the minan uuillon imo ce scadhen uuerdhên.

The second oath in its German form runs thus (35 A 1–16):

Oba karl theneid then er sinen obruodher  
ludhu uuige gesuor geleistit, indilud  
hu uuig minherro thener imo gesuor forbrih  
chit. obihinanes iruen denne mag noh  
ih noh theronoh hein the nihes iruendenmag  
uuidhar karle imoce follus tine uuiridhit.

In Braune's text this is printed, p. 50:

Oba Karl then eid, then er sinemo bruodher Ludhuuige gesuor, geleistit, indi Ludhuuig min hêrro then er imo gesuor forbrihchit,

ob ih inan es iruuenden ne mag: noh ih noh thero nohhein, then ih es iruuenden mag, uuidhar Karle imo ce follusti ne uuirdhit.

When we consider the fact already mentioned that our scribe divides correctly his Latin words, and when we note the way he divides his German words, we are forced to the conviction that his acquaintance with the latter language was distinctly imperfect. No one who understood German could have given us such confusion as we have here. What scribe of good training, for example, who knew well the German language, could have written at the end of a line: *fonthese*, and, at the beginning of the next line: *moda ge*, when the correct forms were: *fon thesemo dage*? This point appears in its true light when one has the manuscript before him, and notes that the scribe had abundant space at the end of the line to include the final syllable *ge*. Again, note in passing how the scribe has split the digraphs *th* and *dh*. This can only be taken to indicate ignorance of the language. To employ a simple illustration, only the ignorant and uneducated would divide the English *th* between the end and beginning of lines. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on this fact.

If our scribe is only a fair scholar in French and has no great knowledge of German, is there any trace of Celtic in his manuscript? None that we have been able to observe. There are, however, symptoms of the Insular (Anglo-Saxon or Irish) scribal habits, and this seems to us a point of great importance. For example, the reader has already noticed in the French text the singular division of *ad iudha*. These words might serve as samples of the tendency on the part of Anglo-Saxon scribes to divide a compound word into its component parts or what were supposed to be its component parts. One may consult in this connection W. W. Skeat: *Twelve Old English MSS.*, Oxford, 1892, p. 8, and W. Keller: *Angelsächsische Paläographie*, Palæstra, XLIII, i, Berlin, 1906, p. 2.

Are there illustrations of this habit in our Latin text? We find here some forms which might possibly be merely accidental: *pip pino* 34 A 21; and *Pip pinus*, 34 B 12. But we also find such forms as: *bene uola*, 34 A 16; *p humane*, 34 A 17 and 36 B 7; *tra iecit*, 34 A 24; *sub iugare*, 34 A 29 *ludhu uic*, 34 B 6: cf. 15-16 and 27; *ini ea*, 34 B 14, and 36 A 31; *ad iuuare*, 35 A 6: *ad iutorio*,

29; *con uenimus*, 35 A 23; *cō ui uia*, 36 B 5; *cō ui uii*, 8, and *cō munia*, 9. Other examples might be cited, but these are the most striking. The case of *gellu*, 36 A 15, may be mentioned as illustrating another Insular habit, namely, the doubling of consonants after a short vowel.

But our evidence has not yet all been cited, for there is a letter which shows a wonderful conservation and power of resistance—*N*. The Merovingian majuscule hand of the eighth century often has *P* for *N*, but it is only the Insular *P* which can provide us with the precedent for the forms of *N* occurring in 35 A 3 and 17, and 36 A 17, no one of which is an initial of a sentence. This is a point of the utmost importance in determining the nationality of our scribe.

Still another habit usual among both Irish and English scribes, is that of grouping together words united in pronunciation under a single utterance of accent, *e. g.*, in the first French Oath, *sisalua-raieo*. For this trait in Old Irish, see J. Vendryes: *Grammaire du vieil-irlandais*, Paris, 1908, § 582–98, where examples and the literature of the subject will be found, and Thurneysen: *Handbuch des altirischen*, I Teil, Heidelberg, 1909, § 32. For Old English, see Keller, *l. c.*, p. 51.

The writer believes that the facts and considerations here adduced justify the conclusion that the scribe who copied the *Oaths of Strassburg* was, or had been, under Insular (and probably Anglo-Saxon) influence, if not actually an English monk. He may have used the Insular hand in his earlier days, and then, learning later the ordinary minuscule so much clearer to read and easier to write, he may have adopted it, but may have found it inadvisable or impossible to divest himself entirely of his acquired habits.

JOHN M. BURNAM

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

## THE PROBLEM OF THE "LONZA," WITH AN UNPUBLISHED TEXT.

THE famous "three beasts"—*lonza, leone, lupa*—which Dante mentions in the first canto of the *Inferno* have already caused so much discussion, mostly profitless, that one may well hesitate before adding to the bibliography of the subject—unless, indeed, one is able to bring forward some really new material. In particular, the identity and the symbolism of the *lonza* have challenged ingenuity. As usual, the older commentators are in substantial agreement; the word *lonza* was evidently no stumbling-block to them, and with one or two exceptions they interpret the three beasts as symbols respectively of lust, pride and avarice. Let us take Boccaccio as the type (*Comento*, ed. Milanese, p. 173):

Dice adunque . . . essere state tre bestie quelle che il suo salire impedivano, una leonza, o lonza che si dica, e un leone e una lupa; le quali quantunque a molti e diversi vizj adattare si potessono, nondimeno qui, secondo la sentenza di tutti, par che si debbano intendere per questi, cioè per la lonza, il vizio della lussuria, e per lo leone, il vizio della superbia, e per la lupa, il vizio dell' avarizia. E perciocchè io non intendo di partirmi dal parere generale di tutti gli altri, verrò a dimostrare come questi animali a' detti vizj si possono appropriare.

While agreeing in the traditional views as to the lion and the wolf, for the *lonza* the significance of *vanagloria* was suggested by Jacopo della Lana, and of *invidia*, envy, by Castelvetro. This latter interpretation and in general the principle that the three beasts stand for three particular sins, has recently been stoutly defended by D'Ovidio,<sup>1</sup> who at the same time does not exclude the possibility that Dante had political as well as allegorical significations in mind.

<sup>1</sup> *Le tre fiere*, in *Studii sulla Divina Commedia*, Milano, 1901, pp. 302-325, 585-7. The same view is held by G. Lajolo, *Simboli ed enigmi danteschi*, Roma, 1906; and by D. Guerri in his review of Lajolo in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, XIV, 9-17. The significance *vanagloria* has recently been defended by L. Raffaele, *La Corda di Dante*, in *Giornale Dantesco*, XIV, 97-106. Evidently the *corda* of *Inf.*, XVI has some bearing on the problem of the *lonza*, but it is such a troublesome problem itself, that I do not discuss it here.



On the other hand, Torraca in his commentary on the *Divina Commedia* (1905) accepts *lussuria* and *avarizia*, but proposes *gola*, gluttony, for the lion. An entirely different interpretation is now in favor with many scholars, who, however, differ among themselves as to details. The essence of this is in making the three beasts stand, not for three particular sins, but for the classes of sin in the *Inferno*. This idea was first proposed by G. Casella,<sup>2</sup> who, identifying the *selva selvaggia* with the *Inferno*, made the wolf stand for sins of incontinence, the lion for those of violence, the *lonza* for those of fraud. P. Chistoni<sup>3</sup> defends this view, and further identifies the *lonza* with Gerione (*Inf.* xvii). F. Flamini<sup>4</sup> adopts the same general system, but with a distinction that he regards as very important: the three beasts are not the categories of sin, but the forms of evil disposition which lead to sin—the *lonza* is *la malizia*, the lion *la malizia bestiale* or *bestialità*, the wolf *l'incontinenza*. G. Pascoli,<sup>5</sup> in order to have the symbol of the lighter sins come first, proposes to invert this order, and make the *lonza* stand for incontinence, which agrees fairly well with the traditional view. Naturally, all these different theories, and various others that might be mentioned,<sup>6</sup> are defended by their sponsors with weighty and plausible arguments; but many a bewildered reader has doubtless followed with relief those modern scholars who still accept the simple interpretation of the early commentators.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Canto a Dante Alighieri con un discorso intorno alla forma allegorica e alla principale allegoria della Div. Com.*, Firenze, 1865, pp. 28-36.

<sup>3</sup> *La lonza dantesca*, in *Miscellanea di Studi critici edita in onore di A. Graf*, Bergamo, 1903, pp. 817-48.

<sup>4</sup> *I Significati reconditi della Commedia di Dante e il suo fine supremo*, Livorno, 1903-4, parte II, pp. 115-49. C. H. Grandgent, in his edition of the *Inferno*, Boston, 1909, p. 9, follows Flamini.

<sup>5</sup> *Sotto il Velame*. See D'Ovidio, *op. cit.*, p. 311; Flamini, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> An interesting table of the interpretations of the canto is given by G. G. Warren, Lord Vernon, in his edition of the *Inferno*, London, 1858, pp. xliii-lv. For more recent suggestions, see *Bullettino della Soc. Dant. Ital.*, XIV, 143-5.

<sup>7</sup> "Concludo adunque che non vi è alcuna seria ragione di abbandonare la comune interpretazione degli antichi."—Casini, *Aneddoti e studi danteschi*, Città di Castello, 1895, pp. 51-9; cf. his commentary on *Inf.* I in the *Lectura Dantis* (1905). Scartazzini at one time made the three beasts stand for *incredulità*, *superbia*, *falsa dottrina* (*Prolegomeni della Div. Com.*, 1890, p. 473; cf. *Dante Handbuch*, 1892, p. 450); but he returned to the traditional view later (*Enciclopedia Dantesca*, 1896, p. 1152; second Leipzig edition of the *Inferno*, 1900). The present writer, in reviewing (*Modern Language Notes*, April,

Not incompatible with the allegorical and ethical symbolism of the canto is the political, which is associated with the name of Gabriele Rossetti, although suggested before him by Dionisi and Marchetti.<sup>8</sup> Many of the writers referred to above expressly admit that the three beasts may be at the same time both ethical and political symbols. Thus if in Dante's mind lustfulness, or incontinence, or fraudulent dealing, was characteristic of the Florentines of his day, there is no reason why

Una lonza leggiara e presta molto,  
Che di pel maculato era coperta,

should not represent simultaneously the sin and the city. Similarly, the lion may stand for the sin of pride, and for the haughty King of France; while the appropriateness of the wolf as a symbol not merely of avarice but of the avarice of Rome, is sufficiently evident. Rossetti, however, denies the propriety of the double symbolism, and in particular denies the appropriateness of the *lonza*, whatever animal may be indicated by this name, as a symbol of lust:

Nessun naturalista ha mai appropriato alla Lonza una tal caratteristica lascivia che la distingua da altri animali . . . ed in vero a nessun de' tanti commentatori eruditissimi, che han seminato di citazioni le lor carte, è bastato l' animo di rapportare un' antica o moderna autorità intorno a questa pretesa lascivia della Lonza; e l' avrebbero sicuramente fatto ove l' avesser potuto.<sup>9</sup>

The argument certainly has some force. Several commentators declare that the *lonza* is lustful, as Boccaccio; "La lonza, la quale è di sua natura lussuriosissimo animale;" Vellutello: "La Leonza, noi la intendiamo per il Leopardo, per esser tra gl'animali che hanno maculato il pelo il più libidinoso." These assertions are not, however, supported by citation of definite statements from authorities, and Rossetti's challenge has gone unanswered. The chief purpose of the present paper is to present an unpublished description of the animal in question, which reads as follows:

1903) Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, New York, 1902, expressed a preference for D'Ovidio's view, while Holbrook (chap. viii) advanced various arguments in support of the traditional interpretation; new evidence has modified the critic's views on this point.

<sup>8</sup> See Gabriele Rossetti, *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri con commento analitico*, Londra, 1826, Vol. I, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. lxxiv.

Dela natura e dela figura et della propieta dela Loncia.

Loncia e animale molto crudele e fiera, e nasce de coniungimento carnale de leone con lonça ouero de leopardo con leonissa, e cussi nasce lo leopardo. La lonça sempre sta in calura d'amore et in desiderio carnale, launde sua fereçça e molto grandissima. Et naturalmente lo leopardo e la lonça quando amontano l'altre bestie se al terço ouero al quarto salto non prendeno, per grande dispecto et disdegno piu la preda non seguisceno ma lassano andare, e lui remane per corruccio patendo e sufferendo grande fame, de fine tanto che uenne loro facto de prendere la preda in fine al terço o al quarto salto. Quando auiene che prendeno alcuno uenenoso cibo curase e purgase collo stercho del homo, vnde la cacciatore loro engannano in cotal guisa, cioe che quello portano in uno uasello et appendolo ad uno arbore, sì che li dicti animali li uegono e allora li dicti cacciatori li assaglie e uccide. Auene ancora che quando questi animali amala d'alcuna enfirmita, curase con sangue de capra saluatica, lo quale beue e con questo guariscone.

This text is found in two manuscripts of the Italian bestiary; one (Par), in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Ital. 450, f. 33 b); the other (Ch), in the Chigi Library at Rome (f. 29 b). It is given here exactly as it reads in Par, except that punctuation is used and abbreviations are solved. The variants of Ch, except for the insertion of a few words near the end of the chapter, are merely orthographical; the most important is the spelling *lonza* instead of *loncia*.<sup>10</sup> In 1905, after a brief study of the Paris manuscript, I published a description of it, with table of contents and copious bibliographical references, in an article on Italian bestiary manuscripts.<sup>11</sup> Since then I have collected considerable additional material, and in collaboration with my colleague Dr. M. S. Garver, who has made a complete copy of Par, I hope to publish soon a critical text of the bestiary. In the meantime, a few remarks will make clear the importance of this chapter in connection with the problem of Dante's *lonza*.

<sup>10</sup> Instead of *de fine tanto che venne loro facto*, Ch has: *in fin a tanto che uiene loro facto*; instead of *curase e purgase*, *curansi et purgansi*; instead of *la cacciatore, li cacciatori*; instead of *curase con sangue, curanosi e guarisconosi luno al altro con sangue*; etc.

<sup>11</sup> *Unpublished Manuscripts of Italian Bestiaries*, in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, XX, pp. 380-433. This paper presupposes acquaintance with Goldstaub und Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*, Halle, 1892, which gives a Venetian version of the text; and Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889.

The essential elements of the problem, as already mentioned, are the identity of the animal indicated by the word *lonza* (which I have purposely refrained from translating); incidentally, the etymology of this word; and finally, the symbolic meaning of the animal. Obviously, a chapter on the *lonza* in a bestiary that Dante might have known, would be of the greatest value; but except in the case of the text now presented, no bestiary contains such a chapter. The manuscripts, Par and Ch, are of the fourteenth century, and too late to have been used by Dante; but there is good reason to believe that the lost archetype of the dozen or more extant manuscripts containing the Italian bestiary was written in the thirteenth century.<sup>12</sup> All the manuscripts have in common a number of bestiary chapters, and the majority of them also contain a collection of fables. In Par and Ch there is a third part, not found elsewhere,—several chapters on lions, then *leonessa*, *leopardo*, *loncia* (*lonza*), *artalupo*, *urso*, *lupo*, *lupa*, etc. This third part evidently did not belong to the archetype; at what time, and from what sources, it was added to the bestiary, I cannot say. At any rate, it gives standing to the *lonza* as a bestiary animal, with definite characteristics; and these characteristics, it will be at once noted, are in striking harmony with Dante's epithets *leggiera e presta molto*, while the evidence, so far as it goes, supports the interpretation of the symbolism as "lustfulness," without a suggestion of "fraud" or "envy." Whether or not Dante was, as seems probable, familiar with a traditional description of the *lonza*, it is scarcely possible that our bestiary text was influenced by Dante. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the early commentators were influenced by the bestiary. At any rate, the existence of the bestiary description strengthens the presumption in favor of the traditional interpretation.

The next thing to note is that in the added chapters of Par and Ch occur three pairs of animals, each pair including one of Dante's three beasts—lion and lioness, wolf and she-wolf, *leopardo* and *lonza*. This at once suggests the idea, confirmed by the statement about the parentage of both beasts, that the writer of our text, at

<sup>12</sup> See my article already cited, pp. 384-5; and M. S. Garver, *Sources of the beast similes in the Italian lyric of the thirteenth century*, in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXI, pp. 309-20.

least, regarded the *lonza* as a female leopard. Like the *lonza*, the leopard is not regularly a bestiary animal; he does occur, however, in several animal-books, with the characteristics here ascribed to his mate. Different characteristics are given in the preceding chapter of Par (f. 33a), and Ch (f. 29a), which begins as follows:

Leopardo e bellissima bestia del quale se notano principalmente due nature. La prima ch'ella e una de le piu ingegnoso animale che sia. La seconda che in se a legerezza grandissima. Trovase probabilmente che lo suo ingegno vince e confonde lo leone, ecc.

All the characteristics ascribed to both animals in these two chapters are found in a chapter *De Leopardo* in Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, and some of them again *De pardo*.<sup>13</sup> A part of this lore apparently comes from Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiarum*, lib. XII, cap. ii, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 82):

Pardus secundus post pantherem est, genus varium et velocissimum, et præceps ad sanguinem. Saltu enim ad mortem ruit. Leopardus ex adulterio leænæ et pardi nascitur, et tertiam originem efficit, sicut et Plinius in naturali historia dicit leonem cum parda, aut pardum cum leæna concumbere, et ex utroque coitu degeneres partus creari.

Pliny does in fact make a statement something like this (*Nat. Hist.*, lib. VIII, cap. xvi); but the story grows by repetition. The leopard's habit of making only a limited number of jumps after its prey is mentioned by many medieval writers, in Latin, German and

<sup>13</sup> Edition of 1492, lib. XVIII, cap. 65: Leopardus est bestia sevissima de leonis et pardi adulteria generata . . . Est et femina major et crudelior quam sit masculus . . . Colorem habet varium sicut pardus. Saliendo non currendo insequitur predam, et si in tercio saltu predam non rapit vel in quarto per indignatione sistit et quasi victus retrocedit . . . [Here follows an account of how the leopard deceives the lion] . . . Quando comedit aliquid venenosum et tunc querit stercus hominis et comedit ipsum. Et ideo venatores fimum illum in vase aliquo suspendunt super arborem, et cum venit leopardus ad arborem saltat ut accipiat stercus et interim ipsum interficiunt venatores . . . Leopardus quando egrotat sanguinem capre agrestis bibit, et sic inde languores evadit . . . Cap. 81. Pardus ut dicitur est bestia velocissima colore vario orbiculata, preceps ad sanguinem, et saltu ruit in mortem. Et habet talem dispositionem sicut panthera, nec habet ab eo aliquam differentiam nisi quam panthera habet maculas albiores . . . Est autem animal libidinosum, et coit cum leena ex cuius adulterio generatur leopardus.

Italian;<sup>14</sup> the number of jumps and the application of the story vary. Cecco d' Ascoli has this stanza on the subject:

Da leonessa il leopardo nasce,  
O se leone giace con leoparda,  
È nudo di pietà, quando s'irasce,  
Si sdegna, se non prende quattro salti,  
E per vergogna in terra fisso guarda,  
Pensando sdegna dell' ovil gli assalti.

Similarly, Luigi Pulci (*Morgante*, XIV, 75):

Il leopardo pareva sdegnato,  
Perch' e' non prese in tre salti la preda;

and a few lines further on, in the same list of animals decorating the pavilion, Pulci mentions (stanza 81):

La lonza maculata e la pantera.

A poet of the thirteenth century, Fredi da Lucca, refers to the deception of the lion by the leopard:

Fui miso in giuoco e frastenuto im pianto,  
Sì falssamente m' ingannò lo sguardo,  
Sì come lo leone lo leopardo  
C' a tradimento li lieva lo manto.<sup>15</sup>

Another poet, Folgore da San Gimignano, refers to the quality of swiftness:

Leggero più che lonza o liopardo.<sup>16</sup>

Evidently, then, the word *lonza* was sometimes, if not always, used for the leopardess. Its etymology is still disputed, some deriving it from an adjective *leonteia* or *leontia*, "lionlike,"<sup>17</sup> more

<sup>14</sup> See Goldstaub u. Wendriner, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Lauchert, *op. cit.*, p. 180; G. Ulrich, *Trattati Religiosi e Libro de li Exempi*, Bologna, 1891, p. 108 (no. 23); Cecco d'Ascoli, *L'Acerba*, Venezia, 1820, lib. III, cap. 40.

<sup>15</sup> *Il Libro de varie romanse volgare*, Cod. Vat. 3793, Società Filologica Romana, no. 98 (anon.); *Poeti del Primo Secolo*, Firenze, 1816, II, 221; cf. Garver, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>16</sup> *Le Rime di Folgore da S. G.*, ed. Navone, Bologna, 1880, no. XV; *Poeti del Primo Secolo*, II, 186.

<sup>17</sup> See Casini, *Aned. e St. Dant.*, pp. 51-9; Chistoni, *La Lonza dantesca*, p. 818; Lajolo, *Simboli ed Enigmi Danteschi*, pp. 21-8.

probably it is the popular derivative, through *lynxia* or *lunceia*, of the Greek and Latin *lynx*, of which the direct derivative is *lince*.<sup>18</sup> In French the initial has been transformed into an article, and we have *l'once*, whence English *ounce*. Once, at least, we have the form without *l* in Italian (*Proverbia que dicuntur super natura feminarum*, ed. Tobler, *Zeitsch. f. Rom. Philol.*, IX, p. 314, stanza 116):

La onça e una bestia mala e perigolosa;  
Cercare poi lo segolo, no troui peçor cosa;  
D' ognunca creatura este contrariosa,  
Non faria una mestega, quanti in terra posa.

Beside the forms already noted—*lonza*, *leonza*, *loncia*—we find in Italian *lonze* (sg.), *lonça*, *lionza*, *lionça*, *leonça*,<sup>19</sup> in Latin *leuncia*

<sup>18</sup> See D'Ovidio, *Studii sulla Div. Com.*, pp. 320, 585 (where he says that the form to be expected would be *loncia*,—exactly the form of our ms. Par); D. Guerri, in *Bullettino della Soc. Dant. Ital.*, XIV, 9; Wiese, *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch*, pp. 23, 75; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatica Italiana*, Torino, 1901, pp. 27, 119; Körting, *Lat.-Rom. Wb.*; etc.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. in Moore, *Textual Criticism of the Div. Com.*, the ms. variants for *Inf.*, I, 32. Also Lessona, *Gli Animali nella Div. Com.*, Torino, 1893, p. 9. The dictionary of Tommaseo and Bellini quotes from Marco Polo: e sì v' ha lonze e liopardi assai; and from Boccaccio's *Ameto*: Ciascuna dolente lonza. Further instances of the word from the 13th century: Pallamidesse di Firenze (Cod. Vat. 3793, edition cited, no. 188; also in Monaci, *Crestomazia ital.*, p. 251):

Ché, s' una lonze fosse,  
sì perderia natura  
ed avriane pietanza.

Rustico di Filippo (Cod. Vat., no. 860; ed. Federici, Bergamo, 1899, no. 48):

e di leonza e d' altro assai fragore;

(Cod. Vat., no. 927; mentioned by Casini, *Un poeta umorista del secolo decimoterzo*, in *Nuova Antologia*, vol. 109, Feb., 1890, p. 502, as showing that the Florentines associated this and other beasts with human defects):

Ché ci à una lonza sì fiera ed ardita  
che se Carillo sapesse i suo confini  
e de la sua prodeza avesse udita,  
tosto n' andrebe sopra i Saracini.  
Ma chi è questa lonza, or lo saccate;  
Panicia egli è . . .

The so-called *Detto del Gatto Lupesco* (line 127, in Monaci, *Crestomazia*, pp. 449-50):



(Florentine document quoted by Casini, *op. cit.*, p. 53), *lonza* (quoted by Du Cange: hyænas, quas vulgus vocat lonzas, leone velociore et audaciores), *lonzanus* (Du Cange, quoting Jacques de Vitry), *lontia* (Benvenuto da Imola), *uncia* (Gesner, *Icones Animalium quadrupedum*, Tiguri, 1560, p. 68, equivalent to Ital. *lonza*, German *Ein Untz oder Kleiner Leppard*; cf. Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-footed Beastes*, London, 1607, p. 568—ounce, "which many in Italy, France and Germany cal *Leunza*, and some *Vnzia*"). *Leonza* was doubtless due to influence of *leone* (cf. *leo-fante*, and what is said below about *leopardus*). Except in quotations from Dante, the use of the word is prevailingly if not exclusively Tuscan.<sup>20</sup>

As to the identity of the animal in question, the lynx, the panther and the leopard have been proposed. Modern naturalists apply the words panther and leopard to the same species, *Felis pardus*, and in some cases make no distinction between them; the American panther or jaguar, which is not spotted, is a distinct species, *Felis onca*. The snow-leopard or ounce, *Felis uncia*, is a comparatively rare animal from the highlands of central Asia. The lynx, also belonging to the *Felidæ*, is sometimes called *Felis lynx*, and sometimes ascribed to a distinct genus, and called *Lynx lynx*. But in studying medieval literature the modern classifications are as apt to mislead a non-specialist as they are to help him, even if he can reconcile the conflicting statements of naturalists. In fact, it is notoriously difficult to identify the animals mentioned by old writers.<sup>21</sup> Let us, then, turn our attention to the medieval authorities.

As is well known, certain qualities were attached to certain animal-names. Bartholomeus Anglicus and other writers regarded

E sì vi vidi lo tigro e l tasso  
e una lonça e un tinasso.

Of course, Dante mentions the *lonza* of *Inf.*, I, a second time, *Inf.*, XVI, 108:

Prender la *lonza* alla pelle dipinta.

<sup>20</sup> There is another word *lonza* < *lumbea* (see Flechia in *Arch. Glottologico*, II, 361) used by Dante in one of the sonnets to Forese Donati.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. C. R. Eastman, *Recent Literature on ancient animal names and effigies*, in *American Journal of Philology*, XXX, 322-31; and F. E. Beddard, *Mammalia* (*Cambridge Natural History*, X), London, 1902, 395-7.

the panther and the pard as almost identical, and some said that the panther was the female of the pard. Yet no medieval writer would have applied to the pard the chief quality which the panther has in the original *Physiologus* and in nearly every bestiary and encyclopedia,—its fragrant breath. The leopard, not regularly a bestiary animal, was regarded as a hybrid like his name, which is not found earlier than about the fourth century; although Pliny speaks of intercourse between the lion and other beasts in the same way in which later writers discuss the origin of the leopard.<sup>22</sup> As to the lynx, etymologically it is the ancestor of the *lonza*; in spite of this fact, however, the connection was absolutely broken.<sup>23</sup> The lynx was joined to the wolf family, preserving from ancient times his proverbial keen sight and other faculties, mentioned by Pliny,—chiefly the function of producing a valuable stone which through envy he hides from men. Isidore of Seville (*Etymol.*, XII, 2) gives this description:

Lynx dictus, quia in luporum genere numeratur: bestia maculis terga distincta, ut pardus, sed similis lupo . . . Hujus urinam converti in duritiam pretiosi lapidis dicunt, qui lincurius appellatur . . . egestum liquorem arenis, in quantum potuerint, contegunt, invidia quadam naturæ, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. (Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII, xxxviii.)

This becomes in the old Italian version of Brunetto Latini, *Il Tesoro* (ed. Gaiter, Bologna, 1877; lib. V, cap. 57):

Un' altra maniera di lupi sono, che si chiamano cervieri, che sono taccati di nero come leonza [French original: *comme l' once*], ed in altre cose sono simiglianti al lupo. E hanno sì chiara veduta, che li loro occhi passano li monti e li muri . . . E dicono quelli che gli hanno veduti, che del suo piscio nasce una pietra preziosa che si chiama ligures. E questo cognosce bene la bestia medesima, secondo che gli uomini l' hanno veduto coprire col sabbione la sua orina, per una invidia di natura, che cotal pietra non vegna a mano d' uomo.

<sup>22</sup> Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, Lugduni Batav., 1712, lib. III, cap. vii, speaks of *panthera* as *pardi fœmina*; cap. viii, declares that *leopardus* is none other than *pardus*, and that the hybrid origin is a fable; also quotes from Ambrosius: *Leopardus capreæ agrestis sanguinem bibit et vim languoris evitat*. Bochart regards the lynx as similar to the panther rather than to the wolf, thus differing from the older writers.

<sup>23</sup> Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 100, mentions isolated exceptions.

Bartholomeus Anglicus (cap. 67) repeats Isidore's statements in slightly different wording:

Lynx . . . est autem bestia similis lupo dorsum habens maculis distinctum sicut pardus, vrina eius convertitur in gemmam preciosam, etc.

This passage is thus translated by Vivaldo Belcalzer of Mantua (see V. Cian, *V. Belcalzer e l' enciclopedismo italiano*, in *Giornale Storico*, Suppl. no. 4, 1902, p. 124):

Lof cerver è bestia simel al lof, abiant la pel oculà de macule partide a mod de pard, ecc.

The important thing to note in these passages is that *pardus* is translated *l' once*, *leonza*, and that the lynx is *compared* to this animal with the clear implication that they are not the same.<sup>24</sup> This is absolute proof, it seems to me, in connection with what has gone before, first, that when he said *lonza* Dante did not mean "lynx," and secondly, that the significance of the *lonza* is not "envy." Dante probably did not suspect the etymology of *lonza*; if he had meant lynx, he could have said *lince*—a perfectly comprehensible word, and preserving the alliteration equally well. But his description gives no hint of the well-known characteristics of the lynx, which was commonly called *lupo cerviero*; and the mere fact of its being closely allied to his third beast, *lupa*, would have rendered such a choice less suitable. Further arguments and abundant references are given in an erudite article by E. Proto, who identifies the *lonza* as the female of the *pardo*, or, in other words, as the panther. I prefer to distinguish between pard and leopard, leaving to the panther its well-known traditional characteristics, and calling the *lonza* "leopardess." Still, the distinction was probably not commonly made, and all these animals were surely often confused with one another. As to the symbolism, Proto makes the *lonza* stand for *concupiscentia carnis*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> So far as Brunetto is concerned, this was pointed out by Casini, *Aned. e St. Dant.*, l. c. The three beasts of Jeremiah V, 6—*leo*, *lupus*, *pardus*, confirm my argument. Cf. E. Proto, *La Lonza Dantesca*, in *Giornale Dantesco*, XV, 1-15.

<sup>25</sup> *La Lonza Dantesca*, already cited. The opposite view has been strenuously maintained. See D'Ovidio, *op. cit.*; Cipolla, in *Rassegna Bibliografica*, III, 103, cf. 139, 203; and an interesting article by C. B. Cayley, *Dante's "Lonza,"* in *Notes and Queries*, 3d Series, Vol. XII (1867), p. 410 (cf. p. 514). Cayley makes the lynx-lonza stand for gluttony and lust of the flesh, also for Florence.

It seems no more likely that the beast now called "ounce" was indicated by the name *lonza*; this beast seems to have usurped the name in comparatively recent times. Some other variety of leopard than the ordinary one may have been known, as the cheetah or hunting leopard,<sup>26</sup> a less dangerous beast. But in this case we still have the leopard, an animal mentioned in the Bible as fierce (*Is.* XI, 6; *Hos.* XIII, 7), swift (*Hab.* I, 8), spotted (*Jer.* XIII, 23), and used as a type of a kingdom in Daniel's vision (*Dan.* VII, 6). And as a final piece of evidence in favor of identifying *lonza* as a Tuscan word for *leopard* we have the frequently quoted statement of Benvenuto da Imola (*Comentum*, Florentiæ, 1887, I, p. 35) in reply to his question "quæ fera sit ista lontia:"

Credo tamen quod autor potius intelligat hic de pardo, quam de aliis, tum quia proprietates pardi magis videmur convenire luxuriæ, ut patet ex dictis, tum quia istud vocabulum florentinum *lonza* videtur magis importare pardum quam aliam feram. Unde, dum semel portaretur quidam pardus per Florentiam pueri concurrentes clamabant: vide lonciam, ut mihi narrabat suavissimus Boccattus de Ceraldio.

A document of 1285 speaks of a place in Florence "in quo morabatur leuncia,"<sup>27</sup> and this *lonza* Dante doubtless saw.

It may seem to some readers that too much has been made of a bestiary chapter in two manuscripts which are later than Dante; but it seems to me that this testimony is valuable, when taken in connection with the other material, largely familiar, which is here presented. I hope to have demonstrated that by *lonza* Dante meant a "leopardess," and that symbolically this beast could not stand for "envy," while the presumption in favor of the traditional interpretation as "lust" has been considerably strengthened. I have not, of course, gone into the many aspects of the discussion that has arisen over this problem, and I have ignored many arguments. Those who hold the view that the three beasts represent the divisions of Hell may say that the discussion as to envy and lust is irrel-

<sup>26</sup> Petrarch alludes to hunting with leopards, *Trionfo di Pudicizia*, 37-9.

Non corse mai sì levemente al varco  
D' una fugace cerva un leopardo  
Libero in selva, o di catene scarco.

<sup>27</sup> See Casini, *l. c.*

evant. Still, even so, the elimination of envy is not unimportant; and many scholars hold the view that the *selva selvaggia* is not a foretaste of Hell with its classifications, but is a figure of the life of this world where individual sins are more in evidence. The temptation to see a parallel between the three beasts and the words of Ciacco (*Inf.*, VI, 74) and Brunetto (*Inf.*, XV, 68) is great; but in these cases the words apply definitely to Florence, not to human life in general nor to Dante's personal life. But are the beasts to symbolize Dante's personal sins, or sins of others which impeded his way? On these and similar questions I hope to have presented a modicum of new evidence; and I trust that the discussion will not seem useless either to those who, with Flamini, regard the forest and the beasts as the corner-stone of Dante's allegorical system, or to those who, with D' Ovidio, regard the first canto rather as a collection of more or less important problems.

KENNETH MCKENZIE

YALE UNIVERSITY



## THE FRENCH LOCUTION *A LA QUEUE LEU LEU*

**A** *LA queue leu leu* is a locution of frequent occurrence in Old and in Modern French, now, however, restricted in its application to a peculiar form of student merrymaking known also as the "monôme"<sup>1</sup> in France, and in America as the "snake" or "serpentine." It refers to the long, winding procession of students who march in single file, hand on shoulder, in celebration of some athletic victory or other college festivity. The French have, too, a children's game called by this same name which will be discussed later.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Albert-Levy et G. Pinet, *L'Argot de l'X*, Paris, 1894, p. 201. "Le monôme est une transformation de la danse antique, appelée la *grue*, qui figure sur le bouclier d'Achille et dans laquelle, à l'imitation de ces oiseaux volant l'un derrière l'autre en longues files, les danseurs se tenaient par la main, et décrivaient, guidés par le conducteur du chœur, des circonvolutions gracieuses.

Quand les compositions écrites pour l'admission à l'Ecole (*Polytechnique*) sont terminées, les *taupins*, candidats des lycées et des écoles préparatoires, se réunissent sur la Place du Panthéon. Ils s'organisent en longue file indienne, chacun venant appuyer ses mains sur les épaules du camarade qui le précède, et partent processionnellement sous la conduite du *premier taupin de France*, le premier de ceux qui ont échoué l'année précédente. Ce gigantesque mille pattes, va, vient, serpente, frappant le sol en cadence, lançant dans les airs des chansons du caractère le plus profane . . . Il se dirige vers la Cour du Collège de France où doivent commencer, quelques jours après, les examens oraux; il décrit toutes les circonvolutions de la courbe qui a fait le sujet de la composition de mathématiques; puis il descend le boulevard, au milieu de la foule ahurie, interceptant la circulation, suit les quais jusqu'au terre-plein du Pont-Neuf et après une ronde échevelée autour de la statue de Henri IV, se rend chez la 'mère Moreau,' le fameux débit de prunes et de chinois. . . . Quand on veut faire une manifestation quand il y a du bruit et du tapage, au commencement et à la fin de certains exercices, à des jours désignés et traditionnels, vite un *monôme* s'organise. Le *monôme des fumistes* conduit par un conscrit non encore habillé; le *monôme des tangentes*, le jour où l'on exerce pour la première fois les élèves à se servir de l'épée; le *monôme des manips* où chacun a revêtu la longue blouse de toile pour la première manipulation de chimie; le *monôme de la gymn*, où l'on arbore pour la première fois le costume de gymnasiarque; le *monôme de l'acide benzoïque*, le jour où l'on prépare cette acide etc. etc.

*Monôme*, *binôme*, *trinôme*, ces mots qu'emploie l'algèbre pour désigner une expression d'un, de deux ou bien de trois termes, désignent respectivement, à l'Ecole d'application, l'élève qui vit seul, les deux camarades, parfois les trois, qui partagent la même chambre pendant les deux années d'étude."

The dictionaries seem agreed in their interpretation of this locution. Littré, s. v. *leu*, gives the etymology, "Picard *leu*, loup: locution qui vient de ce que les loups cheminent les uns derrière les autres, *leu* usité seulement dans cette locution." Littré, s. v. *queue*, 23°, cites the only example that seems to have got itself into the standard dictionaries:

"En voyant cette émigration de grandes dames, toutes ces femmes de robe imaginèrent que ce devait être l'usage de la cour, et elles se mirent à défiler à la *queue lou-lou* révérencieusement et silencieusement devant la présidente Molé, qui ne savait que devenir. (*Souvenirs de la Marquise de Créquy* t. v, ch. 12.)"

The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, s. v. *queue*, calls attention to the "jeu d'enfants, ainsi appelé parce qu'à ce jeu on marche à la suite les uns des autres comme marchent les loups qu'on appelait autrefois *leurs*." Darmesteter and Hatzfeld in the *Dictionnaire Général* state that "L'ancien français dit souvent *leu*, forme qui s'est conservée dans à la *queue leu leu* et dans la nomenclature géographique où Saint Leu correspond à Sanctus Lupus."<sup>2</sup> The same dictionary, s. v. *queue*, marks this locution as "familiar" and "formerly à la *queue le leu*." Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, s. v. *queue*, has this to add:

"Les enfants ont un jeu qu'ils appellent à la *queue leu leu*, quand ils se tiennent l'un l'autre par la robe en marchant. *Leu* est un vieux mot qui signifioit autrefois *loup* comme s'ils imitoient les loups qui marchent ainsi à la suite l'un derrière l'autre."<sup>3</sup>

In the face of this dictionary evidence there arises the question: Is it true that wolves do travel "à la suite," "à la file," "les uns derrière les autres"; is this explanation of the dictionaries in accord with the facts of natural history? The present article answers this question in the negative; it attempts to show that the dictionary

<sup>2</sup> *Leu* in geographical names comes from Lupus, Bishop of Auxerre. G. Paris, *Romania* X (1881), p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the dictionaries mentioned, I have consulted Bescherelle; Sainte Palaye, *Dictionnaire Historique*; Nisard, *Dictionnaire des Curiosités*; Chéruel, *Dictionnaire des Mœurs et Coutumes*; Billaudeau, *Recueil de Locutions*; *International Encyclopedia*; G. Paris, *Romania* X (1881); L. Sainéan, *Rom. Forsch.*, 23, p. 254; Marcel Schwob, *Etude sur l'Argot Français*; Lévy et Pinet, *L'Argot de l'X*, Paris, 1894; A. Barrère, *Argot and Slang*; L. Sainéan, *L'Argot Ancien*, Paris, 1907; R. de la Grasserie, *Etude Scientifique sur l'Argot*, Paris, 1907.

interpretation is contrary to the facts of natural history, and that the accepted explanation of the locution is therefore false zoologically as it is likewise, grammatically. It further endeavors to provide a new explanation of the locution both adequate and accurate.

As to the question of the habit of wolves, let us get the evidence of the natural historians both of ancient and modern times, also of famous animal hunters both dead and living, and let us consult the fable literature, the bestiaries and animal legends. The natural histories of as ancient a time as Aristotle and Ælian give no data that bear upon the subject in hand.<sup>4</sup> Buffon<sup>5</sup> is responsible for the statement that

"the wolf is the enemy of all society; he does not even keep much company with those of his kind. When they are seen in packs together, it is not to be considered as a peaceful society but as a combination for war . . . the instant their military expedition is completed, their society is at an end; they then part and each returns in silence to his solitary retreat."

Abbott, *Cyclopedia of Natural History*, p. 64, says, "whether in the Old World or the New, the habits of this animal (wolf) are the same; . . . they hunt in packs and are extremely fierce and dangerous when pressed by hunger." In the *International Encyclopedia* we read: "In the forests of Russia and Poland wolves appear in formidable packs. . . . Packs of wolves associate for this purpose (hunting)." Champlin's *Young Folks' Cyclopedia* adds the following evidence: "The wolf is very swift and hunts deer

\* In addition to the works cited, I have consulted the following books relating to animal lore:—Ælian, *De Animalibus*; Du Cange, *Glossarium*; Kenneth McKenzie, *Italian Bestiaries* in M. L. N., 20 (1905); Grandville, *Scènes de la Vie Privée et Publique des Animaux*, Hetzel, Paris, 1842; Hippeau, *Bestiaire Divin de Guillaume le Clerc*, Caen, 1852; Philippe de Thaun, *Bestiaire*; Hetzel's *Bestiary*; Allen's *Bestiary*; Abbott, *Encyclopedia of Natural History*; s. v. *physiologus* in *Grande Encyclopédie* and *Encyc. Britannica*; Champlin, *Young Folks' Encyclopedia*; Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges Archéologiques*, Chap. on *physiologus*; Brunetto Latini, *Livre dou Tresor*, éd. Chabaille; Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions Térologiques*; de Montaignon, *Les Dictz des Bestes et aussi des Oyseaux* in *Recueil de Poésies Françaises*; Etienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France*, Paris, 1863; de Montaignon, *Recueil des Fabliaux*; Gautier de Metz, *Image du Monde*; Chabaille, *Roman de Renart* et al.

<sup>5</sup> *Natural History of the globe, etc., from the writings of Buffon, Cuvier and other eminent naturalists*, ed. by John Wright, Boston, 1831, v. I, p. 334.

and other animals in packs. In hard winters packs of hungry wolves come down from the forests of the Alps and other mountains in Europe. . . . Even in France wolves are still plentiful. From 1882 to 1889 more than 6,000 were killed, or above 800 a year." Watson, *Reasoning Power of Animals*, p. 423-4, contributes the statement: "a number of wolves will combine together to encompass a herd of deer on large plains bounded by steep cliffs. While the deer are grazing, the wolves will form a crescent around them and creep stealthily forward, etc." Paul du Chaillu, in *The Land of the Long Night*, New York, 1899, chapters XVI and XVII, tells tales of wolf-hunts in Lapland and stories of the animal's sagacity. "The Lapps among whom I lived were in great fear of wolves, for three packs of them had made their appearance in the forests about 150 miles away. . . . The tracks of three packs had been seen. . . . They attacked the reindeer from various sides, the pack dividing so as to encompass them. Driven off, the Lapps said, 'they will visit us again in small packs, so we must watch constantly.'"

There is no need of multiplying examples. The authorities agree that the wolf lives the solitary life of a recluse in time of peace and that in time of hunt and war he *herds, packs* with his kind. Neither of these conditions conduces to the custom of travelling in procession, Indian file. Everywhere in the wolf literature we read such expressions as "ils vivent par troupes," "leurs troupes affamés," "par bandes considérables," but never and nowhere do we encounter any mention of a custom so characteristic as "in single file," "à la suite, l'un derrière l'autre."

If, then, the natural histories seem aligned in opposition to the theory that wolves travel *à la file*, what of the nimrods? What evidence do the hunters offer, the living and the dead? The books are filled with stories of attacks by wolves, of sleighs pursued by packs of howling wolves, coming forward on all sides, each striving to outdo the other. Wolf-tracks are seen, always a myriad maze of mingled prints. That experienced woodsman, Mr. Stewart Edward White, writing under recent date from Los Angeles, Cal., in reply to a request for information, contributes to this investigation the statement:

"As a usual thing I think wolves are apt to travel in single file through deep snow. So are men and any other persons of any sense at all. Otherwise they travel in a pack just as dogs do everywhere."

Mr. Ernest Thompson Seton, authority on the habits of animals, in response to a request for his experiences on this subject, writes:

"I have seen wolves walk as you say, in single file, but do not consider it characteristic. It was done where there was an obvious pathway, such as a buffalo trail. They straggled along and were not in close array."

Mr. Wm. J. Long, the erudite scholar and naturalist, answering an appeal for a contribution to this subject from his vast fund of knowledge of animals, writes from Stamford, Conn.:

"In the habits of wolves, there is some reason to justify the expression to which you refer. It is not the usual way of wolves to travel nose to tail in single file, but occasionally they do it. A pack never travels that way. At least I have followed many wolf-trails in the snow and saw no evidence of it. When a small band is approaching a danger point, they sometimes swing into file evidently to escape detection. When two or three wolves are stalking game *in the open*, they sneak along one behind the other, to make themselves less conspicuous. I have never known them to do this when hunting domestic animals, or when hunting in the woods. It is only when they are creeping on deer or a flock of wild geese on the open barrens that they make use of this trick. Again in the mating season, a dog wolf will sometimes follow a bitch for miles, nose to tail.<sup>6</sup> But when there are more than two, the rest keep behind or at one side, and run in a bunch. . . . the expression does not at all go with wolf habits. A big pack never travels this way, in single file, and smaller packs never go this way in play or in roaming the woods or in search of food or in ordinary hunting. In a word it is exceptional. . . . When a student on the other side, I got into the mountains occasionally in my vacations

<sup>6</sup> Apropos of Mr. Long's letter, cf. Etienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France*, Paris, 1863, p. 708, who finds in this mating season habit of the male wolf to follow the female, nose to tail, the source of the application of this locution to the children's game called by the same name. Suffice it to say that this animal habit of the mating season is not confined to wolves, but might have been observed in animals more generally domesticated, and that M. Pasquier's article is otherwise quite as fanciful and unscientific as his interpretations of locutions usually are.

and learned a little of wolves there. But I never knew of their travelling single file nor have I ever read of it. There is a pretty large wolf literature and the beast has figured prominently in folklore and fable. It would seem that, if the habit were common enough to result in a popular expression "*à la queue du loup*," the habit would be mentioned in literature, but it never is mentioned . . . the habit is so unusual that very few observers have ever noticed it. Our own wolf literature, like that of Europe, always emphasizes the fact that wolves travel in an entirely different manner."

And the huntsman chief, the well-informed and ever-ready former President, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, lends the stamp of his authority to this discussion, graciously writing from the White House shortly before the expiration of his term of office:

"I have usually seen wolves in straggling parties, but I have once or twice seen them traveling in single file."

From all this evidence we are justified in concluding that although wolves have been seen to travel in single file, *à la suite*, it was always under the stress of peculiar and especial circumstances, due either to some obvious exigency of the *terrain* or of the season, and that the custom has been rarely observed and is entirely exceptional. Now it is not unfair to demand of a locution that attains popularity and currency that it find its origin in a custom at once generally known, well authenticated and characteristic.<sup>7</sup>

If, then, the explanation of this locution given by the dictionaries is not compatible with the facts of natural history, where are we to seek the correct interpretation? The answer to this question is suggested by M. Gaston Paris in *Romania* X (1881), pp. 50-51, where he says:

"*à la queue leu leu* contient une fois, si je ne me trompe et pas deux la vieille forme *leu* en même temps qu'un reste de l'ancienne syntaxe; c'est proprement *à la queue le leu*, 'à la queue du loup,' et

<sup>7</sup> It should be mentioned that diligent search of the Bestiaries and of the Fabliaux literature in the hope of finding the source of this locution in some myth or legend was totally without result. The early Bestiaries all seem to follow Philippe de Thaun, giving no mention of the wolf. When he finally does get into literature his identity seems to be much confused, as, for example, in Cahier's *Mélanges Archéologiques*, chapter on *Physiologus*, where the wolf is confounded with the pig.

dans le jeu enfantin auquel elle est empruntée, tous les joueurs à la file forment la queue du meneur qui, il est vrai, n'est pas le loup, mais qui le devient s'il laisse gagner celui qui en remplit le rôle."

Here we are referred to the proper *terrain* for the source of this locution, viz., "le jeu enfantin auquel elle est empruntée." But M. Paris, by his translation of *à la queue le leu* as "à la queue du loup," shows that he considers *le leu* as a limiting genitive, while on the contrary there is no element in the game nor any syntactical evidence to justify such a conception.

Rabelais,<sup>8</sup> among the games of physical exercise in *Les Jeux de Gargantua*, lists this game as *à la queue au loup*. The note of the editors adds:

"Ce jeu est trop connu pour le décrire. Nous nous contentons de faire remarquer qu'on appelait ainsi et qu'on l'appelle encore *à la queue leu-leu*; qu'en Languedoc on dit *à loubet-loubet* (au petit loup), ou *fa à los anquetos* (jouer aux oisons), et qu'on dit encore *Saint Leu* pour *Saint Loup*."

Other editors<sup>10</sup> of Rabelais have exhibited less confusion but as little instruction in the matter of this game, nor do the books on games<sup>11</sup> include a description of it in their pages. As a matter of fact the game is so well-known that any French child can recite its rules. The following is the oral description of a Frenchman<sup>12</sup> who has played the game hundreds of times as a boy:

"A crowd of children form in line each holding the skirt of the one ahead of him, thus forming a queue. When the game is pro-

<sup>8</sup> *Œuvres de Rabelais, Edition Variorum* par Esmangart et Eloi Johanneau, Paris, 1823, Liv. I, c. XXII, p. 430.

<sup>9</sup> Whether *au* is a misprint for *du*, or a scribal error, or whether *au* was actually in use in the title of the game, it is impossible to say. Suffice it to add that nowhere else has the phrase been seen other than *à la queue du loup*.

<sup>10</sup> M. Paulin Paris, *Manuscrits Français*, I, 1, p. 290 (*Triumphes des Vertus*), discovers the list from which Rabelais took the list of games incorporated in *Gargantua*, but makes no explanation of the game.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Grande Encyclopédie*, s. v. *jeux*; Becq de Fouquières, *Jeux des Anciens*, Paris, 1869; Bayle-Mouillard, *Manuel Complet des jeux de société*, Paris, 1836; Cotton and Seymour, *Complete Gamester*; Bohn's *Handbook of Games*; de Montaignon, *Comment les Pastoureaux et Pastourelles ensemble se jouent en divers jeux*; Philidor, *Académie Universelle des Jeux*, Amsterdam, 1752.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Albert I. Calais, De Witt Clinton High School, New York City. The correctness of the description here given is further vouched for by Mr. Henri Muller, a Frenchman, Professor at Columbia University.



posed and as the line is forming, all say 'à la queue, à la queue.' Then one of the players, *le loup*, takes his place opposite the leader of the line of players. The latter must keep in line and the leader must face the wolf. Then the line by twining and twisting (somewhat resembling 'Crack the Whip') tries, still keeping the line-formation, to keep out of the wolf's clutches. The players keep up a constant cry '*leu, leu, leu, leu!*' [which, in the narration the speaker unconsciously but very perceptibly pronounced '*le leu! le leu!*'] and when one of the line is caught he becomes *le loup* and the previous wolf takes the place at the end of the line, *à la queue*, all the players moving up."

Here, surely, there is no trace of the single file manner of travel which wolves do not, as a matter of fact, affect, nor of the nose to tail habits of the mating season. *A la queue* indeed means "in single file," but it is a file of sheep, not of wolves; in fact, there is but one wolf, who takes his place *à la queue* when his play is over. *Leu leu*, as M. Paris correctly observes "est proprement *le leu*" and refers to the cry of the children at the approach of the wolf. Where could so natural a corruption as that of *le leu* to *leu leu* take place more readily than in children's games, where rhyming sounds are most sought?<sup>13</sup> As for the use of *leu* for *loup*, it is the regular Picard form of the word and readily gets itself preserved in this locution because of its rhyme with *queue*.

According to Borel, *Dictionnaire des Termes du vieux français*, s. v. *leu*, in Languedoc the children do not play at all at *à la queue* but at *à loubet-loubet* (which the editors of Rabelais render 'au petit loup,' not as a limiting genitive): This is not at all the game of "tail" but the game of "wolf"; and the manner of playing it ("ils feignent que le loup les vient prendre") bears out the choice of title. In further support of this interpretation comes the description<sup>14</sup> of a Spanish game, *El Lobo y la Pastora*, wherein the children who play the part of sheep (*las ovejas*) stand in single file in one long line, each with his arms about the waist of the one ahead of him. One, who plays the shepherdess (*la pastora*), stands before the others to prevent another player, the wolf (*el lobo*), from catching them. At a given signal the wolf cries: "*Yo soy el lobo, obo, obo, que las (ovejas) comerá,*" to which

<sup>13</sup> Note that the *Dict. Gén.* marks this locution as "anc. *à la queue le leu.*"

<sup>14</sup> *Juegos de Tertulia y de Prendas*, Paris, 1836.

the shepherdess replies, "*Yo soy la pastora, ora, ora, que lo impedirá.*"<sup>15</sup> The wolf, pretending to move against the head of the line, draws the shepherdess toward that side, when he suddenly swoops down upon the foot and seizes the last sheep. That child must pay a forfeit. If the sheep escapes and seeks shelter behind the shepherdess, where the wolf may not touch it, the wolf pays a forfeit, loses his position and takes his place at the foot of the line, the other child becoming the wolf.

If this locution had aught in common with the custom of any animal to travel in single file would it not seem more natural that it should connect itself with an animal whose characteristic habits could be more easily and generally observed than, for obvious reasons, can those of the savage wolf? For example, in Switzerland and in Southern France any day the cows may be seen returning from their highland pastures in single file, nose to tail, if you will; and French does present the locution *à la queue de vache*,<sup>16</sup> which Ste. Palaye explains, "c'est-à-dire l'un derrière l'autre." Here there is an unmistakable descriptive genitive, as in the well-known expression *à la queue de morue*, etc.; but as far as *à la queue leu leu* is concerned, neither the habits of the wolf, nor the method of playing the game of that name, nor the form of the article, justifies the interpretation of a descriptive genitive.

To resume, then, in a word: the dictionary explanation of this locution should be changed, because it is contrary to the facts of natural history and to the syntax. *A la queue leu leu* stands, not for *à la queue du loup*, but for *à la queue, le loup!* and refers, not to any wolflike habit of travelling in single file, but to a children's game<sup>17</sup> in which the players begin by calling *à la queue!* ("form in

<sup>15</sup> Note the repetition of the rhyming sounds, as in *queue leu leu*. Closely related to this is the cry of the Béarnais peasants *gous-gous* (*gous* = chien) used to excite dogs against one another, and the cry of the Poitevin shepherds *goua-goua*, used to incite dogs in pursuit of sheep. (Lazare Sainéan, *Rom. Forsch.*, 23, p. 254.)

<sup>16</sup> Sainte Palaye, *Dictionnaire Historique*, s. v. *queue*, "Messire Jean Chaperon et le dit Seigneur d'Auton meirent cinq cens hommies de guerre en leurs vaisseaulx, c'est assavoir quatre cens dedans la nau dudit Chapperon et cent dedans la barque du seigneur d'Auton et se meirent sur mer *à queue de vache*." (Jean d'Auton, p. 112.)

<sup>17</sup> Of course the growth and spread of a game of this sort, and so named, is directly due to the great prevalence of wolves in the Middle Ages and even

line!") and then cry out, *le leu!* (Picard form for *le loup*) in fear of the attacking player-wolf. It is the Picard form of the word that is here preserved, because of its rhyming with the preceding word *queue* and because of the corruption by the peasantry. The article *le* is corrupted to *leu* by alliterative attraction to its neighboring sounds, and because the following word is no longer understood to be a noun.

COLMAN DUDLEY FRANK

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

far into Modern times, the great fear they inspired, and the precautions taken by shepherds to protect flocks from wolf depredations. The Pastourelles abound in such references.

---

## GOLONDRINO Y CALANDRIA: AN INEDITED ENTREMÉS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE following entremés—till now unpublished—is listed as No. 1127 in Paz y Meliá's "Catálogo de Piezas de Teatro Manuscritas" in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, under the title of "*Entremés entre un muchacho llamado Golondrino y dos amigos suyos llamados Garnica y Zaballos, y de Doña Calandria, amiga del Golondrino, y de Vicente, aragonés, rufian, y de Angela, zamorana, amiga del rufian.*" The manuscript is of three leaves quarto. The writing is that of the end of the sixteenth century, presenting certain peculiarities of letter formation common to the much more important "*Entremés de un viejo que es casado con una mujer moza,*" No. 1125, which bears the signatura of Cristóbal Chaves,<sup>1</sup> possibly the author of *La Carcel de Sevilla*, and another commonly given to Cervantes.

As is well known, the great majority of entremeses are in verse, the form and standard being established by the masterful work of Quiñones de Benavente, and continued by emulators and imitators such as Navarrete, Suárez de Deza, Cáncer y Velasco and many more, until the days of Ramón de la Cruz in the eighteenth century. Immediately preceding Benavente, however, at the end of the sixteenth century, is a little group of pioneer entremesistas whose best work was done in prose. If none of their productions had come to us, we should still have testimony as to their form in these lines from Augustín de Rojas' *Loa de la Comedia* in the "*Viaje Entretenido,*" 1604:<sup>2</sup>

Y, entre los pasos de veras mezclados otros de risa que porque iban entre medias de la farsa, los llamaron entremeses de comedia y todo aquesto iba en prosa más graciosa que discreta.

Prominent among these are Lope de Rueda, Itorozco, Timoneda, Chaves, Cervantes, and the unknown author of what Cotarello y Mori regards as the oldest entremés—technically speaking—in the

<sup>1</sup> Foulché-Delbosc is now preparing to publish it in the *Revue Hispanique*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the edition of Bonilla y San Martín, tomo I, p. 143.

language, that "de las esteras."<sup>3</sup> It is probably to this period that the *entremés* of Golondrino and his friends belongs.

The future of our little play is bound to be as modest and unheeded as has been its existence of the last 350 years. As it does not pretend to the dignity of drama, it is an impertinence to point out that in structure it quite lacks unity, consisting merely of two unrelated episodes bound but loosely together by the rôle of Golondrino. The second incident seems at first to offer certain suggestions of the Fifth Paso—that of Sigüenza [lacayo], Sebastiana [mundana] and Estepa [lacayo]—in the "Registro de Representantes,"<sup>4</sup> but with the situation slightly modified. There is no clue to the author, however, and conjecture is futile.

He seems, though, to have been no novice in the art of composition. He writes as one with the sense of the proper word at the right place. There is life and strife in his narrative: his dialogue is pithy, spontaneous and sonorous. The connotation is excellent; by their few speeches the several figures take definite shape and character. The "Swallow" in particular, holding the center of the stage with his prose sometimes "*más graciosa que discreta*," leaves a jaunty picture. True, the types and incidents here represented have long since become commonplaces of Spanish picaresque and "entremesic" literature, but we have them here at the beginning of their vogue, at a time when they had not yet been done to death. The *entremés* is never more than a "*rasgo de costumbres*," and our author appreciates the limits of his rôle.

The introductory words give promise of vigorous action.

Gar. So then, Señor Golondrino, there was some lively sword play, eh?

Indeed there was, Sir, and your graces would have been mighty glad to see it.

The preliminary bouts are now disposed of quickly: mere child's play, although, "*entre burlas y veras ubo no se que de chincharrazos*." There is a certain Falstaffian touch in the Swallow's story

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *La Revista Española de Lit., His. y Arte*, no. 1, Feb., 1901. Also *Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios del Siglo XVI*, par Leo Rouanet, tome II, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup>"do van registradas por Joan Timoneda muchos y graciosos Pasos de Lope de Rueda y otros diversos autores, etc." Valencia, 1570.

of his prowess with sword and dagger: his "*quiero que sepa que soy onbre donde ubiere onbres*" is almost epic. But now we have the more serious encounter where the author with one well-picked word, "*herrería*," makes us hear the rattle and clanging of the blows. Here the motif suddenly changes, and light is shed on Spanish sixteenth century ethics in the "*sepa Vd. que no hay peor castigo para una muger ques dejalla . . . y el hombre no toma ninguna pesadumbre dándole*." Now the women appear, each in her manner,—*entra el rufián dándole á su amiga de cintarrazos*,—and their rôles are eloquent of the *picaro* spirit of the time. In the midst of great unhappiness, however, the sense of the practical is not lost sight of.

ANGELA. *Mire Señor, que tiene en su poder mias dos camisas y una gorguera; háganle que me las trayga.*

Finally, in Doña Calandria, the supreme touch is added to the picture, that of a fine Latin passion with its logical concomitant, jealousy. The poignant indignation of her outburst, "*Con dama! y quién es la muy puta?*" might well have graced some episode of *Don Quixote*. Surely our unknown sixteenth century entremesista might have done much worse and yet leave works good enough to interest students of his country's drama.

G. L. LINCOLN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

### THE PLAY

Entremes entre un muchacho llamado Golondrino y de dos amigos suyos llamados Garnica y Zaballos; y de Doña Calandria, amiga del Golondrino; y de Biçente Aragonés, Rufián; y de Angela Çamorana, amiga del Rufián.

(*Entran el Golondrino y Zaballos y Garnica.*)

Garnica. De manera, Señor Golondrino, ¿que ubo tambien juego como eso?

Golondrino. Señor, si; holgaranse vuestras merçedes de abello visto.

Zaballos. Yo fui conbidado para ello, y entre en una casa de juego adonde perdi el dinero que llebaba; y deje de gozar de un rrato tan bueno como ese.

Garnico ¿Señor, y que jente ubo y quien jugo?

Golondrino. Mucha jente ubo y toda o la mas conoçida, y a fe

toda buena jente hallaronse. Mastre Pedro el çurdo, y Segobia el jereçano, y Diego de la Hoz, el granadino: todos maleteros [sic] de las armas, y Trujillo el diestro, cuyo era el arnes.

*Zaballos.* Buena jente es toda esa, y quentienden bien el arte militar de las armas.

*Garnica.* Buena por çierto; ¿y quien jugo con quien?

*Golondrino.* Dire de los que me acordare, que fueron muchos; para hazer lugar principio al juego el maestro Trujyllo, tomo el montante y jugo seis lebadas estremadas, y luego Mastre Pedro y Diego de la Hoz tomaron espadas solas y, abiendo jugado diestramente ambos, solto Diego de la Hoz y entro Segobia; entre los quales ubo entre burlas y beras no se que chincharrazos.

*Garnica.* Eso seria de ber.

*Golondrino.* Si era mas no paso adelante, porque el maestro Trujyllo los hizo asentar a ambos y de alli se empezo a alinar el juego; y entre otros muchos que jugaron de los conoçidos fueron Salmeron y Abilse, Zamora y Castillo, el Alferez Cruzado y el sarjento Quintanilla, Perez y Tolomeo, Carrasco y Castaneda, que a fe que todos a una mano jugaron bien.

*Zaballos.* Yo lo creo, que toda esa es jente diestra.

*Garnica.* ¿Y que jeneros de armas jugaron?

*Golondrino.* Espadas, solas espadas y Rodelas, espadas y dagas, espadas y broqueles.

*Zaballos.* Bueno, por mi bida; y quedaron algunos Reñidos o amotinados, porque de semejantes cosas naçen grandes enemistades; o que fin tubo el juego.

*Golondrino.* Ese ube de dar yo con pesadunbre.

*Garnica.* ¿De que manera?

*Golondrino.* Porque, abiendo sido inportunado de todos los del juego que jugase, no lo abia querido hazer, por saber quan desgraçiado soy en el juego; pues jugando una vez en Guadalajara saque a uno un ojo; en Valençia mate a otro; y en Zaragoza descalabre al maestro.

*Zaballos.* Balame Dios, espere a mañana.

*Golondrino.* ¿Pues de que sespanta?

*Zaballos.* Pues no quiere vuestra merçed, Señor Golondrino, que mespante de ver tantas desgracias que no aguardaba sino quando abie de deçir que abie muerto medio mundo. ¡Jesus, Jesus!

*Golondrino.* Balame Dios y quespantadizo que es, y que milagrones que haze; pues sepa que lo se hazer con la prieta y mejor con la blanca; y si no fuera tan mi amigo ya le ubiera hecho entender esto con menos palabras.



*Garnica.* Señor Golondrino, que no lo dixo el Señor Zaballos por tanto.

*Golondrino.* Señor Garnica, que digalo por lo que quisiere, que quiero que sepa que soy onbre donde ubiere onbres.

*Zaballos.* Yo lo creo ansi.

*Golondrino.* Pues crealo, y si no, busque el tratadillo de mis cosas donde hallara proezas hechas por estas manos que no las hizieron los doze pares de Francia y los greçianos en Greçia.

*Zaballos.* Todo eso se muy bien, y vuestra merçed me perdone si herre.

*Golondrino.* Cubrase vuestra merçed, y quiero que sepa que no sufro burlas.

*Garnica.* Ahora, Señor Golondrino, tornando a nuestro juego ¿en que para?

*Golondrino.* Como digo, Señor, deje la blanca y tome la prieta y una daga que tambien estaba alli; y en el puesto estaba el alferrez Escalante; binose para mi de firme a firme; boyne abierto para el, acometeme; a la vista trueco y saco de tajo y quieren deçir que le di un cintarazo por la cara de lo que el se pico; suelta la prieta y arremete a la blanca; yo que no fui nada pereçoso en hazer lo mismo, ubo una herreria del diablo; metieronse muchos de por medio y al fin hicieronnos amigos y acabose el juego.

*Garnica.* Digo que a estado estremado el principio, medio y fin del juego, y que me holgara hallarme alli para en esa ocasion hallarme a su lado de vuestra merçed.

*Golondrino.* No fue menester, porque no hiçieron poco todos en detenerme sin dalle el pago de semejante atrebimiento.

*Zaballos.* Ahora, Señor Golondrino, dejando esto aparte ¿que haçe mi Señora Doña Calandria?

*Golondrino.* Alla vuestra merced al diablo, no me la nonbre por su bida.

*Garnica.* ¿No, pues por que? ¿que nobedad ay?

*Golondrino.* Señor, despedila.

*Zaballos.* ¿Pues por que? ¿que hizo?

*Golondrino.* Señor, toco en zayna y por esto la eche de mi serviçio.

*Garnica.* ¿Pues que pudo hazer, que con castigalla de palabras o de obras no fuera bastante sin despedilla?

*Golondrino.* No Señor, sepa vuestra merçed que al dia de oy no ay peor castigo para una muger ques dejalla y no hazer caso della, porque desta manera ella se queda muriendo y el onbre no toma ninguna pesadumbre dandole.

(*Entra el Rufian, dandole a su amiga de cintarrazos.*)

*Rufian.* Anda, que te cosere las nalgas a puñaladas.

*Angela.* Estad quedo, Viçente Aragonés, que no se lo que os deçis.

*Golondrino.* Oygan vuestras merçedes que jente es esta; estemos a la mira.

*Rufian.* Pues [word illegible] vilo yo y niegaslo.

*Angela.* ¿Que vistes? dejame, mal onbre.

*Rufian.* ¿Quien era aquel candilejo con quien estabas garlando?

*Angela.* Yo librada sea yo de diablo Jesus.

*Rufian.* ¿Ques de doze reales que tenias oy?

*Angela.* Yo no tenia doze reales ningunos.

*Rufian.* No pues [word illegible, as above] darmelos tienes o el alma.

*Angela.* ¡Ay, ay, que me mata!

*Golondrino.* Lleguemos, que ya no es de sufrir esto; teneos, onbre onrrado.

*Rufian.* Mozito, anda con Dios que os daran con algo.

*Golondrino.* Oygan al borracho con que me a de dar que le desharan la cara.

*Rufian.* Guarda ladron que te matare.

*Garnica.* Teneos, hermano, que no conoçeis el onbre con quien reñis.

*Golondrino.* Guardese vuestra merçed, Señor Garnica.

*Zaballos.* Señor Golondrino, dejelo estar.

*Rufian.* Tente, Golondrino, que te llama la muerte.

*Golondrino.* Calla, fanfarron, que estas hecho un cuero.

*Garnica.* Ahora, Señor Golondrino, sepamos ques esto o por que llora esta muger, y bos reportaos hermano.

*Golondrino.* ¿Que abeys, hermana? ¿por que os da este hombre?

*Angela.* No se, Señor, mas de que, por que se le antoja, haze esto.

*Zaballos.* Señor, esta debe ser amiga deste onbre y sobre el pedille de la quenta; debe de ser esto. ¿Es verdad esto?

*Rufian.* Si Señor.

*Angela.* No es, Señor, sino sobre que a muchos dias que digo a ese hombre que se baya con Dios y me deje, y no quiere.

*Golondrino.* De manera que vos no quereis su amistad y el quiere por fuerza que seays su amiga?

*Angela.* Si, Señor.

*Golondrino.* Pues, ¿que dariades vos a quien os sacase de su poder?

*Angela.* Serville ya toda mi vida.

*Zaballos.* Yo desde aqui la ageto; questoy guerfano.

*Golondrino.* Pues alto, hermana; desde oy en adelante servireis al Señor Zaballos ques onbre que lo mereze y mirara por vos. ¿Que decis, quereys lo vos?

*Angela.* Yo si, Señor.

*Golondrino.* ¿Y vuestra merçed, Señor Zaballos, es contento?

*Zaballos.* De muy buena gana.

*Rufian.* ¡Oygan, oygan! ¿pues este Señor, que facultad tiene que asi casa y descasa?

*Golondrino.* No mas que ser mi boluntad y bos ermano y os a servir un amo o aprende un oficio.

*Rufian.* ¡Oyga, oyga! vuestra merced.

*Golondrino.* Haga lo que le digo y no mas hablemos que me enojare.

*Garnica.* ¡Acabe, acabe! haga lo que le dizen y serle a sano.

*Rufian.* ¿Pues no sabriamos por que me e de yr o quien es su merçe que me lo manda?

*Golondrino.* ¿Quien quiere que sea? el diablo soy; ¿que ay para ello?

*Rufian.* No nada, mas de que de mala gana hago lo que los diablos me mandan.

*Golondrino.* Pues esta bez lo a de hazer.

*Rufian.* Sea ansi; queda con Dios, Angela.

*Angela.* Mire, Señor, que tiene en su poder mias dos camisas y una gorguera; haganle que me las trayga.

*Rufian.* Eso que me plaçe.

*Zaballos.* Señor, eso no, que se ira y no bolvera.

*Golondrino.* Pues para eso buen remedio: deje prendas de que volvera.

*Rufian.* No las tengo.

*Golondrino.* Pues busquelas.

*(Entra la Doña Calandria buscando a Golondrino.)*

*Dª. Calandria.* Toma escarmiento, mugeres, escarmenta en mi las que soys heridas del dios machin. Malaya la muger quen los onbres fia, pues que, a cabo de aver yo serbido a Golondrino seys años y de averme destruydo en quistiones y pendencias, agora me a dado

el pago, que sin abelle hecho nade me a dejado. Boyle a buscar para acabar de desengañarme.

*Zaballos.* Señor Golondrino, ciertos son los toros; hazerse tienen las amistades.

*Golondrino.* Dela vuestra merced al diablo.

*Garnica.* Las de mi Señora Doña Calandria.

*D<sup>a</sup>. Calandria.* ¡O Señor Garnica, yo las de vuestra merced!

*Garnica.* ¿Que pesadunbre son estas con el Señor Golondrino?

*D<sup>a</sup>. Calandria.* ¡Ay, Señor! no lo se mas de que me tiene golondrinado el corazon.

*Garnica.* ¡Bueno, bueno, por mi bida! legue vuestra merced que alli esta el Señor Golondrino con una dama, y haganse estas amistades.

*D<sup>a</sup>. Calandria.* Con dama, y quien es la muy puta.

*(Arremete con la otra y andan al pelo y todos a tenella.)*

*Zaballos.* ¡Guardese vuestra merced de mi! ¿Que disparate es este? que esta muger es cosa que me toca.

*D<sup>a</sup>. Calandria.* ¡Ansi andaca ladron! que mientras yo bibiere no a de renar otra en tu reno.

*Garnica.* Hagalo vuestra merced por esta vez.

*Golondrino.* Hacerlo e por mandarmelo vuestra merced; y vuestra merced, Señor Zaballos, encarguese de esa muger, y cobre esa ropa de ese onbre.

*Rufian.* Señor Golondrino, pues que sabe que cosa es amor, y que es querer bien, ansi goze vuestra merced desta mi Señora a la qual tome por tercero, que no permita dejarme desconsolado. Yo quiero bien a esta muger con la qual a la vejez me pienso casar con ella; mande que se quede conmigo por esta vez por amor a Dios.

*D<sup>a</sup>. Calandria.* Si por tu bida duelete del pobreto que esta rendido.

*Golondrino.* A mi, como el Señor Zaballos y ella quieran, sea norabuena.

*Zaballos.* Yo Señor, como ella quiera de buena gana.

*Angela.* Pues yo, Señores, como el me trate bien con la esperanza de que e de ser su muger y por no perder diez años de serbicio soy contenta.

*Garnica.* Pues desa manera para mi no son. Cayan norabuena.

*Rufian.* Anda, cazurrona mia, que a todos bientos te mudas.  
(BANSE.)

*D<sup>a</sup>. Calandria.* Pues, Señores, bamos todos a mi casa, adonde se hara la razon en regoçijo de estas amistades.

*Todos.* Vamos.

*(Entranse los honbres.)*

*D<sup>a</sup>. Calandria.* Veyslo quam niño es; el diablo me llebe si no me muero por el y aun a fe que ay mas de ciento en el corral que lo an deseado esta tarde; esto no es verdad: si, pues que hare yo cuytada. Queda con Dios.

FIN.

---

THE BREVIARY OF SAINT LOUIS (ARSENAL MS. 1186)  
AND THE CENTRAL PORTAL OF THE CATHE-  
DRAL OF BOURGES

THE central portal of the west façade of the cathedral of Bourges presents two characteristics which so far as I know are unique in the history of French Christian iconography. The tympanum represents the story of the Last Judgment and of the Resurrection of the Dead, and is enclosed by six rows of cherubim, seraphim, angels and prophets in the courses. The lower lintel is devoted to the Resurrection, and as on the portal of Paris, Amiens, Reims, Bordeaux and Poitiers, the moment is that in which the souls, at the sound of the archangel's trumpet, rise from the tombs in which they have been awaiting the last day. The second lintel represents the weighing of souls, the division of the damned from the elect, and the reception into paradise and hell. On the right hand of Saint Michael, standing inscrutable but sympathetic, with strong wings widely outstretched and holding in his right hand the unevenly balanced scales, are ranged the elect in double row, and angels bearing souls to paradise. At the end of this double row, occupying the entire height of the lintel, is a gabled canopy supported on two columns, beneath which Abraham is seated upon a cushioned bench, receiving in his bosom the souls which the angels bear to him. On the other side of Saint Michael are arranged the damned, interspersed with fiends who drive them with forks, to a huge kettle boiling over the flames in the mouth of Leviathan, representing hell.<sup>1</sup> A fiend, on each side, is blowing the fire beneath the pot with a huge bellows.

In the center of the tympanum above, Christ is seated with arms outstretched, between two twisted sculptured columns which support over his head a canopy in the form of a trifolied gable decorated with crockets. Beside him, to right and left, standing with wings outspread, are four angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, while in the far corners of the tympanum, to the right,

<sup>1</sup> Job, XLI.

kneels Mary and to his left Saint John. Above his head two kneeling angels bear the sun and moon.

This beautiful portal presents the most completely developed example of the story of the Last Judgment to be found in monumental art before the beginning of the decadence of Gothic. In the romanesque portals of the twelfth century representing the Christ of the Apocalypse, the Saviour is invariably represented completely clothed, as at Le Mans, Bourges, Chartres, St. Loup de Naud, Angers and St. Ayoul de Provins. In the early Gothic scenes of the Last Judgment he is shown with the right arm and right side exposed, showing the wound in his side, as at Paris, the portal of the south transept of Chartres, at Amiens, Bordeaux, Poitiers, and the north portal of Reims. In this tympanum of Bourges Christ is unclothed to the waist, and the nude torso is modelled with much skill and with evident desire to follow the model exactly. While the attitude of the statue as a whole indicates clearly its descent from the hieratic masterpieces of Chartres and Paris, it is possessed of a spirit of movement, even of unrest, which was entirely foreign to the spirit of the first half of the thirteenth century, and is one of the signs of the extent to which technical perfection was already perverting the appropriate expression of idea. The angels standing on each side of Christ mark another technical advance on the prototypes of Chartres, Paris, Angers and Reims, since on these portals there are but two angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, while here there are four. More than this, these angels, as well as the Virgin and St. John kneeling beyond them, are posed and carved exclusively with thought of their artistic values as objects, and with a skill and fine sense of proportions and of the æsthetic meaning of form which would make us look in vain for a finer result in monumental sculpture. The sun and moon, held by kneeling angels above Christ's head, appear here I believe for the first time.

In the lower lintel the figures of the Resurrection are with one exception nude, and with few exceptions represent beings in the prime of life, according to the doctrine that all men should be equal before God, and at their resurrection should represent their divine master in the perfection of his manhood. But if the "œuvre" imposed upon the artist the condition that these statues should be

cut in the nude, the condition fell upon a man whose eye and hand had long before mastered the mysteries of the human form and who possessed the skill to portray them in terms of beauty. They seem to be inspired from the figures at Reims, but they indicate much more intimate and analytic acquaintance with nature.

The upper lintel marks the greatest originality in treatment and in the handling of masses. It is divided into five nearly equal groups, of which that of Saint Michael forms the central part. His wings, which must have been copied from life from those of a large bird, are stretched forth to their full length, and with their tips mark the limit of the central group, including the scales of the angel's right, and to his left a little soul standing by his side and upon whose head his left hand falls protectingly, and then, close behind, a fiend holding a pitchfork, waiting impatiently for his prey. Beyond the groups of the damned and of the elect, at one end Abraham, at the other, Leviathan.

These two subjects present points of great interest, absolutely without precedent or parallel in monumental sculpture, so far as I have been able to ascertain, and of such a nature as to make me curious to know their origin. In all other representations of the Last Judgment in which Leviathan represents the entrance into hell, he is pictured in profile, with jaws widely extended, as at Chartres, Amiens, Poitiers, and also at Paris, though slightly different in treatment. Here at Bourges Leviathan is shown with the top of his head turned squarely to the front, so that both ears and eyes and the nose show in full, with the flaming jaws supporting the boiling kettle above. The two fiends who blow the fire stand one on each side of the head, and that one at the extreme end of the lintel stands with one foot in the jaws of the monster, and the right foot close to its ear. These two demons, the great head between them, one soul standing behind, and the mass of demons and spirits they are casting into the pot above form an artistic group, compact, closely studied and wrought with wonderful freedom and skill. As an artistic element this head of Leviathan is incomparably more decorative, and lends itself to more sculptural treatment than its predecessor in open profile. The modelling of the whole tympanum evinces an artist sufficiently preoccupied with questions of aesthetic effect and decorative significance to have chosen this



attitude of the monster's head for purely artistic reasons. But it was not at the end of the thirteenth century, or even the beginning of the fourteenth, that artists were left to their own discretion in so important a matter, and we must look higher, to the "*Œuvre*," to the direction of the canons, to the inspiration of the bishop, to find a solution of the problem.

Unfortunately there remain no documents which make any mention of such influence, or indeed refer directly or indirectly to the sculptures in question. Until such time therefore as written evidence may be found bearing on the subject of this unique treatment of a common theme, all hope completely to solve the problem must be vain. In the meantime, however, certain historical facts and a circumstance of great interest permit us to form a hypothesis which is both sufficient and plausible.

Manuscript 1186 of the library of the Arsenal, in Paris, is the famous Breviary of Saint Louis, belonging originally to his mother, Blanche de Castille, daughter of Alphonse VIII of Castille and Alienor of England. This breviary contains many miniatures, among which the scene of the last judgment figures several times. In all of these scenes, whether complete or in detail, Leviathan is invariably represented with the head reversed, both eyes looking straight at the spectator, and the nose and both ears shown entire. In fact the pose and treatment are identical with those of the portal of Bourges, and the imitation is carried out with such regard for minute detail that it would seem that a careful study of the manuscript must have been made for the preparation of the cartoons of the tympanum. The ears sculptured on the stone at Bourges are as faithful a copy of those painted in the miniature as it would be possible to make in the different medium and with the different technique of the art. They consist simply of an oval projection, hollowed upon the side toward the front of the face, and correspondingly rounded on that part of the back which stands free from the background of stone. In the miniature as in the sculpture they are attached to the head with a slight turn to the edge toward the jaws. In appearance those of the manuscript and of the sculpture are of the same relative size: in reality, as measured from exact photographs, those of the miniature are one twelfth the total width of the head, while those of the sculpture are one seventh. This

change was rendered necessary by the fact that the detail was meant to be seen from a considerable distance.

Two other points of similarity help to make the hypothesis of imitation almost a certainty. At Bourges, as in the Breviary, the boiling pot is held within the flaming jaws of Leviathan, and into this pot demons are hurling lost souls and crushing them down with sharp forks. Some of these demons are standing within the jaws of the monster. This arrangement is unique, so far as I know, in monumental sculpture anterior to this period. At Paris, where both the pot and the jaws of Leviathan occur, they are placed in the first course, not on the tympanum; and by a genial touch of the artist the jaws are placed above and made to lead down to the pot. This arrangement, however, we may safely attribute to the necessity of containing the group within the narrow limits of the course, and at the same time of filling, in this, a space corresponding in height with the height of the two lintels. At Chartres and at Amiens Leviathan alone is seen, and the verse of Job referring to the boiling pot has been left entirely without illustration. The last point of similarity which seems to show a direct influence of manuscript 1186 of the library of the Arsenal is found at the opposite extremity of the lintel. Here, as I have said, Abraham is seated upon a cushioned bench beneath a canopy supported upon four columns, of which two are seen. He receives *in grembo* the souls that angels are bearing to him from St. Michael. Five little heads of souls are seen looking over the edge of the ample white napkin he holds on outstretched arms to contain them. At Chartres, at Paris, at Amiens the number of these souls is three. There are five in the miniature of the Breviary, and these are held in precisely the same attitude as at Bourges.

I believe I have shown enough similarity between the portraying of the scene of the Last Judgment in the miniatures of the Breviary of Saint Louis and that of the sculptures of the tympanum of Bourges for us to accept as highly probable the theory of direct influence from one to the other. How that influence was brought to bear must remain wholly conjectural, in the absence of documents capable of shedding some light upon the question. In this case, however, as in so many others, facts of history make it possible for us to form a hypothesis. From 1218 to 1232 Simon II de

Sully was archbishop of Bourges. During his administration work was actively progressing upon the cathedral, and he was not the man to be indifferent to the direction work of such importance was taking. To be sure, the façade was still in the far future, but there is no reason for doubting that plans for it had been conceived simultaneously with the foundation of the edifice in 1192; and the archbishop may very well be supposed to have caused the modification of parts to suit his desires, embodying in the whole details which possibly for purely personal reasons he wished to see included in the work. Even these drawings which I am now supposing Simon to have determined upon could not be accepted as being those finally utilized for the execution of the existing sculptures, for these bear every mark of the extreme end of the thirteenth century. However, the details we have credited Simon de Sully with having introduced into the design were evidently, for their artistic value, or through respect for the memory of so powerful a prelate, or both, finally incorporated in the cartoons which served for the execution of the great work.

About the last point in question, as to whether Simon de Sully was familiar with the miniatures of the Breviary, there can of course be no doubt. He was an intimate of Louis VIII and of Blanche de Castille his wife. He was a faithful councillor and trusted ambassador to the court of Honorius III in the delicate questions arising from the projected crusade in Albigeois. He was in Paris for the general assembly convoked there the 26th of January, 1226, to consider problems in connection with the crusade into the South,<sup>2</sup> and he was one of those to whom Louis, on his dying bed, confided the fortunes and the coronation of his youthful son Louis IX. During the able administration of Blanche this intimacy remained unbroken, and the Breviary of the queen regent, a most remarkable book and probably famous even at that time, must have been many times in the hands of the archbishop of Bourges. Its vivid pictures undoubtedly made a deep impression upon him, and so lasting that when political calls upon him were sufficiently infrequent to permit him to consider the interests and the administration of his primacy, he returned to them

<sup>2</sup> Chas. Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII*, 491, 492; *ibid.*, 506.

with a predilection and authority to which we may be grateful for the presence in the sculptured tympanum of the portal of Bourges of details which render it unique in the history of French art.

If the preceding study presents nothing more certain than a hypothesis, it still shows the way in which I believe the truth is to be found, and possibly some day a fortunate explorer will bring to light a document proving the exactness of my supposition.

FRANCIS DIKE

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

---

A PARALLEL BETWEEN *LE ROMAN DE FLAMENCA*  
(vv. 2357-83) AND DANTE'S *PURGATORIO*  
(IV, vv. 1-13)

THE following parallel between the opening lines of *Purgatorio* IV and the Provençal narrative poem *Le Roman de Flamenca* is specially interesting, because, according to P. Meyer, "no one in the middle ages has ever spoken of the poem and but one manuscript of it is known."<sup>1</sup> M. Meyer fixes the date of *Flamenca* between 1220 and 1250—early enough for Dante to have known the work, if it had found its way into Italy.

From Dante's own statement we know that he was familiar with the poems of some of the most important and well known Provençal writers, such as Arnaut Daniel, Giraut de Bornel, Aimeric de Belenai, Bertran de Born, Peire d'Alvernhe and others, whose productions were a part of the intellectual heritage of the thirteenth century in Italy.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Dante in no way makes mention of *Flamenca*, of which the author and original title are uncertain, does not of course exclude the possibility of his having known the poem as a whole or in part.<sup>3</sup> But to draw more positive conclusions would be presumptuous.

*Flamenca*, vv. 2349-83 reads as follows:<sup>4</sup>

Guillems entent al rossinol  
E non au ren que l'ostes prega.  
Vers es qu'Amors homen encega

<sup>1</sup> *Le Roman de Flamenca*, ed. Paul Meyer, Paris, 1901, p. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *De Vulg. El.*, I, 9, 10; II, 2, 5, 6, 12, 13; *Inferno*, XXVIII, 118-42; *Convito*, IV, 11, etc. Chaytor, *Troubadours of Dante*, Oxford, 1902; Cian, *I contatti letterari italo-provensali*, Messina, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Zingarelli, *Dante (Storia letteraria d'Italia)*, Vallardi, Milano, 1901, p. 71: "Nessun indizio abbiamo che Dante conoscesse, oltre liriche, altre opere provenzali come il poema cavalleresco *Jaufre* e la *Flamenca*, . . . Ma tutta questa letteratura costituiva il patrimonio intellettuale comune in quei tempi, era notissima che non sembri ora, e non ci allontaneremo dal vero dicendo che Dante la possedette in gran parte." Cf. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia*, Hoepli, 1908, I, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Meyer, *Le Roman de Flamenca*, Paris, 1901, p. 88; Appel, *Provençalische Chrestomathie*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 24.

- E l'auzir e'l parlar li tol,  
 E'l fai tener adonc per fol,  
 Cant aver cuia plus de sen.  
 Guillems non aus ni ves ni sen  
 2350 Ni'ls oils non mou ni ma ni boca;  
 Una douzors al cor lo tocha  
 Que'l cantz del rossinol l'adus,  
 Perqu'estai cecs e sortz e mutz;  
 Et aisi'l clau tota l'aurella  
 Cil douzors qu'el cor li reveilla,  
 Ques outra res no i pot intrar;  
 Ans coven que per ioi menar  
 Cascus dels sens al cor repaire;  
 2360 Car le cors es seners e paire,  
 E per so, cant ha mal ni be,  
 Cascus dels sens a lui s'en ve  
 Per saber tost sa voluntat.  
 E quan son lains aiostat,  
 Om es defors totz escurzitz,  
 Et estai quais esbalauzitz.  
 E pos mals o bes dins los fai  
 Tornar, meravilla non ai  
 Si iois d'amors, cant es corals  
 2370 E mescladamens bes e mals,  
 Los fai tornar ad espero  
 A lur senor, si'ls en somon.  
 E tut li sen an tal usage  
 Que, se l'us formis so message,  
 L'autre de re non s'entremeta,  
 Mais tota s'ententio meta  
 A lui aiudar e a sservir,  
 Si que tut aion un consir.  
 E per cesta rason s'ave,  
 2380 Qui pessa fort, que meinz ne ve,  
 Men sen e men parla et au;  
 E ia no'l toc hom trop suau;  
 Cel colp non sentira negeis;  
 Zo ve chascus per si meteis.

In *Purgatorio*, IV, vv. 1-13, we find:

Quando per diletanze ovver per doglie,  
 Che alcuna virtù nostra comprenda,

L'anima bene ad essa si raccoglie,  
 Par che a nulla potenza più intenda;  
 E questo è contro quello error che crede  
 Che un'anima sovr'altra in noi s'accenda.  
 E però, quando s'ode cosa o vede,  
 Che tenga forte a sè l'anima volta,  
 Vassene il tempo, e l'uom non se n'avvede;  
 Ch'altra potenza è quella che l'ascolta,  
 Ed altra quella che ha l'anima intera:  
 Questa è quasi legata, e quella è sciolta.  
 Di ciò ebb'io esperienza vera.

Comparing the passages line for line, the following parallels appear noteworthy:

*Flam.*, 2360: E per so, cant ha mal ni be;  
*Purg.*, 1: Quando per diletanze ovver per doglie.

In the following the resemblance is not quite so literal:

*Flam.*, 2359: Cascus dels sens al cor repaire;  
*Purg.*, 3: L'anima bene ad essa si raccoglie.

*Flam.*, 2379-81: E per cesta rason s'ave  
 Qui pessa fort que meinz ne ve,  
 Men sen e men parla et au.  
*Purg.*, 7-9: E però quando s'ode cosa o vede  
 Che tenga forte a sè l'anima volta,  
 Vassene il tempo, e l'uom non se n'avvede.

*Flam.*, 2357: Ques altra res no i pot intrar;  
*Purg.*, 4: Par che a nulla potenza più intenda.

*Flam.*, 2384: Zo ve chascus per si meteis.  
*Purg.*, 13: Di ciò ebb'io esperienza vera.

Dante's familiarity with Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas has, in relation to the above and other passages, been well established.<sup>5</sup> Dante conceives of the soul as having three faculties, the vegetative, the sensitive and the rational.<sup>6</sup> These faculties are so arranged that the one is the foundation as it were of the other.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> N. Busetto, *Saggi di varia psicologia dantesca*, *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Albertus Magnus, *Summa Theologia*, Pt. II, *Tract. XII, Quaestio LXX*, 3; in *Opera omnia*, etc. Borgnet, Parisiis, 1890-9.

<sup>7</sup> *Convito*, III, 2.

Dante takes occasion to refute the arguments of the Neoplatonists, who maintain that there are three distinct souls—for, were that true, he would be able to give his attention to various things at the same time, and would not through absent-mindedness have talked so long with Manfred as to let the time slip away without noticing that it was passing.<sup>8</sup> Dante implies that when, either in the case of sorrow or of joy, or in fact of anything that attracts our attention, one faculty of the soul is entirely engrossed, the whole soul concentrates on that faculty alone, becomes absorbed in it and neglects the other two. Karl Vossler says, commenting on this same passage:<sup>9</sup> “Die überlegende Vernunft ist im Augenblick des Aufhorchens ganz Ohr geworden.” Natale Busetto writes, citing this passage from the *Purgatorio*:<sup>10</sup> “In quelle non meno rilevanti terzine con cui ha cominciamento il canto IV del *Purgatorio*, seguendo la ben nota dottrina tomistica sull’unità della coscienza, accenna a due potenze sensitive, la vista e l’udito; ond’è che l’Alighieri trovava una correlazione tra lo stimolo esternamente operante, l’organo fisico dell’audizione, lo spirito sensibile, atto a trasmetter l’impressione pel *nervum auditivum* (come lo designa Alberto Magno) e la potenza o facoltà o *virtù* sensibile, ove talora tutta l’anima si raccoglie.” It is not to the whole substance of the soul, but only to the sensitive faculty that Dante here alludes, the sensitive, of which the scholastics distinguish various *potentiae* or *virtutes*. Of these, the senses, according to Dante and Albertus Magnus,<sup>11</sup> are passive.

In the *Convito* (II, 14) we have an example of similar abstraction: “Ancora la musica trae a sè gli spiriti umani, che sono quasi principalmente vapori del cuore, sicchè quasi cessano da ogni operazione; sì è l’anima intera quando l’ode, e la virtù di tutti quasi corre allo spirito sensibile che riceve il suono.”<sup>12</sup> Albertus Magnus commenting on Aristotle in *De sensu et sensato*,<sup>13</sup> says: “Si enim motus est major in una anima, semper minorem depellit,

<sup>8</sup> Benvenuto da Imola, *Comentum*, III, p. 114. Florentiae, Barbèra, 1887. Vernon, *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante*, London, 1889, I, p. 76.

<sup>9</sup> *Die Göttliche Komödie*, Heidelberg, 1907, I, pt. I, p. 180.

<sup>10</sup> *Giorn. dantesco*, XIII, p. 129.

<sup>11</sup> *De anima*, Lib., tract. III, 1 (Busetto).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also *Purg.*, XII, 65–81; *Par.*, XVIII, 22–35.

<sup>13</sup> III, 3. Cf. *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 130.



etiam quando sunt motus illi secundum diversas virtutes in anima." In the commentary of Thomas Aquinas on the same book of Aristotle (*Lect.* XVII), we read: "Ea quae jacent sub oculis, homines non sentiunt propter alium *fortiorem motum*, vel *interiorem* sive *rationis*, sicut cum homines aliquando vehementer intendunt ad aliquid; sive *appetitivae virtutis*, sicut cum homines vehementer timent; vel etiam *exteriorem alicuius sensibilis*, sicut cum homines audiunt magnum sonum." As a result of this absorption, we become unconscious of our surroundings, "Vassene il tempo e l'uom non se n'avvede."

In *Flamenca* we find an analogous conception, though clothed in rather fanciful language. There is no division of the soul into faculties, as in Dante, but the author speaks of the senses of sight, hearing, feeling, speech and thinking. The heart is the seat of the senses and lords it over them—the *heart* as contrasted with the *soul* in Dante. Whether in sorrow or in joy, the senses unite and come to the heart to learn its will and command. When one of these senses has a mission to fulfil, the others put all their energies upon that one thought. That is the reason why the more one is engrossed, the less one sees, feels, hears or speaks: there results a total unconsciousness of what is going on:

E ia no'l toc hom trop suau,  
Cel colp non sentira negeis;  
Zo ve chascus per si meteis.

We have already seen that Dante and the author of *Flamenca* end the respective passages in the same fashion, the one referring to personal experience, the other appealing to that of people in general.

Dante was not the only poet of his time to embody this sense psychology in verse. A few examples from the works of his contemporaries will show clearly that it was a current and customary feature. In a ballad of Guido Cavalcanti,<sup>14</sup> we read:

"Questa pesança ch'è nel cor discesa,  
À certi spirite' già consumati,  
I quali eran uenuti per difesa  
Del cor dolente, che gli auea chiamati."

<sup>14</sup> N. Arnone, *Le rime di G. C.*, Firenze, 1881, ball. VIII.

In a sonnet (*ibid.*, *sonn.* VI) he addresses the *spirit*:

“De, uoi uedete che'l core à ferite  
 Di sguardo e di piacer e d'umiltate:  
 De, i'ui priegho che uoi 'l consolate,  
 Che son dallui le sue uertù partite. . . .  
 De, i'ui priego che deggiate dire  
 A l'alma trista. . . .

In Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*,<sup>15</sup> we find the Aristotelian divisions of the senses.

Chè l'anima 'n potenza  
 Si divide e si parte,  
 E ovra in plusor parte  
 . . . . .  
 Così 'se tu ci pensi,  
 Son fatti i cinque sensi,  
 Dè 'quai ti voglio dire;  
 Lo vedere, e l'udire,  
 E'l toccare, e'l gustare,  
 E dipoi l'odorare.  
 Questi hanno per ufizio,  
 Che lo bene, e lo vizio,  
 Li fatti, e le favelle  
 Rapportano alle celle  
 Chi'i'v'aggio nominate,  
 E loco son pensate.

So in the *Tesoro*<sup>16</sup> he refers to the division of the soul into three faculties and discusses the superiority of one sense over the other. In the poem of uncertain authorship, *L'Intelligenza*, we find a similar development:<sup>17</sup>

L'audito e'l tatto sono li portinieri;  
 E'l senso si può dire la mastra porta,  
 E li vari voleri son messaggeri,  
 Che servon quella nobel donn' accorta.  
 La lingua è suo stormento, e giocolieri  
 Li spiriti, ove l'anima disporta.

<sup>15</sup> *Il Tesoretto e il Favoleto di Ser Brunetto Latini*, Firenze 1824, Chap. VII, 218-220 and 261-72.

<sup>16</sup> *Collezione di Opere inedite o rare*, V. 50, ch. XIV, 52, IV.

<sup>17</sup> Ozanam, *Documents inédits*, etc., Welter, Leipzig, Paris, 1897, p. 409.

So there was a certain elementary knowledge of Aristotelian psychology diffused generally among the poets of the thirteenth century. Dante and the author of *Flamenca* may have, independently of each other, been drawing from this general fund of information or from some one model. But in citing Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in connection with this passage of the *Purgatorio*, we should note that it is more close in expression to the *Flamenca* than to any passage written by these men—which would lead us to believe that perhaps the *Flamenca* was known in the Middle Ages more widely than has been supposed.

HELEN J. HARVITT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE COMEDIA *EL SEGUNDO SENECA DE ESPAÑA*  
OF DR. JUAN PEREZ DE MONTALVÁN

THIS *comedia* consists of two parts, the action of the first extending from 1569–1570, that of the second from 1588–1598. We shall examine each section separately.

PART FIRST

This part covers the period from Don Juan of Austria's departure to wage war against the Moors at Granada, to the marriage of King Philip II with Ana of Austria. Ticknor<sup>1</sup> asserts that Montalván has probably derived the subject matter from Cabrera de Córdoba's *Felipe Segundo, Rey de España, Madrid*, 1619; and Schaeffer<sup>2</sup> remarks that our author has here reproduced some of the most effective scenes of Enciso's *El Príncipe Don Carlos*. The first of these statements is correct, but exception must be taken to the second, for it is impossible to say whether Enciso's play was written before Montalván's or not. All that is certain is that the earliest edition known of *El Príncipe Don Carlos* bears the date 1634, while *El Segundo Séneca de España* first appeared in our author's *Para Todos*, two years previous. However, since Montalván's genius was distinctly adaptive and that of his contemporary rather original, it seems quite logical that Enciso's drama has the better claim to priority. At all events, the two plays have a number of scenes in common, which is almost conclusive evidence that one has served as a model for the other. Before discussing this relation, however, let us determine Montalván's indebtedness to Cabrera de Córdoba.

A comparison of *El Segundo Séneca de España* with Cabrera's *Felipe Segundo, Rey de España* shows that nine scenes have undoubtedly been suggested by the historian. Indeed in two, some of the verses are all but an exact transcription of Cabrera's text.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Spanish Literature*, Boston, 1866, Vol. II, p. 319, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890, Vol. I, p. 442.

These nine scenes, no one of which appears in Enciso's drama, are the following:

1. Act I. Don Juan of Austria is sent to quell the uprising of the Moors in Granada.

*Morata.* . . . . .  
 el Rei su hermano es la parte  
 de quien te puedes quejar;  
 el le [*i. e.* à Don Juan] ha podido obligar,  
 i èl à Granada le embia.

This corresponds to Cabrera, Bk. IX, chap. 1: "A seis de Abril despachò el Rey a don Juan para su jornada [a Granada]."

2. Act I. King Philip II pardons the son of Octavia, condemned to death for murder.

*Octavia.* . . . . .  
 . de quinze años matò [mi hijo]  
 à un hombre: mas soi su madre,  
 i aunque no pruebo el exceso,  
 es fuerza que le disculpe,  
 i solo à sus años culpe:  
 tres pienso que ha estado preso,  
 i hoi en revista ha salido  
 confirmada la sentencia  
 de su muerte i mi paciencia:  
 i assi con lagrymas pido,  
 señor, à tu Magestad,  
 estorves este rigor, . . . . .

*Rei.* De parte del muerto han dado  
 querella? Hai parte, ò indicio  
 de haverla? *Oct.* Señor, de oficio  
 la Sala le ha condenado.

*Rei.* Hizo bien, porque en razon  
 del delito no es disculpa  
 no haver parte, que la culpa  
 le sirve de acusacion, . . . . .  
 mas porque suele la lei  
 abrir la puerta al favor,  
 i lo fuerte del rigor  
 puede moderar à un Rei,

no haviendo parte que importe, . . . . .  
 . . . . . id!  
 i de mi parte decid  
 à los Alcaldes de Corte,  
 que aunque la Sentencia està  
 con su prudencia medida,  
 pues que no hai parte que pida,  
 templarse en mucho podrà: . . . . .  
 i assì, que el presso le den  
 à su madre. . . . .  
*Rei.* Levanta, . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 pues de algo os ha de servir  
 el haverme detenido.

Cabrera, Bk. I, chap. 1, relates a similar incident, in which Philip is yet but Prince and ruling in his father's absence: "Saliendo el Principe de Palacio, le pidio con lagrimas una muger, tenplase la sentencia de muerte, que dio a un hijo suyo la sala del crimen, por aver muerto a otro. Don Filipe sin mudar el cavallo, se informò del Alcalde de Corte que iba en el aconpañamiento, i dixo: La sentencia està bien, i porque no ai parte, i le aproveche averme detenido i rogado, denle luego el preso, i salgan de la Corte."

3. Act I. King Philip interchanges the petitions of Pedro de Haro and Antonio Pimentel for the Bishoprics of Seville and Leon respectively.

*Rei.* . . . . .  
 leed estas consultas presto.  
*Santoyo.* Obispado de Leon.  
*Rei.* Quien viene en lugar primero?  
*Sant.* Don Antonio Pimentel,  
 que es en entrambos derechos  
 un Ricardo, i un Felino.  
*Rei.* . . . . .  
 decid, i en lo de Sevilla  
 quien viene? *Sant.* Viene F. Pedro  
 de Haro, que en la Teologia  
 Escolastica es Maestro  
 de quantos hoi la professan.

*Rei.* Pues Santoyo, si el gobierno  
ha de venir ajustado  
con la profession del dueño,  
la consulta viene errada;  
mas trocando los sugetos  
estará bien; espirad,  
i vereis como lo acierto.  
Don Antonio Pimentel  
es para Sevilla bueno,  
pues es tan gran Canonista;  
i en essa Ciudad sabemos  
que por la gente i los tratos  
hai inquietudes i pleitos.  
El Religioso es mejor  
para Leon, que los Pueblos  
de la Montaña i Galicia  
mas han menester Maestros  
de costumbres que de leyes;  
i un Teologo, en efecto,  
tiene mas obligacion  
al Pulpito que à los textos:  
trocadlos por cuenta mia.

This corresponds to Cabrera, Bk. XI, chap. 11: "Conforme a la capacidad de los subditos les daba [el Rey] los Obispos. A los de las Montañas, Asturias, Galicia i Castilla menesterosos de dotrina, Teologos; a los de Estremadura i Andaluzia mas litigiosos, las mas vezes Canonistas i de valor, para conservar la paz de que tanto cuidaba . . . ."

4. Act I. The King effaces the word "Don" in the petition of Diego Oviedo y Vargas read to him by Santoyo.

*Lee Santoyo.* Este dice que Don Diego  
de Oviedo y Vargas, que fue  
hijo de Alonso de Oviedo,  
pide un gobierno que tuvo  
su padre en Indias. *Rey.* Ya entiendo,  
mas reparad en que el hijo  
se llama don. *Sant.* Ya lo veo.

*Rei.* No el padre. *Sant.* Assi es verdad.

*Rei.* Pues escribid, que el gobierno

le doi, con tal condicion,  
 que no tenga don, supuesto  
 que no le tuvo su padre;  
 i es forzoso que por serlo  
 fuesse mejor que su hijo.  
 Yo mismo borrarle quiero  
 de mi mano; dad acà  
 la pluma; conozca el necio  
 que nadie llegò à su padre.

Our author here draws upon Cabrera, Bk. XII, chap. 3: "En el trapaso de un oficio de uno de Toledo en su hijo borrò [el Rey] el don, i escrivio: No le tenga pues no le tiene su padre."<sup>3</sup>

5. Act I. The presentation of a petition to the King by the Flemish.

*Santoyo.* Esta es, señor, de Flandes.

*Rei.* Què dicen los conjurados?

*Sant.* Que la paz de estos Estados  
 estriva solo en que mandes,  
 ò embies una licencia,  
 para que sin opression  
 de la Santa Inquisicion,  
 den libertad de consciencia.  
 Sientense de los Placartes,  
 i que los Inquisidores  
 de sus costumbres i errores  
 conozcan en todas partes. . . . .  
 En fin, piden por merced  
 su libertad, con que tiene  
 fin la guerra.<sup>4</sup>

Cabrera is again utilized—Bk. VII, chap. 4: "Dieron el memorial los confederados, parientes, aliados, amigos i criados de los

<sup>3</sup>The inclusion of this scene among those foreign to Enciso's drama may at first sight seem an error, since in *El Príncipe Don Carlos*, Act III, the King likewise causes the erasure of the word "Don" in a document. However, the two scenes are not identical, as in Enciso the document has to do with a sale in "un lugar de behetría"—a matter very different from the transfer of the office to Oviedo y Vargas. Cabrera narrates the two occurrences independently in the book and chapter cited above.

<sup>4</sup>In Enciso, Act I, Montení brings to Philip a letter from Margarita, the King's sister, advising him of the impending rebellion in Flanders.



señores, pidiendo el estinguir la Inquisicion, moderar los Placartes, juntar los Estados generales para alcançar libertad de Religion i mudança de gobierno . . . .”

6. Act III. Don Juan of Austria is chosen general of the League against Selim and Mustafa.

*Rei.* . . . . .  
 Celin, que se juzga azote  
 de la Christianidad, procura,  
 i con Mustafà dispone  
 atropellarla; Don Juan,  
 esta es ocasion conforme  
 à vuestro valiente brio:  
 i el Papa, que reconoce  
 ser vos quien sois, i respeta  
 vuestros altos pundonores,  
 por General de la Liga,  
 que ha de dar espanto al Orbe,  
 os propone i os elige. . . . .

Cabrera is again followed—Bk. IX, chap. 20: “Fue nonbrado General en mar i tierra don Juan . . . .”

7. Act III. The betrothals of Isabel of Austria, Ana of Austria, and Marguerite of France.

*Cardenal [al Rei].* . . . . .

. . . . . el Consejo  
 de Estado os embia à firmar  
 del Matrimonio propuesto  
 las condiciones.  
 (*Dale el papel para que firme*).

*Rei.* Son estas?

*Card.* Si señor.

*Rei.* Passar los quiero. . . . .

*Lee el Rei.* La primera condicion  
 es, que como està propuesto,  
 Maximiliano Segundo, . . . .  
 . . Emperador de Alemania, . . .  
 dè al Christianissimo Carlos  
 Quarto de Francia, mi deudo,  
 à Doña Isabel su hija;

i Francia, como por trueco,  
 dè al de Portugal, tambien  
 mi sobrino, en casamiento  
 à la hermosa Margarita; . . . .  
 . . . . i que luego  
 à Don Filipe el Segundo . . . .  
 entregue [Maximiliano] en dulce Hymeneo  
 à su mui querida hija  
 Doña Ana de Austria. . . .  
 Que traiga, como es estilo  
 i costumbre de aquel Reino,  
 cien mil escudos de dote,  
 ò pagados ò hechos buenos  
 en Amberes ò en Medina  
 del Campo, i que fuera desto  
 trahiga de harras otro tanto:  
 i efetuado el concierto,  
 tenga obligacion yo, el Rei,  
 à consignar por lo menos  
 cada un año renta estable  
 para el gasto i el aumento  
 de casa, i extraordinarios.  
 I si acaso por decreto  
 soberano me alcanzare  
 de dias, i en estos Reinos  
 quiere quedarse, la dèn  
 de mi patrimonio mesmo  
 (fuera de todo su dote,  
 Villas, Lugares i Pueblos  
 donde quiera residir)  
 por cada un año en dinero  
 quarenta i seis mil ducados.  
 (*Dale el Rei el papel*).

*Rei.* Añadid que ha de ser esto,  
 supuesto que no se case,  
 que casandose, no quedo  
 en obligacion de nada.

*Cardenal.* En esta margen lo assiento.

*Rei.* Que hasta Genova su padre  
 la trahiga à su costa, i luego  
 desde alli venga à la mia. . . .

This is a close imitation of Cabrera, Bk. VIII, chap. 26, and Bk. IX, chap. 15:

“Pidio [Maximiliano el Enperador] al Rey [Filipe] casase con su sobrina doña Ana, i que doña Isabel se diese a Francia. El Rey acetò, con que el Rey Carlos diese a la Infanta Margarita su hermana al de Portugal, en lugar de la Infanta doña Isabel que para el avia pedido. . . . Mas como daba [el Enperador] a la Infanta doña Ana al Rey Cristianisimo [Filipe], i ya la avia menester [Filipe] para si, por no dexarle [*i. e.* al Enperador] mal satisfecho por los daños que podria causar a sus Estados i al Enperador, aprobò [Filipe] todos tres casamientos luego, aunque pasaron pocos de los seis meses que pidio para resolverse en ellos” (Bk. VIII, chap. 26). “ . . . capitularon el casar su Magestad Catolica [Filipe], con su sobrina la Infanta D. Ana, hija del Enperador, i segun su estilo, con cien mil escudos de oro de dote . . . , pagados en Anbers o Medina del Campo, i su valor se avia de asegurar sobre villas i lugares, i sus rentas i juridicion; i las arras avian de ser otro tanto. . . . Le consignaria [el Rey] renta estable para el sustento de su casa, . . . . I si le sobreviviesse, en cada un año se le avian de dar quarenta mil ducados (no pasando a segundas bodas), demas de su dote i arras i villas donde residiese, no queriendo salir de España, . . . . . . . . . Seria traída con la autoridad i decencia devida a su grandeza hasta Genova a costa de su padre, . . . .” (Bk. IX, chap. 15).

8. Act III. The King meets Ana of Austria at Segovia, and arranges for the marriage ceremony.

*Rei.* Al Arzobispo de Sevilla es esta;  
escribiòme que entraba hoi en Segovia,  
de Alberto i Vencislao acompañada,  
la Infanta; i he venido, como es justo,  
à recibirla. . . . .  
Las bendiciones nupciales  
que ordena la Iglesia Santa  
me ha de dar el Arzobispo  
de Sevilla, que à la Infanta  
ha acompañado.

*Don Cristóbal.* Es mui justo.

*Rei.* Debo este honor à su Casa,  
i al venir tambien, señora,

con vos en esta jornada:  
 mas porque accion semejante  
 solo toca administrarla,  
 como à Parocho, al Obispo,  
 (i no puede, si èl no falta,  
 dar otro los Sacramentos  
 à sus Feligreses), vaya  
 à decirle de mi parte  
 Don Luis Manrique de Lara,  
 que tenga à bien que en su Iglesia  
 con su licencia mañana  
 el Arzobispo me case.

This follows very closely Cabrera, Bk. IX, chap. 19: "En Santoveña, poco distante de Valladolid, la [*i. e.*, a la Reyna] visitaron sus hermanos Rodulfo i Ernesto, i aconpañada dellos i de los otros dos menores, Alberto i Vincislao, llegó [la Reyna] a Segobia, donde el Rey esperò con su hermana doña Iuana, viuda del Principe de Portugal. . . . Como su Magestad Catolica era tan observante de las ceremonias, juridicion i cosas Ecclesiasticas, i sabia toca el administrar los Sacramentos al Paroco, hizo que don Luis Manrique le [*i. e.*, al Obispo de Segobia] dixese, queria [Filipe] le diese las bendiciones nupciales el Arçobispo de Sevilla, que avia traído a la Reyna, i por hallarse en su Obispado se le enbiaba a dezir, para que lo tuviese por bien."

9. Act III. Philip orders the sculptor Pompeyo to finish several bronze statues for the Escorial.

*Rei.* . . . . .  
 yo tengo acuestas un monte  
 en pensar que San Lorenzo . . . .  
 no està acabado; ya veis  
 que las figuras de bronce  
 que han de estar sobre la puerta  
 ni se hacen, ni se pone  
 mano en ellas.

*Pompeyo.* Es verdad  
 que la falta de Escultores  
 nos detiene, que yo solo  
 hago como solo un hombre.

*Rei.* Pues escribid vos à Italia

i à Alemania en mi nombre,  
i vereis como nos sobran  
artifices que las corten;  
que alli todos son Lisipos,  
Policletos i Mirones.

An echo of Cabrera, Bk. XI, chap. 17: "Ponpeo Leoni Milanes, i Juan Baptista Monegro Toledano [fueron] estimados porque hazian estatuas que enbiaban al que las miraba muda voz, ciega vista, sangre fria, aquel de bronze, de marmor este."

As already remarked, none of the foregoing scenes is found in Enciso's drama. Let us now consider the scenes which have been suggested by Cabrera and are common—with more or less variation—to both plays, it of course being impossible to determine whether Montalván or Enciso originally derived them from the historian. These scenes are nine in number, as in the first class.

I. Santoyo mistakes the inkstand for the sand-box.

*El Segundo Séneca de España, Act I.*

*Rei.* Echad los polvos primero,  
para que no la borreis.

*(En lugar de la salvadera toma [Santoyo] el tintero, i vaziale sobre la carta.)*

*Santoyo.* Valgami Dios, i que yerro!  
Por tomar la salvadera, (*aparte*).  
tomè el tintero. *Rei.* que es esso?

*Sant.* Borrar, señor, con los polvos.

*Rei.* No es sino borrar sin ellos. . . .  
Venid, que haveis de esperar  
mientras que à escribirla vuelvo,  
para cerrarla despues,  
si estuvieredes despierto.

*El Príncipe Don Carlos, Act I.*

*Rey.* Echad polvos a essa carta  
y cerralda, que os prometo  
que me ha costado trabajo.  
(*Don Diego*\* *hecha tinta por polvos en la carta*).  
Que es esso? *D. Diego.* Troquè los frenos,

\*Don Diego takes the place of Montalván's Santoyo.

(*Vase al Rey con la carta*).  
 y por polvos hechè tinta:  
 fuese sin hablarme, creo  
 que se ha enojado connigo:  
 su paciencia ygalò al yerro! . . . .  
 Ya sale con otra carta.  
 (*Sale el Rey*).

*Rey.* Don Diego, este es el tintero.

*D. Diego.* Huelgome de conocelle.  
 para servirle. *Rey.* Haced pliego.

An imitation of Cabrera, Bk. XI, chap. 3: "A las doze de la noche acabò [el Rey] de escribir un pliego, i largo, porque escrivia sin margenes, i por echar en el Sebastian de Santoyo su ayuda de Camara polvos, vertiò el tintero: viendole congoxado le dixo, espereis mas, i le copiò."

2. Philip prepares to dispatch the Duke of Alva to Flanders.

*El Segundo Séneca, Act I.*

*Rei.* Plugiera  
 à Dios que hiciera en España  
 menos falta mi persona  
 al lustre de su Corona,  
 que yo sè que en la campaña  
 me viera Flandes armado;  
 mas no importa, en mi lugar  
 irà el de Alva à castigar  
 su ossadia.

*El Príncipe, Act III.*

*Duque de Alva.* . . . . .  
 Si me lo manda mi Rey [ir a Flandes],  
 no importa? . . . . .

Evidently suggested by Cabrera, Bk. VII, chap. 13: "El Rey con gran cuidado disponia la jornada del Duque de Alva a la pacificacion de los Países Baxos."

3. The King works far into the night.

*El Segundo Séneca, Act I.*

*Rei.* Què hora serà? *Santoyo.* Son las onze.  
*Rei.* Tarde es ya, pero no puedo

dexar de escribir à Roma,  
aunque enojemos al sueño.  
Esto, Santoyo, es ser Rei.  
Leed estas consultas presto.

*El Príncipe, Act I.*

*Don Diego.* Señor Mons de Monteni,  
el Rey està en su aposento  
a solas y retirado,  
mas ha de un hora escribiendo. . . . .  
*Montení.* El Rey escribe a estas horas? . . . . .  
*D. Diego.* . . . . .  
Si aora no duerme el Rey,  
no es mucho que un escudero  
no duerma. . . . .

Cabrera writes as follows—Bk. VII, chap. 22: “Recogíase [el Rey] tarde al reposo.” And again—Bk. XII, chap. 3: “Fue en el despachar nunca cansado con repartición del tiempo, i aun usurpaba al descanso algunas oras . . . .”

4. Prince Carlos attempts to kill the Duke of Alva.

*El Segundo Séneca, Act II.*

*Duque de Alva.* Parece, señor, que estais  
enojado. *Príncipe.* Què quereis?  
*Duq.* A que la mano me deis  
vengo. *Prin.* Pues adonde vais?  
*Duq.* Presumo que à Flandes.  
*Prin.* Bueno.  
*Duq.* Que aunque ya mi edad cansada  
havia colgado la espada,  
en efeto soi ageno,  
i he de servir i callar.  
*Prin.* I sabeis si yo querrè?  
*Duq.* Sè quien sois, i sè  
que os toca à vos amparar  
esta jornada. *Prin.* Venis  
mui neciamente informado;  
ya no estais para soldado,  
porque como vos decis,  
hacen su oficio los años:

yo tengo quien vaya à Flandes,  
que para empresas tan grandes  
brios, mas que desengaños,  
ha menester la ocasion.

*Duq.* Desengaños tengo, i brios.

*Prin.* Mas brios seràn los mios,  
porque ha menos que lo son.

*Duq.* Mas pelea que el azero  
el consejo, i el cuidado.

*Prin.* Pues yo irè para soldado,  
i vos para consejero.

*Duq.* Para todo basto yo,  
i assi aquesta gentileza  
podrà escusar vuestra Alteza,  
puesto que assi lo mandò  
vuestro padre, i no serà  
razon que le falte en esto.

*Prin.* Decid que estais indispuerto,  
i en la Corte os dexarà.

*Duq.* Si estoi bueno, es mal consejo,  
porque es no tratar verdad.

*Prin.* Pues què mas enfermedad,  
que ser vano sobre viejo?

*Duq.* Esso de viejo es error  
negarlo, pues en la cara  
lo digo, si se repara:  
à essotro, el Rei mi señor  
ha respondido por mi:  
pues si por cuerdo me dà  
este baston, claro està  
que piensa que no es assi.

*Prin.* No es ser vano estorvar  
mi gusto? *Duq.* Es obedecer.

*Prin.* Pues mirad como ha de ser,  
porque os haveis de quedar.

*Duq.* Acabadlo vos primero  
con vuestro padre, i vereis  
como os sirvo. *Prin.* Vos quereis  
descomponerme?

*Duq.* No quiero,  
sino ampararme de mi.



*(Vale à acometer con la daga, i el Duque tiene al Príncipe los brazos).*

*Duq.* Està vuestra Alteza en sì?  
Hai tan fuerte demasia?  
Vive Dios. *Prin.* Presto vereis  
si competencia me haceis.

*Duq.* Ya es esta baxeza mia.  
*Prin.* Dexad los brazos. *Duq.* En ellos  
os tuve quando nacisteis,  
pero mal pago me disteis.

*Prin.* No me detengais con ellos.

*Duq.* Importaos à vos mi vida,  
i quierola defender.

*El Príncipe, Act III.*

*Prin.* Sentir entre enfados grandes  
que queriendo yo yr a Flandes,  
Duque, pretendays yr vos.

*Duq.* Sossieguese vuestra Alteza,  
que tiene el color robado.

*Prin.* No aueis de yr vos.

*Duq.* Soy mandado.

*Prin.* Que importa? *Duq.* Estraña fiereza.  
Si me lo manda mi Rey,  
no importa? *Prin.* No importa, no.

*Duq.* Si me lo manda, he de yr yo.

*Prin.* Mi gusto tambien es ley.  
Y pues el vuestro se arroja  
contra el mio, yo harè assi  
que no vays.

*(Saca la daga el Príncipe, y al tenelle el Duque el braço, se le cae).*

*Duq.* Pobre de mi,  
si vuestra Alteza se enoja.

*Prin.* La daga se me ha caydo.

*Duq.* No, deviola de arrojar  
vuestra Alteza, por guardar  
a quien tan bien le ha servido.  
*(Alça el Duque la daga y dasela).*  
Esta es la daga y el pecho  
que recibiera la herida,  
quando no fuera mi vida  
al Rey de tanto provecho.

Cabrera once more—Bk. VII, chap. 13: Mucho disgustò al Principe don Carlos esta eleccion del Duque de Alva, porque se le quitaba con ella totalmente la esperança de ir a los Estados de Flandres con beneplacito de su padre, o sin el. I assi besandole el la mano antes de la partida, le dixo furioso, Que no avia de ir, pues a el tocaba el viage, i no le hiziese; i si contradezia le avia de matar. El Duque le suplicò, mirase por su quietud i vida inportante para la monarquia que le esperaba como a sucesor de su padre en su muerte. . . . El Principe desnudando un puñal le acometiò, diciendo, No aveis de ir a Flandres, o os tengo de matar. El Duque le cogiò anbos braços, i con representacion de gran autoridad le retuvo, i forcejaron en la ofensa i defensa, hasta que el Principe desalentado se desafiò: i bolviò luego con mayor furia contra el Duque para herirle; i el escudandose con valor le retuvo otra vez hasta que entrò un gentilonbre de su camara, i el Principe se apartò.”<sup>6</sup>

5. The Duke of Alva informs the King that Carlos has attacked him.

*El Segundo Séneca, Act II.*

*Rei.* A saberlo de vos vengo;  
ea, contadmelo todo.

*Duq.* No ai mas que saber aqui,  
si no que el Principe intenta  
ir à Flandes con mi afrenta,  
i aun sin gusto vuestro.

*Rei.* Assi:  
ya sè que lo deseò.

*Duq.* Dixome que en todo caso  
que en ello no diesse un paso:  
repliquè le, porfiò,  
dixele que era leal;  
mas teneis, dixo, de loco;  
no me estima à mi en tan poco,

\*Enciso follows Cabrera in causing the dispute to be terminated by the abrupt entrance of a gentleman of the court (in Enciso, Ruy Gómez). Montalván, however, represents the King himself as appearing on the scene, but pretending not to have observed the incident. Carlos then withdraws. It will be remarked that in Cabrera Carlos twice assails the Duke, while in both dramas he attacks him but once.

repliquè casi mortal,  
vuestro padre: i en efecto  
hizo lo que visteis vos.

*El Príncipe, Act III.*

*Rey.* Dezidme agora,  
pues sabeys con que cuidado  
y amor a Carlos corrijo,  
que os passò oy con el? *Duq.* De un hijo  
a un padre fuera escusado,  
sino me lo preguntara  
a quien no puedo mentir:  
por Dios que lo he de dezir,  
aunque me salga a la cara.  
Sobre yr a Flandes, o no,  
sacò la daga; yo estuve  
muy en mi, el braço le tuve,  
quitesela, o se cayò.

In the words of Cabrera, Bk. VII, chap. 13: "El Duque dio cuenta a su padre del suceso, i ambos se lastimaron por el i por otros de la incapacidad de don Carlos . . . ."

6. The Prince asks his father to send him to Flanders.

*El Segundo Séneca, Act III.*

*Prin.* . . . . Pretendo yo,  
de mi pundonor llevado,  
ofendido del Flamenco,  
i en vuestro nombre, gallardo  
ver à Flandes, i cortar  
de Principes rebelados  
las fementidas cabezas. . . . .  
I vos, à este efecto ingrato,  
al Duque de Alva embais,  
dando à entender que no valgo . . . .  
para accion que heroica sea,  
cosa que ceda en mi agravio.

*El Príncipe, Act I.*

*Prin.* [*al Rey*]. . . . .  
permitaseme que vaya  
por Governador a Flandes. . . . .

Derived from Cabrera, Bk. VII, chap. 2: "El Enperador solici-  
taba la ida del Rey o del Principe don Carlos a los Estados, i el  
mismo lo pedia a su padre . . ."

7. Carlos plays *pelota* in order to divert his sufferings from the  
ague.

*El Segundo Séneca*, Act III.

*Rei.* què hace [Carlos] ahora?

*Don Juan.* Està jugando  
à la pelota. . . . .  
. . . como sabes, le aprieta  
la terciana demasiado. . . . .  
i . . . . .  
por divertirla, ha baxado  
à jugar. . . . .

*El Príncipe*, Act I.

*Rey.* que haze el Principe? *Ruy Gómez.* Señor,  
por divertir la quartana,  
à passado la mañana  
juzgando en el corredor.  
a la pelota. . . . .

An echo of Cabrera, Bk. IV, chap. 2, where *pelota* is included  
among the sports suitable for Carlos: "Fuese exercitado en caçar,  
andar a cavallo, justar, tornear, manejar las armas, jugar a la  
pelota."

8. The Prince suffers an attack of the ague.

*El Segundo Séneca*, Act III.

*Prin.* [al Rey]. . . . .  
Quiero yo poner la vida  
al antojo de un balazo,  
esera breve de plomo. (*Tiembla.*)  
I vos, à este efecto ingrato,  
al Duque de Alva embiais,  
dando à entender que no valgo  
(*Tiembla mas.*)  
para accion que heroica sea,  
cosa que ceda en mi agravio.  
O pesia tal con el frio,

à que mal tiempo me ha dado  
el accidente! *Rei.* Què es esso?

*Prin.* No es nada. *Rei.* Notable caso!  
La terciana le ha venido. . . . .  
parece que estais elado,  
arrimaos à mi, i sino,  
sentaos aqui, sentaos,  
tomad los guantes, cubrios. . . . .  
. . . . . Abrigaos bien,  
i tined paciencia en tanto  
que llamo. Ola, D. Christoval,  
Rui Gomez, D. Juan, Soldados!  
(*Salen Don Juan i Don Christoval*).

*Don Chr.* Señor.

*Don Juan.* Què es esto? *Rei.* Llevad,  
haciendo silla los brazos,  
à su cama à Carlos, ea.

*El Príncipe, Act I.*

*Prin.* . . . . . mas que es esto?  
por mis venas se derrama  
un frio, que me ha dexado  
tronco inutil, nuda estatua;  
tiemblo, y no acierto en mis quexas  
a dar forma a mis palabras.  
Elaronse las razones:  
aprietame la quartana,  
estoy—  
(*Caesele el sombrero*).

*Rey.* Alçad el sombrero.

*Prin.* Por matarme.  
(*Al querer sacar la daga, se le cae*).

*Rey.* Alçad la daga.  
(*Caensele los guantes*).  
Los guantes se os caen, que es esto?  
Tened la capa y la espada.  
Jesus que descompostura;  
que teneys? colera estraña.  
Perdido aveys el color, . . . . .  
. . . . . No me habla;  
valgame Dios està elado;

llegaos a mi; cosa estraña.

Ola, Ruy Gomez!

(Sale Ruy Gomez).

Ruy. Señor.

Rey. Hazed llevar a la cama  
al Principe que està malo. (Vase).

Cabrera is drawn upon again—Bk. VIII, chap. 5: “. . . enfermò [el Principe] gravemente de tercianas dobles malignas . . .”

9. Carlos is wont to drink very cold water, and stay out late at night.

*El Segundo Séneca*, Act III.

Rei [à Don Juan]. . . . .

. . . decidle [al Principe]

que vaya [à Alcalà], con que reforme

el beber con tanta nieve,

i el salir tanto de noche.

*El Principe*, Act I.

Rey [al Principe]. . . . .

Days la noche a las ciudades,

*Op. cit.*, Act III.

*Lee el Principe.* Sale [el Principe] de noche emboçado,  
indecente se acompaña  
con hombres facinorosos.

This follows Cabrera, Bk. VIII, chap. 5: “Con la indignacion i corage el fogoso Principe abrasado, i del calor del Estio bevia con eceso agua de una gran fuente de nieve . . . .”<sup>7</sup> Also Bk. VII, chap. 22: “Salia el Principe de noche por la Corte con indecencia i facilidad . . . .”

There yet remain to be considered those scenes which are common to both plays, but which do not appear to have been suggested by Cabrera. They are three in number.

1. The Prince calls upon his *inamorata*. *El Segundo Séneca*, Act II; *El Principe*, Act I.<sup>8</sup> In Montalván's piece she is named Leonor; in Enciso's, Violante. The latter is the daughter of the

<sup>7</sup> It will be noticed that this indiscretion of Carlos is not alluded to by Enciso.

<sup>8</sup> Both scenes are too long to give here.

Duke of Alva; Leonor, the daughter of one Meneses. In *El Segundo Séneca*, Carlos is refused admission to Leonor's house, and speaks to her from beneath her balcony. Enciso represents him as entering the apartment of Violante and attempting to lock the door behind him.

2. The King, on his birthday, is vexed that Carlos does not come before him.

*El Segundo Séneca*, Act III.

*Rei.* I, decid [à Don Juan],  
el día que cumpla años  
fuera razón que me viesse?

*El Príncipe*, Act I.

*Rey.* En el día  
que se hace fiesta a mis años  
no me assiste? . . . . .

3. Carlos complains of his father's severity. *El Segundo Séneca*, Act III, *El Príncipe*, Act I.<sup>9</sup>

A comparison of the *dramatis personæ* of the two pieces is interesting. Enciso's production has thirteen named characters, while Montalván's has sixteen. Of the latter, five are found in Enciso. They are: King Philip II, Prince Carlos, the Duke of Alva, Cardinal Espinosa and Don Juan of Austria.<sup>10</sup> The Duke of Alva, however, plays a far less important part in Montalván than in Enciso, appearing once in the former, and eleven times in the latter; while the reverse is true of Don Juan. In Montalván

<sup>9</sup> Both scenes are too long to transcribe.

<sup>10</sup> Schaeffer (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 442) states that the rôle of Don Juan of Austria is a valuable addition of Montalván to the *dramatis personæ* of Enciso's drama. This error is no doubt due to his having inadvertently confused the genuine version of *El Príncipe Don Carlos* with the revision of Cañizares, since in the latter there is no Don Juan. That he was aware of the existence of this second version—although uncertain as to its author—is proved by his words on p. 400 (*ib.*). In the Biblioteca Nacional is an autograph manuscript of Cañizares's revision, which was first published—as far as is known—at Valencia in 1773, in the form of a *suelta*. (See *El Príncipe Don Carlos of Ximénez de Enciso*, by J. P. W. Crawford, in *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1907, pp. 238-241.)

he appears seven times, in Enciso but once.<sup>11</sup> Montení is an important personage, peculiar to Enciso; while his Don Diego de Córdoba, another important character, really stands for the Santoyo of Montalván. In like manner, Violante takes the place of the latter's Leonor.<sup>12</sup>

That these several parallelisms are merely accidental is most unlikely, and one cannot but regret that up to the present time no dated autograph manuscript of *El Príncipe Don Carlos* has been discovered to tell us whether or not it was written before Montalván's production.

#### PART SECOND

Opening with the loss of the Armada, and extending to the death of King Philip II, this part may be regarded as a sequel to the preceding; but it is so inferior that one would wish it had been left unwritten. Apparently, Cabrera has suggested but one scene, that at the opening of Act I, in which the King visits the royal burial vault. The verses are as follows:

*(Tiran una cortina, y descubrense algunos retratos, y en medio un ataúd).*

*Rey.* Principe [Fernando], quitaos la gorra  
y hazedlos acatamiento,  
como yo. *Prin.* Ya se le hago.

*Cardenal.* Este, señor, es don Pedro,  
primero de aqueste nombre.

*Rey.* A los pies tiene un letrado.

*Car.* Dize el cruel.

*Rey.* Pues barralde  
y poned el Justiciero,  
que este atributo es indigno  
de un Rey Christiano a lo menos.  
Fuera de que en los sepulcros,  
las letras se permitieron  
para escriuir alabanças,  
no para dezir defetos;

<sup>11</sup> In the love scenes in Enciso his place is taken by Fadrique.

<sup>12</sup> It is only on account of the difference in name, that I have not included Don Diego and Santoyo, Violante and Leonor, among those characters common to both plays.



que no està en uso el hazer  
satiras contra los muertos.

Quitalde luego, quitalde.

*Don Diego [de Córdoba].* Que valor!

*Car.* Ya te obedezco.

Este es don Fernando el Quarto. . . . .

De don Alonso el Onzeno

es este Sepulcro. *Rey.* Abrilde;

(*Abrenle, descubrase un hombre armado, sin espada*).

que gallardo! . . . . .

estando armado, no es yerro

faltarle espada? *Car.* Señor,

un Sacristan deste Templo,

a cuyo cuydado estaua

su limpieza, poco cuerdo,

se la quitò y la perdio.

*Rey.* Pues ponelde otra al momento,

y buscad de aqui adelante,

para cuidar de su asseo,

un Sacristan sin codicia.

*Don Diego.* Esta le pondrè. *Rey.* Teneos,

que lo he mirado mejor;

y no parece bien hecho

que tenga un Rey tan ilustre

y tan alentado, azero

que no sea de otro Rey.

La misma que traigo quiero

ponerle. . . . .

This follows Cabrera, Bk. IX, chap. 12: "Pasò [el Rey] la Semana Santa en San Geronimo, i la Pascua oyò Misa en la Catedral [de Córdoba]. Mirondo su antigüedad i manera de edificio Arabigo, quiso ver el sepulcro del señor Rey don Alonso que murio en el cerco de Algezira . . . , i el del Rey don Hernando. Tuvo la gorra quitada en tanto que estuvieron las caxas abiertas, no solo con acato, sin con reverencia. Reparò en que don Hernando tenia estoque, i don Alonso no. Preguntando la causa, dixo el Dean, le sacò un sacristan, i le quebrò en una ocasion. Mandò tener mas cuidado, i que se le pusiese su estoque, diziendo, No era razon ponerle al Rey su señor el que no fuera de Rey. . . . En sus Alcaça-

res de Segobia vio que los bultos que ai en la sala . . . tenian sus estoques como en solio, i el Rey don Pedro sobre escrito *El cruel*, la punta en la peaña; inscribiole *El justiciero*, i pusole su estoque en alto."

It will be observed that Montalván represents the entire scene as being enacted in the royal tomb, while Cabrera states that the incident concerning the inscription on Peter the Cruel's statue took place in the "Alcazares de Segobia." Again, Cabrera places the occurrence in the year 1570, while Montalván makes it coincident with the disablement of the Armada, or 1588.

GEORGE W. BACON

*Wyncote, Penna.*

## MISCELLANEOUS

### ROLAND 2165: *TENDENT DE L'ESPLEITIER*

THE reading of verse 2165 of the Oxford text of the *Chanson de Roland* appears never to have given occasion to the slightest question or discussion; yet I believe that under the *sainte-nitouche* simplicity of its external aspect there lurks the compelling necessity of an emendation.

MS. Digby 23, fol. 39 verso, ll. 6 and 7 (vv. 2164-65 of the printed text) reads—as the Stengel photographic facsimile clearly shows:

Païen fen fuient curucuf 7 irez.  
enverf espaigne ten dêt del espleiter.

My scrutiny was first directed to this passage by what seemed to me the difficulty of the phrase *tendent de l'espleitier*. Gaston Paris, in the vocabulary to his *Extraits*, defines *tendre* (with a reference to this passage) as “s’efforcer”; Gautier, in the vocabulary to his *édition classique*, gives “avoir hâte de”; Clédât, in his edition, suggests, “*tendre de . . . = tendre à, chercher à*”; Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, defines *tendre* in this passage as “trachten, sich begeben.” Professor Stengel, in his *Kritische Ausgabe*, 1901, adopts the reading of all the previous editors. As a matter of fact, the construction *tendre de* appears never to have been used at any period of the French language, the present passage being, so far as I can discover, the only one that even seems to lend color to the idea of such a use. The facsimile shows that, after the letters “ten,” a blank space sufficient for the insertion of three or four letters was left by the original scribe of the manuscript (presumably because he could not decipher the remainder of the word or because he found himself dissatisfied with the word he was tracing), and that the letters “dêt” have been introduced by a later hand in the blank space thus provided, but above the line, as if in doubt of the correctness of the insertion.

This being the situation, what light can be thrown on the true

reading of the text? The testimony of Venice-4 and the other manuscripts is here without significance; but, fortunately for the text-critic, Old French literature abounds with examples of a locution which can leave little or no doubt as to the turn of expression actually employed in this verse by the author of the *Roland*. As originally composed, the verse must have read:

Envers Espagne *pensent* de l'espleitier.

Compare the following:

Mès li François *pensent* de l'exploitier,  
 Outre s'en vont, n'i vellent delaier,  
 Le chemin *vers* Parie.  
*Aymeri de Narbonne*, 1976-8.

Dient si home: "Pansez de l'exploitier."  
*Ibid.*, 1487.

Pensez, cumpaing, de l'espleiter  
 E de tost a moi repeirer.  
*Tristan* de Thomas, 2549-50.

Que fais, paiens? panse de l'exploiter.  
*Prise de Cordres*, 226.

Alixandres li prie que pense d'exploitier  
*Roman d'Alexandre*, Bartsch. *Chrest.* 194,12.

Mult pense tost de l'espleitier.  
 Bartsch and Horning, 96, 9.

Pensez huimes de vostre erre exploitier.  
*Aubery*, Tarbé, p. 100 (cited by Godefroy).

Many more examples are available (and they could be multiplied almost indefinitely) of the locution *penser de l'espleitier*. Naturally, *penser* in this sense is not followed exclusively by *espleitier* (cf. *pense del retorner*, *Raoul de Cambrai*, 2158; *pensez de moi aidier*, *ibid.*, 2596); but the special frequency of *penser de l'espleitier* points decisively to the conclusion that the scribe of Digby 23 copied from a manuscript in which, in line 2165, stood

the word *pensent*, which was either itself partially illegible or had perhaps been legibly miscopied, in the form *tensent* or *tendent*, from a manuscript that was in its turn partially illegible,—either of which forms may be supposed to have given pause even to the ignorance of the much-abused scribe of Digby 23.

It may be of interest to point out that a similar use of *pensar* occurs a number of times in the *Poema del Cid*; cf., e. g., verses 2609, 2644:

Myo Cid y los otros *de cavalgar pennsavan*;

*Piennsan se de yr* los yfantes de Carrion;

and is to be found also in Old Provençal; cf. Appel, *Chrest.*, 9, 20:

Tantost *pessem del retornar*.

H. A. T.

### THE MEANING OF *VITA NUOVA*

IN a brief note under the heading *The Meaning of Vita Nuova* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1909, pp. 227–8), Professor F. J. A. Davidson returns to the subjective methods of the elder Rossetti, which, while of little scientific value, are not without stimulating interest. He suggests that *nova* may mean “strange,” “mystic.” *Mystic* as a synonym for *strange* is unfortunate: for the critics who adopt the regenerative idea of “new” normally incline to “mystic” as the descriptive adjective for the new life led. The exactest interpreter of this point of view is Giuliani (for whom *vita nova* is *vita d'amore*, purely and simply), just as D. G. Rossetti is the vaguest and most “mystic.” It requires some *aplomb* to consider the theory of *youthful* “effectually disposed of” by Witte in 1852, after that idea has been defended at such length by Prudenziario (1856),<sup>2</sup> by Cossio (1907),<sup>3</sup> and by such a distinguished critic as Casini in repeated editions. Professor Davidson adduces in favor of his suggestion three points: a nine-year-old boy is incapable of spiritual regeneration; “new” does not connote regeneration; then, positively, Dante uses *nuovo* for

<sup>1</sup> Curcio, *Studi sulla V. N.*, Venezia, Olschki, 1892, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *La V. N. di D. A.*, Napoli, Guerrero, 1856, pp. 3–6.

<sup>3</sup> *Sulla V. N. di D.*, Firenze, Olschki, 1907, pp. 18–9.

"mystic." But the *Vita nova* is not the work of a nine-year-old boy. *Neu* is an indeterminate word, and may take on any connotation whatsoever. The philological argument has two defects: it is needless, in that "strange" is a very frequent old Italian meaning for *nuovo*, but not more frequent than the ordinary sense; Professor Davidson's citations prove at best not more than this. Then this argument may be used, as actually was done by Prudenziario and others, to prove the other points of view. It establishes merely a possibility, which can derive support only from evidence of an exegetical nature. Here the obstacles seem insuperable. We should also expect this idea to have occurred to some early commentator, familiar currently with this alleged sense of *nuovo*. To go here into the question whether the title is Latin or Italian is scarcely worth while; it may be either.

Karl Federn in his translation of the *Vita Nuova* hints vaguely at the meaning suggested:<sup>4</sup> to Dante, Beatrice was "ein liebliches wunder, ein *novrum*, ein *neun*." Here too we have associated *novrum* with *novem*, a query which Professor Davidson also proposes. The debate might include as well *Paradiso* II, v. 8;<sup>5</sup> and Ovid, *Metam.*, 14, 58:

Obscurum verborum ambage novorum  
Ter novies carmen magico demurmurat ore.

Whether the two words were actually associated in Dante's mind we of course can never know, unless direct testimony be discovered. I may recall that Dr. Levi Leonard Conant<sup>6</sup> insists that this association is universal: "Between the Latin words *novus*, 'new' and *novem*, 'nine,' there exists a resemblance so close that it may well be more than accidental. Nine is then the *new* number, that is the first number on a *new* count of which eight must originally have been the base. Pursuing this thought by investigation into different languages the same resemblance is found there." If the association has occurred to Mr. Conant and Professor Davidson, why not to Dante? Everything is grist that comes to the imagi-

<sup>4</sup> *Das Neue Leben des D. A.*, Halle, Hendel, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Poletto, *Dizionario Dantesco*, 1886, vol. III, pp. 366-7.

<sup>6</sup> *The number concept, its origin and development*, MacMillan, 1898. See *Athenaeum*, 1898, Part II, p. 326.

native mill: the elder Rossetti insisted that in the Ghibelline *gergo* "il ghibellinismo fu detto *vita* ed il guelfismo *morte*; perciò Dante chiamò la *V. N.* il nuovo corso di sua vita politica, e nascimento l'istante in cui v' entrò!"<sup>7</sup> We need not mention that grotesque interpretation of M. Clecner (Sinowitz) for whom Beatrice is an allegory of the Talmud and the *Vita Nova* a source book of cabalistic symbolism.<sup>8</sup>

A. A. LIVINGSTON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

### THE SUFFIXES -ASTER, -IGNUS, ETC., IN NOUNS OF RELATIONSHIP

**I**N an article on the *Interchange of suffixes -aster, -ignus and -icus* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1909, 241-3), Mr. S. G. Patterson sustains that, in words of step-relationship, in addition to the endings -aster and -ignus (of Lat. *privignus*<sup>1</sup>), the termination -icus (of Lat. *vitricus*) survives, not only in Sard. *bidrigu*, etc. and Rum. *vitrigu*, etc., but also in O. Fr. *serorge*, etc. (Godefroy) and in Neapol. *matreye* and *patreye*.

After considering the diffusion of -aster and -ignus, the author summarizes: "Enough examples have been given to show the constant interchange of -ignus and -aster in these words of quasi-kinship . . . in several dialects the same stem is found compounded indifferently with either suffix (cf. Venet.)." He doubtless means rather alternation than interchange; for no real interchange is demonstrated: the diffusion of Ven. *pareastro* is not precisely the same as that of *paregno*; Boerio limits the first to Chioggia.<sup>2</sup> We need similar light on the Raetian *madrastra*, -igna. We should have documentary proof of Meyer Lübke's citation of "*patrigno*, *matrigna* refaits à l'époque romaine déjà sur *privignus*." That we have here a case of irradiation (in Bréal's diction) is doubtful, in that the suffix -ineus of *sanguineus*, *consanguineus*, *stamineus*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prudeniziano, *op. cit.* p. 33, after Rossetti's *Commento*, vol. II, p. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Sinowitz, *Schlüssel zu D. A.'s Werke: Das Neue Leben*, Zürich, Clecner, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Festus, *De Significatione Verborum*, s. v.

<sup>4</sup> *Diz. del dialetto veneziano*, Venezia, 1856, s. v. *pareastro*.

has had, especially in words of color, much the same history as *-aster*: *giallastro*, *sanguigno*.<sup>8</sup> Nor can we, as regards general method, treat these suffixes as specifically connoting relationship, apart from their broader use with other words as pejoratives or descriptives, like Eng. *-ish*: *marâtre* now actually means "mother." Further the Italian preference for *-igno* forms remains unexplained: it is due to the difficult combination of *-tr- -tr-* in *matrastra*, etc., which the Portuguese, Catalan and other languages have obviated by simple dissimilation, *-dr- -t-*, *-d- -tr-*. It is interesting that some regions have not felt difficulty in this succession of sounds. Only brief reference is made to questions of semantics; but the statement that *-aster* is applied to *frater* for both genders is misleading; *fratellastra* means not "half-sister" but "half-brother's wife." It is not to be confused with the double use of *serorge*. It is the pejorative connotation of *-âtre* that has led to its practical displacement by forms with *beau-* and *belle-*. *Beau* was used to a considerable extent in medieval titles of address: *beaus amis*, etc. M. Thomas has noted<sup>4</sup> that this mannerism has survived only for the more distant relationships. *Belle soeur*, more courteous and formal than *ma soeur*, was too stately for the home circle, but quite appropriate to kinship by marriage. For the forms cited by the author, we may add that *sorellastra* is quite literary; besides *matrigno* and *patrigno* we have forms with *d*.

Diez' assumption of *sororius* > *serourge* has in its favor the fact that *sororius*, as Mr. Patterson has noted, is an early Latin word. The development *-rj-* > *ge* is indeed exceptional in the Ile de France, but certainly not in the eastern dialects. Groeber has already designated *serorge* a *lehnwort*.<sup>5</sup> Middle Latin *sororius* may represent a true Vulgar Latin semantic change and be of a nature quite different from that of *serorgius*, which Mr. Patterson correctly interprets. There is no difficulty with the thought transference, which is exactly parallel to that of *fratellastra*, etc., sister like, brother-like; the doubling of gender is paralleled in *figli* "son

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Pianigiani, *Dis. etimologico della lingua ital.*, Roma, Albrighi-Segati, 1907, s. v. *matrigna*; and Cohn, *Suffixverwandlung*, Halle, 1891, p. 168; and cf. Morandi's *Grammatica*, p. 344.

<sup>4</sup> *Dict. Gén.*, s. v. *beau-frère*.

<sup>5</sup> *Archiv für lateinische lexicographie*, V, 473.



and daughter." Its vitality was assisted by the avoidance of pejorative *-aster*. The evidence for the survival of *-icus* is of no value: Sardinian and Rumanian represent archaic forms of Latin; they cannot serve as proof of the condition of continental Vulgar Latin posterior to the third century.<sup>6</sup> Surely the Slavic and Celtic parallels are totally irrelevant unless supported by some evidence that these appearances are directly due to Latin influence.<sup>7</sup> The forms cited for Huy and Liège by Godefroy may all be explained by *sororius*. We need to know more of the environment and history of *serouque* before we draw any general conclusions from it. This applies as well to the Neapolitan *matreye* and *patreye*. The theory of Greek influence has great probability from the fact that Greek was spoken in the Napoletano till the latest period of the Empire.<sup>8</sup> Far from being incredible that *-icus* should have disappeared from words of this class, its ready failure may be explained, first because it is unaccented, and then by its frequency in other words of different meaning.

In spite, therefore, of the acute reasoning by which this interesting suggestion is supported, we are inclined to the traditional view of *serourge* < *sororius*. We may add that the orthographic scheme adopted by the author for dialect forms is open to some criticism: his rendering of Ven. *-gn-* is unnecessary and that of the Neapolitan and Albanian off-glide, unclear. Important dialect forms should be cited from documents, and need careful definition as to time and place.

A. A. LIVINGSTON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

<sup>6</sup> Pușcariu, *Tj, Cj, im Rumänischen, Ital. und Sard.*, Halle, 1904, pp. 5-18. Reservation must here be made for Christian missionaries, who, however, introduced only words of ecclesiastical nature.

<sup>7</sup> I am told that Slavic *-ka* is usually diminutive; that it appears in relatively few words of step-kinship, which are frequently rendered by circumlocutions. Slavic *polnica* sometimes means 'step-mother'; some of the examples cited have *-ca* but with the sound *tʃa*.

<sup>8</sup> Budinsky, *Die Ausbreitung der latein. Sprache*, Berlin, 1881, p. 44.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Los Amantes, tragedia original de Andrés Rey de Artieda, precedida de una noticia biográfica y bibliográfica del autor por Francisco Martí Grajales. Publicala nuevamente Francisco Carreres y Vallo. Valencia, M. Pau, 1908. 4to, xxxiv + 80 + 5 pp.*

Our gratitude towards Sr. Carreres for reprinting the unique copy of the first dramatic version (1581) of *los Amantes de Teruel*, is tempered by regret that he should have seen fit to limit his edition to fifty-one copies. The interest of Artieda's tragedy is, to be sure, largely historical: it is the only play by the author still extant; it treats a popular, national, and almost contemporaneous subject (ca. 1535), in accordance with pseudo-classic principles, discarding, however, royal personages; it is probably the oldest extant Valencian play of the school which immediately followed Timoneda's; it served as a model for the mediocre version of a great dramatist, Tirso de Molina; and, finally, every play of the last decade of the sixteenth century, when the New Comedy was being evolved, is of interest, at least to the student, and deserves to be made accessible.

Sr. Carreres' edition contains a long biographical and bibliographical study by the Valencian scholar, Martí Grajales. It adds nothing of importance, however, to what was already known of Artieda and his works. The remarks on the play itself are unfortunately limited to bibliographical details. It might have been better, although doubtless infinitely more difficult, to indicate the place of *Los Amantes* in Valencian dramatic literature, and to estimate its value as a tragedy.<sup>1</sup> To assign the play peremptorily to the Cueva school, as Schack has done, is to impute servility on the part of Artieda which is probably unjustifiable. In the matter of strophic structure, a significant criterion, his play is quite different from Cueva's dramas. The backbone of Artieda's play is the *quintilla*, a strophe that Cueva never used—Tárrega and Aguilar, Valencians like Artieda, did. On the other hand, tercets, of which the Sevillan was very fond, are wholly lacking in *Los Amantes*. The exact date of composition of Artieda's tragedy cannot be determined. It was printed in 1581, and licensed in February of the same year. In the dedicatory epistle, which constitutes a confession of the author's dramatic faith, reference is made to Bermúdez's *Nise* plays (1577), "*impressos los vi, no ha muchos meses.*" None of Cueva's plays are earlier than 1579, and although it would be rash to conclude from Artieda's words that his drama was written shortly after 1577 and before 1579, it is equally rash to take it for granted that he imitated Cueva. The following lines from his epistle, an *ars dramatica* which preceded the Sevillan's *Exemplar poética*

<sup>1</sup> After the exhaustive studies by Cotarelo, Menéndez y Pelayo, and Gascón, no account of the legend was to be expected in this introduction. Hispanists may be reminded here of Mr. Hamelius' article in the *Modern Language Review* (IV, 352), where it is shown that Southerne's "Fatal Marriage" is based on a Spanish version of the legend.

by twenty-six years, show that Artieda could think for himself in the matter of dramatic art:

Digo que España está en su edad robusta,  
y como en lengua, y armas valga, y pueda,  
me parece gustar de lo que gusta . . .

Por ello, y porque mil exemplos tuue,  
siguiendo el uso y plática Española,  
de mi Tragedia hazer dos partes huue.

Pero porque cualquiera de ellos sola,  
cansar pudiera, la razón y el vso  
(digo Español) en otras dos partióla.

Si la materia dizen que no es alta,  
pues para hablar de Príncipes, y Reyes,  
el hombre, y reyno á los Amantes falta,

Miren los que ordenaron essas leyes,  
que sacar al Theatro vn Minotauro,  
fué mandarnos tratar con semibueyes.

Aquí no hay hydra, furia, ni Centauro,  
solo hay vn cauallero, y vna dama,  
que pretenden ganar á Laura el lauro.

As the play is still almost as inaccessible as ever, and will remain so until copies fall into the hands of second-hand booksellers, it may not be amiss to quote here a typical scene.<sup>3</sup> The drama contains some strong scenes, but the work as a whole is rather amateurish. The most poetical passages are the *relaciones*, which are not however dramatic. Some scenes, as, for example, where Marcilla first meets Sigura on his return, and chides her for not waiting a little longer than the prescribed seven years and an hour, are cold and disappointing. The matronlike attitude of Sigura is dignified and proper, but unconvincing. A representative short scene is the following,—Marcilla's body has just been found beside Sigura's bed, and the husband and wife take counsel to remove it:

*Marido.* A no pretender, que eres  
tan diferente en obras, y costumbre,  
de las otras mugeres,  
diérame este negocio pesadumbre.  
Pero quien de ver hecha  
tu vida, que jamas desmintió en cosa,  
qualquier sombra, o sospecha,  
que tenga escandalosa,  
despide, y despidiéndola, reposa?  
Aunque quiero con todo,  
ya que la muerte se diuulgue, y sepa,  
que no se entienda el modo;  
pues corta el vulgo, y trepa,  
y haze que donde no hay malicia quepa.

<sup>3</sup> The play is analyzed in Cotarelo's study, p. 33.

No dirá lo que passa,  
quien viese que Marcilla te ha querido,  
y que muere en mi casa?  
por esso abre el oydo,  
y no mueuas, sacándole, ruydo.

*Sigura.* Señor, como lo mandes,  
mira bien que la noche es breue, y corta,  
y en estos casos grandes,  
la diligencia importa.

*Marido.* Verdad es, mas sossiégate, y reporta.

*Sigura.* Todo está libre, y quedo.

*Marido.* Ea! saquémosle. Pero yo solo,  
como lo ves, no puedo:  
sostén, mientras le arboló:  
pero que tu le tengas mereciólo?

*Sigura.* No apuntes, señor, esso;  
basta que porque á ti y á mí nos quadre  
nos: partamos el peso.

*Marido.* Aquí duerme su padre.

*Sigura.* Pues, sus! recógale su antigua madre.

*Marido.* Ya que se queda agora  
do entenderán en darle sepultura,  
boluámosnos, señora,  
que amanece; y procura  
cubrir lo que la noche encubre oscura.

*Sigura.* Passo, no hables palabra,  
que las ventanas de su padre siento.

*Marido.* Pues antes que las abra  
vámonos. Prisa y tiento;  
recoge de vna vez huelgo y aliento.\*

MILTON A. BUCHANAN

University of Toronto

*La Chevalerie Vivien, Chanson de Geste.* By A. L. TERRACHER. Vol. I, Textes.  
Paris, H. Champion, 1909.

The *Chevalerie Vivien* has waited many years for an adequate edition. Jonckbloet published the poem in his, at the time, valuable work: *Guillaume d'Orange*, La Haye, 1854, and included a relation of its events in his *Guillaume d'Orange, Chanson de Geste du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Amsterdam, 1867. His edition was unfortunate in being a composite based on two manuscripts not of the best. One result of the Jonckbloet edition was that the poem was not esteemed at its true value. This condition of affairs will be remedied by the excellent edition of Mr. Terracher.

The editor selected as the basis for his text MS. 1448 of the Bibliothèque

\*Some misprints occur: p. xxii, read *El principe vicioso*, not *constante*. Are such forms as *su* (for *se*), *quanti* (*quanto*), *pussible* (*possible*), *siquiara* (*siquiera*), *muche* (*mucho*), etc., misprints of the original edition?

Nationale, in accordance with the opinion of Nordfelt: *vide* Wahlund and Feilitzen, *Enfances Vivien*, Paris and Upsala, 1895, p. xvi; *cf.* Willy Schultz, *Das Handschriftenverhältnis des Covenant Vivian*, Halle, 1908, p. 67. Few alterations are made in the text of this MS., for which moderation thanks are due the editor, who has not yielded to the allurements of subjective scholarship. The text of MS. 1448 is printed on the left-hand pages, while that of the MS. of Boulogne appears on the right-hand pages, this latter MS. differing so widely from the other that it would have been difficult and cumbersome to give its variants. For the other MSS., their variants are given at the bottom of the pages. The arrangement is unusually clear, and is carried out with accuracy. At the close of the texts in verse, the editor has printed the prose version, which exists in two MSS. The first volume of Mr. Terracher's work is thus given up to the texts themselves. The second volume will include a discussion of the classification of the MSS., their age, dialect and other points of critical interest.

A careful examination of the texts as given in the present volume shows that we have here one of the most accurately prepared works that have appeared in Old French. The editor has evidently applied himself with the utmost fidelity to his task, and has understood that the cardinal duty of an editor of such texts is to render, with the highest degree of accuracy, just what the originals offer. His work accordingly provides a sure foundation for a critical study of the *Chevalerie*.

A few minor paleographical points may be mentioned. In MS. C, lines 397, 638, 681, 772, 1497, the reading appears to be *Blavies*. Line 955, read: *entrer*; lines 1063, 1064: *commanch, manch*; 1218: *esraument*. In line 1436, the MS. has *Autor*, which is of course to be interpreted: *Au tor*; in line 1768, *di*. The reading of the MS. in line 1765: *a poi ne*, is defensible.

RAYMOND WEEKS

Columbia University

*Lecciones de Literatura Española por Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Catedrático de Lengua y Literatura Españolas en la Universidad de Liverpool.* Traducción directa del Inglés por Diego Mendoza, con un prólogo de Rufino José Cuervo. Madrid, Victoriano Suarez. 1910. 8vo, pp. 326.

There can be no better evidence of the high esteem in which Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's work, *Chapters on Spanish Literature* (London, Archibald Constable and Company, 1908), is held by scholars in Spain than the fact that within so short a time of its publication a Spanish translation should be demanded. In his introduction, the distinguished philologist, D. Rufino José Cuervo, alluding to the well-known competency of Prof. Fitzmaurice-Kelly in all matters relating to the literature of Spain, remarks that the opinions of a foreigner are always of particular interest inasmuch as the difference of atmosphere and of studies produces a different point of view, from which peculiarities are often observed which remain hidden from the native. Sr. Cuervo calls attention to what is certainly one of the chiefest charms of Prof. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's work: "la soberana claridad y elegancia de las *Lecciones*, formando cada cual de ellas un cuadro de acabada perfección." Indeed, we can do no better than to continue in Sr. Cuervo's words, which show how the *Lecciones* are regarded by so eminent an authority:

No menor encomio se debe á la manera y al estilo del autor. Ni sus vastos conocimientos le engríen, ni su calidad de extranjero se deja percibir por especie alguna de dureza ó desdén. Profesando el principio de que "el alma de la crítica consiste en la estimación justa de los valores relativos, sin dejarse arrastrar á la idolatría y ni siquiera á la lisonja," no se aparta una línea de él, armado como está para ello con la preparación más necesaria, qual es la versación en la literatura clásica y en las principales modernas. Con esto, al juzgar nuestras obras, alcanza su criterio una amplitud, serenidad y mesura que dan á sus opiniones fuerza convincente; y el amor que tiene probado á las letras españolas, va acompañado, como el que es verdadero en la vida social, con una delicadeza tal, que, cuando descubre ó refuta un error, no formula sentencia áspera ó infamante, sino que, á lo más, se vale de una amable ironía que pone de su parte al lector, provocandole alguna sonrisa de aquiescencia.

This admirable quality in our author—his urbanity "when he discovers or refutes an error"—has doubtless particularly impressed Sr. Cuervo because it is so conspicuously absent in many critics of Spanish literature. Sr. Cuervo concludes as follows: "In a word, no work seems more adequate than the present to inculcate a love of sane and solid erudition, which is here combined with amenity of presentation and a judicious and impartial criticism, in a style that is sober, distinguished and captivating." The justice of this judgment no one will deny, for in the present work, as in all of Prof. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's writings upon Spanish literature, are united the soundest scholarship with a clearness and elegance of style most rare in works of erudition.

Sr. Mendoza's part of the book is excellently well done. It is an adequate translation of a work that is in every way admirable.

HUGO A. RENNERT

*University of Pennsylvania.*

*Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature française moderne (1500-1900). I. Seizième Siècle.* Par GUSTAVE LANSON. Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1909. xv + 247 pp.

The present work, which was composed by M. Lanson with the assistance of a number of his pupils, is merely intended to serve as a guide for students who desire to gain a more thorough knowledge of French literature. Hence, certain chapters (such as the chapter on translations), on which histories of literature give little or no information, have been enlarged; whereas others (cf. the chapter on Ronsard) are intentionally incomplete, inasmuch as abundant information on these subjects can be found without difficulty. Likewise, the chapters on memoirs, letters, administrative and political literature, usually neglected in literary histories, are developed more at length in this manual. Finally, the author has attempted to enlarge the list of reviews and bulletins of learned societies, for much of the useful work on this period is to be found scattered through their pages.

It is needless to say that the work of M. Lanson is well done: his *Manuel* should prove indispensable to the neophyte. An alphabetical index, however, of the authors mentioned would greatly facilitate the use of this excellent little work. It is quite difficult at times for one not thoroughly acquainted with M. Lanson's method to discover under what heading a work may be given. Every one has realized that the one great defect of Baudrier's masterly *Bibliographie lyonnaise* is the want of such an index, which causes an unnecessary loss of time and patience. That an alphabetical index would not unduly enlarge the

*Manuel* is obvious from the fact that Charl  y's well-known *Bibliographie critique de l'Histoire de Lyon* has only nine pages of index, though it contains some 340 pages of titles. Furthermore, it might be maintained that M. Lanson's method of classification would have been more satisfactory and comprehensible had it followed more closely the more careful and minute methods of Picot and Charl  y.

It is to be regretted also that the author was unable to insert a page or two on the jurists of the sixteenth century. While not immediately related to French literature, nevertheless a knowledge of their works, though they are written in Latin, is often necessary; for many of the most important scholars and literary personages of this period touched frequently upon legal subjects. And speaking of Latin, we are forced to regret the almost entire omission of the important Latinists of the sixteenth century. It might of course be objected that as this is a bibliography of French literature, Latin authors should be neglected. This is without doubt true when treating the latter part of the sixteenth century; but it is altogether different with regard to the Renaissance. Not a step in literary research in that period can be made without consulting the works of the Latinists, for their relations with the French authors were of the most intimate kind. The few indications given on p. 175 (2055-2061) are insufficient. The works of Macrin, Voul  , Ducher, Bourbon, and a host of others are strewn with references to their contemporaries, while the correspondence of Sadolet, Bunel, Boyssonn  , etc., contain a fund of information not to be found elsewhere.

M. Lanson states (p. vii) that this is a *bibliographie choisie, donc incompl  te*. Herein the reviewer wishes to call attention to a few things which have been inadvertently overlooked. First, on p. 5 we would expect to find Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*, 1545, which completes in many respects La Croix du Maine, Du Verdier and others. Next, in the long and excellent list of histories of colleges, etc. (pp. 20 *et seq.*), no mention is made of the *Coll  ge de la Trinit  * of Lyons, which was certainly equal in importance to the majority of those given by M. Lanson. While the brief study of Demogeot (*Coll  ge de la Trinit  *, in *Lyon ancien et moderne*, i, 409) may be considered incomplete, the scholarly work of Charvet, *Le Coll  ge de la Trinit   (M  m. de la Soc. litt. etc. de Lyon, 1874)* is without doubt on a par with any of the works mentioned. M. Lanson has enlarged the list of reviews, to be sure, but we are nevertheless disappointed to find no mention there of *Modern Philology*, *Modern Language Review*, *Les Annales du Midi*, *Modern Language Publications*, etc. We hope to see this list further increased by the addition of many of the excellent provincial reviews, which are usually so hard to find.

The chapters on the first half of the sixteenth century are—and this is the general defect of bibliographical works dealing with the sixteenth century—more incomplete than those on the *Pl  iade* and its successors. Under the heading, *Italie* (p. 60), for example, we fail to find the excellent articles of M. Emile Picot on *Les Fran  ais qui ont   crit en Italie au XVI   si  cle* (*Revue des Biblioth  ques*, Paris, 1898) and *Les Italiens en France au XVI   si  cle* (*Bull. Italien*, 1902-03). Among the works of Charles Fontaine (p. 67), no mention is made of his *De l'antiquit   et excellence de la ville de Lyon*, although it was considered worthy of a special edition in 1889 (by W. Poidebard, Lyon, 8vo).

While the *Biographie normande* and the other similar works are mentioned (p. 15), we fail to find the equally important (if not more important) *Biographie toulousaine* (1823, 2 vols.) and the *Dictionnaire historique du département de Vaucluse* (by Barjavet, Carpentras, 1841). The author has also failed to note in the bibliography of M.-C. de Buttet (p. 167) the very valuable work of M. Mugnier, *M.-C. de Buttet* (Paris, 1896). Under the heading Pibrac (p. 171), one should certainly mention the *Catalogue des ouvrages de Guy du Faur de Pibrac* (by R. de Pibrac, Orléans, 1901, 36 pp.). Furthermore under *divers poètes* (p. 166, etc.) we find such names as Etienne Forcadet, but no mention whatever of the more important personages, such as Hugues Salel, Barthélemy Aneau, etc. On p. 205 M. Lanson has noted one work of Canappe (*Du mouvement des muscles*)<sup>1</sup> but has omitted other more important medical scholars.<sup>2</sup>

Under works appearing outside of France, we would like to call attention to Cary's excellent *Early French Poets* (London, 1846), Kastner's *Sources of the Sonnets of Olivier de Magny* (*Mod. Philology*, 1909), etc.—The only misprints noted are *Bibliographie lyonnaise* for *Biographie lyonnaise* (p. 16, no. 169), and 1879 for 1789 (p. 16, no. 171).

JOHN L. GERIG

Columbia University

*Le Cénacle de la Muse française* (1823-1827). Par LÉON SÉCHÉ. Paris, Mercure de France, 1909. xv + 409 pp.

Besides editing his two reviews, the *Annales romantiques* and the *Revue de la Renaissance*, M. Séché frequently finds the time to publish a volume on one of the two periods of French literature—the Sixteenth Century and the period of Romanticism—in which he is especially interested. It is very fortunate that we have a scholar who knows thoroughly these two great epochs in French literature, for there are many points of resemblance between them. De Musset was not only related to Du Bellay in blood, but also in spirit and inspiration. And to the Pléiade may be compared the seven founders of the *Muse française*.<sup>1</sup>

M. Séché admires the great period of Romanticism—the period of the Catholic and royalistic influence of Châteaubriand as contrasted with the liberal influence of Rousseau that manifested itself later. No better representatives of the first period can be found than Alexandre Soumet, Alexandre Guiraud and their protectress Sophie Gay, Jules Rességuier and Emile Deschamps, whose correspondence is published for the first time by M. Séché.

Besides this, we have brief studies devoted to the work published in the *Muse française* by the seven founders and twelve collaborators of that review. The interest in these chapters is heightened by the enthusiasm of the author,

<sup>1</sup> For bibliography of Canappe, cf. *Collège de la Trinité avant 1540, Rev. de la Renaissance*, 1908, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, *Pierre Tolet* in Bregnot du Lut's *Mélanges*, I, 187.

And under the *Langue française au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, we look in vain for Brandon's *Robert Estienne et le Dictionnaire français au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Furst, Baltimore, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> M. Séché shows other points of resemblance on p. 175, etc.



which, perhaps, is slightly exaggerated at times. M. Séché's researches on the history of the *Salon de l'Arsenal*, *la Société royale des bonnes lettres*, and *les premiers salons romantiques* are not only exceedingly interesting but very important for the history of romanticism. The volume concludes with studies on the *débuts* of Romanticism at the *Théâtre Français*, etc.

JOHN L. GERIG

Columbia University

*The Life and Works of Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa.* By J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Romantic Languages and Literatures, No. 1. Philadelphia, Pa., 1907. 8vo, pp. 159.

Dr. Crawford's dissertation is a credit to himself and to his university, whether the work be examined from the standpoint of content, or from that of mere form. Great care has evidently been taken with the minute details of bookmaking, a thing in which many dissertations are sorely lacking. The type is clear, the lines are well spaced, and the paper is of good shade and unglazed, with the result that the page makes an attractive appearance; while the running title serves as a convenient analysis of the book. In addition to the table of contents at the beginning, there is at the end a three-page index of proper names. There is no list of *addenda et corrigenda*, for the very good reason that, so far as I have noted, none is needed. Attention is called to these facts because too frequently an otherwise meritorious dissertation is marred by carelessness concerning matters of style and bookmaking; and also because one of the chief advantages aimed at by those few universities which require the printing of the doctoral dissertation before the conferring of the degree is precisely that of practical experience in the art of bookmaking to the extent of putting one book through the whole process from the moment of its conception to that of its being placed upon the shelves of the bookseller. Dr. Crawford has thoroughly learned this branch of the art.

With this brief tribute to the excellent form of Dr. Crawford's book we may now turn to the content, which is even more admirable. The author has placed vividly before us a character cast in a mould that certainly does not seem to have served for many of his contemporaries: an individual whose impetuosity, lack of affection, irascibility, vindictiveness, and malignity were incongruously yoked with a devotion to morality, duty, and the truth that remained unaltered in the midst of the most adverse circumstances; and even in those parlous times few men had more downs and fewer ups of fortune than had the subject of this dissertation. And yet, although Figueroa is shown to have played no inconsiderable rôle in the history of his times, and although it is maintained that his works have not received all the attention due them, Dr. Crawford has not lost his sense of proportion and does not claim that Figueroa should be enthroned among the really great authors of his epoch. In short, Dr. Crawford's statement of his author's achievement is a model of sanity and justice.

In a book that is so good throughout, it is not easy to say which parts are best. After considerable deliberation, however, I believe that most readers will agree that chapters III, V, and VII may fairly claim that honor, and among

themselves they make a *crescendo* of excellence and interest. The third chapter treats of the pastoral romance *La Constante Amarilis*, and not only proves it to be a *roman à clef*, but gives us the key, and an extremely interesting one it is. In the fifth chapter Dr. Crawford deals with three principal topics: *El Passagero*; Opposition to the National Theatre; and Relations with Alarcón and Cervantes. The combination is skilful, for it exhibits in rapid succession several sides of Figueroa's character. We see him as the personification of ingratitude and heartlessness; we see him as defender of the classical drama and opponent of the new drama; and, finally, as a ruthless critic of immorality of all kinds, wherever found in the society of his day. Figueroa's *Passagero* will always rank as a very important document for the cultural history of Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Of prime importance from the same standpoint is Dr. Crawford's chapter seven, with its account of Figueroa's troubles with the Inquisition. Here we are dealing with no one man's opinion or point of view. The affair made history, the question at issue being frankly this: Is the Inquisition (and the Pope made common cause with the Inquisitors) or the Sovereign of Spain in supreme control of the latter's officers? and Dr. Crawford was thoughtful enough not to refer us to inaccessible archives, but to quote the original records in full. The solid documentation contained in the fifty-seven pages of the appendix will prove to be not the least valuable part of a very interesting and instructive book.

JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD

University of Illinois

*La lingua rustica padovana nei due poeti G. B. Maganza e Domenico Pittarini, con cenni su alcuni dialetti morti e vivi e proverbi veneti.* Di C. PASQUALIGO, 2d ed. Verona, Lib. Dante, 1908. Price, L. 2.

This book, which has received favorable notice elsewhere, is conducted in a semi-popular vein, but with much novelty of material and evidence of extensive erudition. It considers the development in Venetia of the Germanic speech islands and the Ladin undercurrent of dialect elements, treated so brilliantly by Ascoli in *Archiv. Glott.*, I; it compares the dialects of Verona and Lonigo; discusses foreign influences in the dialects of the XVth century; the origin of the *maccaronea*, in criticism of Zannoni; finally the diffusion and character of the *lingua pavana*, in connection with Maganza, Rapa and others. Of special richness is the collection of proverbs, a field in which the name Pasqualigo is of course associated permanently with those of Bianchi and Musatti if not of Pitrè.

Considered absolutely from the scientific point of view, the book invites some criticism. The history of the dialectal development in Venetia is much vaguer than necessary in view of publications by Lazzarini, Ascoli and others. The relation of Verona to the Ladin districts is surely demonstrable by arguments of phonology and lexicography, as well as by the probabilities of climate and commercial intercourse. A third column in the parallels of pp. 4-6 would have been illuminating and easy to compile. There is something medieval about the facility with which the author admits foreign influences in explanation of deeply rooted popular forms (pp. 8-9 and 98-99): "Ripercorrendo le comedie del Ruzzante, osservai che anche là dove la scena è a Venezia e parlano

veneziani, si trova assai di rado il *xe*. Questo *xe* è il francese *c'est*, usato a Venezia dopo le Crociate quando i veneziani erano stati lungamente a contatto coi Franchi, e quando erano a Venezia letti i libri francesi e provenzali, diffusi per tutta Europa." This does not require refutation, even if we take no account of the fundamental treatment of *xe* by Gartner in the *Zeitschrift für rom. phil.*, for 1907, which seems to have escaped the author. The conditions under which linguistic hybridism is a certainty are limited in scope. How easily it may be overworked was shown in Ascoli's reply to Mussafia's discoveries of 1864. A very suggestive excerpt from Ruzzante of the Venetian dialect spoken by a Greek appears on p. 99. The rôle of the Greeks in Venetian satire is a theme well worthy of extensive investigation, and presents features notably different from the views of the French chroniclers of the Middle Ages. In one aspect at least, they have added to the avarice and deceit which enraged the Crusaders a certain seductive charm not without its effect on Venetian ladies. I may add that a patrician *secentista*, Zuanne Garzoni (di Marino), a grandnephew of Torquato Tasso, has a poem (*No giera mo peccao*) in complaint to his Nina, who has forsaken him for "quel Morè maledito." His rival's language is mimicked with some humor:

"Come custì parlava—El grego gacciolava  
Digando strambamente con sti tiri:  
—Viva in Candia con mi—Vorrèu vegniri  
E te vorrèu sposari—E subito comprari  
Una ghelera bella e di manigna,  
E spender mi vorrèu cento cecchigna."<sup>1</sup>

Here the second person plural appears as first singular; the changes of *e* to *i*, *i* to *a*, *n* to *gn*, etc., are obvious.

We must await with interest the publication of a critique on the language of Marin Sanudo, which M. Pasqualigo has prepared but holds in reserve. It contains "alcune centinaia di voci, che ora non si usano più." This completes a great gap in the accessible sources for the Venetian dialect, rich for the old and the modern, but scattered for the intermediate periods. Meanwhile the form *trozo*, "giro, rigiro" (p. 6), derived by M. Pasqualigo from *terrere*, *tritum* arouses interest. We have also the It. *trozza* (Fr. *radage*, Eng. *parral*) the circle of rope which holds the boom to the mast of a ship; and It. *trozzo*, "gentaglia," Eng. "gang of men." The latter is explainable as a deverbal from a *trozzare*, if we do not adopt Pianigiani's assumption of borrowing from Fr. *trousse*. While *thyrsus* has been generally preferred to a derivative from *torquere* as the origin of these words, no account has been taken of the Greek *τροχίον*, "little wheel"; the form *trochus* "hoop" existed already in classic Latin. The semantic relation of these words, "wheel, circle, encircle, ring," etc., should offer no difficulty; and the form cited by M. Pasqualigo seems to preclude the influence of Spanish *troza* adduced by Pianigiani. The treatment of the vowel in French presents objection to our theory, unless we consider it a borrowing from Italy. Phonetic evidence in Italy would imply its introduction from the Adriatic trade.

M. Pasqualigo's insistence on the rôle of the universities in the development

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Querini-Stampalia, Venice, Cl. VI, cod. XX.

of the *maccaronea* has great plausibility.—Pp. 19 ff. treat some interesting parodies and translations of Petrarch, Anacreon, etc.

A. A. LIVINGSTON

Columbia University

*La poesia di Venezia.* Di ARNALDO SEGARIZZI. Venezia, Giov. Fabris di Spiridione, 1909. 4to. Price, L. 7.

As a scholarly work this book has value from its contribution to Venetian bibliography and as a summary of the themes and forms adopted by the poetry which Venice as a place of beauty, a seat of Italian independence, a hated political power, has inspired. The bulk of this literature is enormous; and as a mass, it has the defect of endless repetition and consistent mediocrity. This publication remedies these defects: it treats the themes progressively and every selection presents something new. Picturesqueness and tone seem to have been the criteria of choice; so that the anthology has at once freshness and unity. Taken in conjunction with the historical treatise of this poetry by Medin, the book makes accessible all that is essential to our control of this field. As a piece of book-making, it is a notable success; the illustrations are in half tone on pasters, and unique in subject; the type, slightly adorned with an inconspicuous line decoration, is large and clear, on unglazed paper. There are explanatory and bibliographical notes at the end, balancing a brief historical preface. A more detailed review, treating the content and matters of text constitution, will appear in *Mod. Lang. Notes*.  
A. A. L.

*Storia della Grammatica Italiana.* Di CIRO TRABALZA. Milano, Hoepli, 1908. xvi + 561 pp. Price, L. 9.

In one of the most far-reaching social questions that have confronted Italy, and on which nearly everyone has had something if not too much to say, this book is, in point of critical study, the most comprehensive and organic. It not only reviews previous effort in this vast field, but adds solid contributions of hitherto unconsidered documents. And while already noteworthy reservations must be made on some of the passages in this great work, and while additional documents must be taken account of, this history will be for some time the point of departure for all studies on the question of the Italian language, on the history of grammatical categories, on the theory of grammar as an esthetic, dogmatical or practical entity. The publication of Villey on the sources of Du Bellay's *Défense* was too late to be considered in the author's treatment of Du Bellay's relation to the *Cesano* of Tolomei (pp. 151-4), and Trabalza's *Storia* was apparently inaccessible to Grace Norton in her review of Villey (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1909, pp. 191-2). These *rapprochements* serve to show the singular universality of the philological interest in the sixteenth century and the close relation of the various expressions of it throughout Europe. It may be of interest to associate with Mr. Trabalza's treatment of foreign critics of the Italian language, the *World of Words* of John Florio, a classicist evidently in tone, but whose environment gave his dictionary a necessarily broader and more cosmopolitan scope. The complete edition of Beni's *Anticrusca* (Trabalza, pp. 296-8) was never published, but America is so fortunate as to possess the entire manuscript in the Petrarch collection at Cornell. On these details articles will shortly be forthcoming in this *Review*.  
A. A. L.

# BRIEF REPORT ON AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ROMANCE SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1909

## SUBJECTS GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE

E. H. Tuttle: *Notes on the Foreign elements in Roumanian*, *Mod. Phil.* VII, 1, 23-5: sees Slavic influence in the numerals, the supine and the palatal *št*.—E. P. Hammond: *Danse Macabre*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1909, 63: a Laurentius Machabre was living in 1419; *cf.* however, *Giorn. Stor. della lett. ital.*, LIII, 463.—E. H. Tuttle: *A note on Spanish orthography*, *ibid.*, 96: the distinction in capitalization between *un enfant grec* and *les Grecs* has been abandoned in Spanish wisely.—Likewise, we may add, by most Italians; here the noun *Franchi* is still normally capitalized, probably to distinguish it from *franchi* "lire."

R. E. Moritz: *On a quantitative relation governing certain linguistic phenomena*; *ibid.*, 234-41: read rather "stylistic"? Attempts to deduce a mathematical formula by which individuality of style may be detected from observation of simple sentence percentage and from the average per sentence of predicates.—B. P. Kurtz, *Style and Habit*, a note, *ibid.*, 11-3.

G. L. Hamilton: review of N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, *ibid.*, 16-21: an essential contribution to the subject.—K. Young, *Some texts of liturgical plays*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, XXIV, 294-331: unedited Latin texts of dramatic liturgical offices from France, Spain and Italy (twelfth to fifteenth centuries).—D. S. Blondheim, *A parallel to Aucassin et Nicolette*, VI, 26, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 73-4; treats the anecdote of Machiavelli's preference of hell to heaven.—W. G. Howard, *Ut pictura poesis*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 40-123: an excellent review of the history of this question from Alberti (1436) to De Piles, Coypel and contemporaries of Lessing in France.—A. E. Richards, *The English Wagner Book of 1594*, *ibid.*, 32-9: reference to the influence of Ariosto and to Rabelais.—L. E. Kastner, *The sources of Olivier de Magny's sonnets*, *Mod. Phil.*, 27-48: shows that he borrowed freely from Petrarch, Castellani, Tomitano, Bertussi, Sannazaro, Tebaldeo, Tasso, Ariosto, Bembo, Filosseno, etc.—J. M. Berdan: *A definition of Petrarchismo*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 699-710: distinguishes the real admirers, translators and imitators of Petrarch from those who adopted the mannerisms of the Italian cinquecentisti. Categories of Petrarchistic imitations.—W. H. Hulme, *A Middle English addition to the waver cycle*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 218-22; for the history of the novella, Boccaccio, Rueda, etc.—C. Ruutz-Rees, *Some debts of Samuel Daniel to Du Bellay*, *ibid.*, 134-7; contribution to the history of Petrarchism.—W. P. Mustard, *Notes on the eglogues of Alexander Barclay*, *ibid.*, 8-10: parallels with Mantovano and Jean le Maire de Belges.—H. F. Schwartz, *One of the sources of the Queen of Corinth*, *ibid.*, 76-7: the tale in Fletcher, Massinger and Field derives from Wynkyn de Worde's version of the *Gesta Romanorum*.—R. M. Cushman, *Concerning Fulke*

Greville's (*Lord Brooke's*) *Tragedies: Alaham and Mustapha*, *ibid.*, 180-1: concerns Paolo Giovio, De Thou, Thomas Artus, Madeleine de Scudéry, Augier Ghislain de Busbecq.—E. O. Eckelmann, *Maria Stuart im Drama der Welt-literatur*, review of K. Kipka, *Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, VIII, 3, 439-42: considers dramas on Mary Stuart in France, Italy and Spain.—P. S. Allen, *Mediæval Latin lyrics*, Pt. IV, *Mod. Phil.*, 385-406: conclusion of an important series of articles on this question. Offers here general considerations of method: the earlier or better text is not always a good chronological test; vernacular phrases are not necessarily an indication of linguistic origin; nor are allusions to countries proof of the original home. Discusses the relation of versification to authorship; the nature-sense; the meaning of *goliard*, *literati* and *laici*; rhymed letters and laudatory odes. Disagrees with Bédier as to the lack of German influence on French fabliaux. Bibliography, notes and corrections.—W. P. Mustard, *Later echoes of the Greek bucolic poets*, *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, 245-83: a very comprehensive list of translations and imitations of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus in Italy, France and Spain from the Renaissance to the present day. No mention is made of the *Bucolicorum Autores*, Oporin, Bâle, 1546, at present a very rare work.

## FRENCH

J. E. Matzke: *On the history of palatal ñ in French with special reference to o and open e*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 476-93: contends that the same conclusions arrived at for *a* and *e* with *ñ* apply also to the other vowels (*Mod. Lang. Pub.*, XXI, 668 ff.).—L. R. Gibbs: *The meaning of Feeldes in Chaucer's Knight's Tale*, 975-7, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 197-8: cites the analogy of Chrestien de Troyes, *si reluisent tuit li pré*, with others from the *Roland* and from Froissart to prove the meaning "fields."—A. T. Bödtker: *French words in English after 1066*, *ibid.*, 214-7.

W. A. Nitze: *The Fisher King in the Grail romances*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 365-418: the Fisher King is not Christian, but a symbol of the creative force in nature (*i. e.*, water or moisture); the impulse to myth in the Arthurian romance is the primitive struggle of man to control the natural forces.—Louise Dudley: *An early homily on the Body and Soul theme*, *Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, 225-53; shows the relation between the homily and the *Visio Fulberti* (ed. du Méril) and the O. Fr. *Samedi* (*cf. Romania*, XX, 518 ff.).—G. C. Keidel: *The history of French Fable manuscripts*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 207-19: describes fourteen collections in forty-nine mss.—M. P. Brush; *Ysopet III of Paris*, *ibid.*, 494-546, introduction and text.—T. Frank, *Classical scholarship in Medieval Iceland*, *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, 139-152: influence of Alexandre de Ville-dieu, Evrard de Béthune, etc., and of the French Alexander romances.—H. A. Todd: *A recently discovered fragment of an O. F. MS. of the Faits des Romains*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 676-86, recovered from the binding of a book of the fifteenth century; contains no special variants from texts already known.—S. L. Galpin: *Fortune's wheel in the Roman de la Rose*, *ibid.*, 332-42: the wheel revolves on a horizontal plane.—J. H. Hanford: *A note on the Scheirer Rhythmus*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 74-6: imitated from the *Dialogus fidei et rationis* of Philippe de Grève.—G. H. Gerould: *An early analogue of Chaucer's Prioresses Tale*, *ibid.*, 132-3: in Gregory of Tours.—W. O. Sypherd: *Le Songe Vert, and Chaucer's Dream poems*, *ibid.*, 46-7: *cf. Romania*, XXXIII, 490 ff.—G. L. Kit-

tredge: *Chaucer's Envoy to Bukton*, *ibid.*, 14-5: largely on the satire against marriage in the poetry of Eustache Deschamps.—R. K. Root: *Chaucer's Legend of Medea*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 124-53: relation to the *Roman de la Rose* and the work of Guido delle Colonne.—H. C. Goddard: *Chaucer's Legend of Good Women*, *Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, 47-111: contends that Chaucer is far from following closely his French models.—W. H. Schofield: *Symbolism, allegory and autobiography in the Pearl*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 585-675: relation of the *Pearl* to O. Fr. lapidaries.—J. M. Manly: *The authorship of Piers the Plowman*, *Mod. Phil.*, 83-144: its author shows evidence of acquaintance with French and Latin sources.—H. N. MacCracken: *An unknown Middle English translation of the Épître d'Othea*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 122-3: by an Anthony Babington of the poem by Christine de Pisan.—D. H. Carnahan: *Jean D'Abundance, a study of his life and three of his works*, *University Studies* (Univ. of Illinois), III, no. 5, pp. 132.—J. L. Gerig: *The family of Maurice Scève*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 470-5.—H. C. Lancaster, *A poem addressed to Alexandre Hardy*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 170-2.—D. C. Croissant: *Cibber's Cinna's Conspiracy*, *ibid.*, 256: proves that Cibber was paid for the play of which his authorship had been questioned by Miss Canfield in her *Corneille and Racine in England*.—R. M. Alden: *The development of the use of prose in the English drama, 1600-1800*, *Mod. Phil.*, 1-23: considers the efforts of La Motte, Voltaire and Diderot to introduce prose into tragedy.—S. G. Patterson: *Voltaire and Dumas*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 63: compares a passage in the *Ingénu* with the prison scene in *Monte Cristo*.—H. W. Thayer: *Thümmel's Reise and Laurence Sterne*, *ibid.*, 6-8: the German is imitated from the English text, but has felt markedly the influence of Rousseau.—J. P. Hoskins, *Biological analogy in literary criticism*, *Mod. Phil.*, 61-82: in criticism of Brunetière.—F. L. Critchlow, *Arthur in Old French poetry not of the Breton Cycle*, *Mod. Phil.*, 477-86.—Louise B. Morgan, *The source of the fountain story in the Ywain*, *Mod. Phil.*, 331-41: from the medieval fountain-lore, there are two classes of stories, one classical and, contrary to Prof. Nitze's contention (*Mod. Phil.*, III, 267-81), bearing no resemblance to Chrestien's story; and the other, containing every feature of his story, being most probably Celtic.—*Chevalerie Vivien. Facsimile Reproduction of the Sancti Bertini Manuscript of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Boulogne-sur-Mer. With an Introduction by Raymond Weeks*, Ph.D., Professor of the Romance Languages and Literature in Columbia University, New York, published in the *University of Missouri Studies*, Columbia, Missouri, 1909. The twenty-four superb plates of this publication will make it of singular value to students of paleography. The plates were executed by Berthaud Frères of Paris, and are done in the finest form of this well-known house. The Introduction contains an appreciation of the version of the *Chevalerie* as preserved in the MS. of Boulogne.—A. A. Kern, *Deschamps' Thuireval*, *Mod. Phil.*, 503-9: identifies the Thuireval mentioned in Deschamps' ballad, *The leaf and the flower*, with the English knight, John Thirlevalle or Thirlwall.—F. B. Luquiens, *The Reconstruction of the original Chanson de Roland*, *Transactions of the Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, 111-136; *do.*, *Old Fr. Phonology*, Yale Press.

## ITALIAN

F. M. Warren: *Tristan on the continent before 1066*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 37-8: an individual named Tristan, or Trostan appears among the Sicilian Normans in the eleventh century, as proved by documents of the twelfth. There is no evidence of connection with the Tristan of the romances.—O. M. Johnston: *Use of suo for loro in old Italian*, *ibid.*, 133-4: in correction of Bertoni, *Zeit. für R. P.*, XXXI, 495. We may add that the vitality of *suo* "loro" is due in part to its frequent analytic sense, "each his own": "un di loro che han ivi il suo soggiorno."—A. A. Livingston: *Venetian businello* = *Italian emissario*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 176-8: on the Businello del Sile.

J. B. Fletcher: *The oracle of love in the twelfth chapter of the Vita Nova*, *Nation*, 595-6: "ego sum tamquam centrum circuli, etc." associated with *Par. XXI*, 79 and *XXIII*, 94, etc.: True love is a centre of impartial, unselfish glory, reflecting equally upon all; Dante could not attain to this perfection till he had stripped his love of selfish elements.—This seems to be the import of Cochin's note in his recent translation of the *V. N.*; but Mr. Fletcher's exegesis is more profound.—W. K. Vance: *Dante in America*, *ibid.*, 253: on George Ticknor's studies in Germany and Italy, 1807-31. Most of Mr. V.'s material is developed at greater length by Koch (*Dante in America*, *Report of Dante Society*, 1896, 18-23), whom Mr. V. fails to cite. Koch does not mention the work with De Crollis in Rome, but continues Ticknor's studies to a much later period than Mr. V.—H. N. MacCracken: *Dant in English, a solution*, *ibid.*, 276-7: the reference in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* is not to a translation of Dante by Chaucer but to Chaucer as an English Dante.—E. H. Wilkins: *Criseida*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 65-7: *Cri-* not *Gri-*; the sources of the confusion between Briseis and Criseis in Boccaccio.—C. R. Baskerville: *Sources of How a man may choose a good wife from a bad*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 711-30; in Riche's translation of Cinthio's *Hecatomithi*, III, 5.—S. P. Sherman: *Stella and the Broken Heart*, *ibid.*, 274-85: rejects the theory that Ford borrowed from Italian sources.—A. A. Livingston: *Some Italian satiric predicates of the eighteenth century*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 105-8: book titles, etc., turned to satire on their authors: cf., for a similar device *The lecturing candidate*, *New York Evening Sun*, Aug. 19, 1909; for similar parlor compilations, D'Annunzio, *Il Piacere* (ed. 1896), p. 43; for predicates on nations, *Jahrbuch für Rom. und Eng. Lit.*, IX, 198; for note 10: add II, 593-4.—M. Levi, *Silence and solitude in the poems of Leopardi*, *ibid.*, 172-6.—A. A. Livingston: *A Carducci-Leopardi parallel*, *ibid.*, 243-4; *Juvenilia*, XVIII, E tu venuto ai bell'anni ridenti, and the ode *Sopra un basso rilievo antico sepolcrale*.—W. R. Thayer: *Jessie White Mario*, *Nation*, 564-6: biographical note.—A. S. Cook, *Six Notes*, *Mod. Phil.*, 469-76: concerns Petrarch's *Ode to the Princes of Italy*; and Dante, *Inf.*, XIII, 64-6.

## SPANISH

K. Pietsch: *Spanish Etymologies*, *Mod. Phil.*, 49-60: *anviso* < \**ante visu*; *saber de coro*: haplology for *saber de \*decoro*; \**decoro* < *decorar* < *de cuer* (*cor*), *Fr. par coeur*. *Duecho* < *ductu* due to Leonese Asturian influence, where, besides vulgar forms, are found some with unwarranted diphthong *ie* and *ue*.—K. Pietsch: *Notes on Baist*, *Grammatik der Spanischen Sprache*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 163-6.—E. H. Tuttle: *Eng. rasher* < *Span. raja*, *ibid.*, 62-3.



C. C. Marden: *El libro de los gatos* (ed. Northup), *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 56-8.—H. R. Lang: *Communications from Spanish Cancioneros*, *Transactions of the Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, July reprint from, 73-108, 1909. The works of Juan de Valtierra, first half of fifteenth century; ten *cançiones* with linguistic notes; account of the Seville ms. of the *Cancionero de la Colombina*.—G. G. Laubscher: *Notes on the Spanish Ysopo of 1496*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 70-1: cf. *Romania*, XXIII, 561-75 and H. R. Lang, *Ysopete in Spanish*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 158, reference in Juan Ruiz.—J. P. W. Crawford: *A Spanish farce of the early sixteenth century*, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 1-31: by Luis Margarit, 1519-22.—K. Pietsch, *Don Quixote I*, Prologo, *Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro*, *ibid.*, 55-6.—G. T. Northup, *An allusion in Lope de Vega*, *ibid.*, 62, in *Comedias* (Hartzenbusch, Madrid, 1859), to the Osoric libels, in the "infame rama del linaje Osorio."—M. A. Buchanan: *Chorley's Catalogue of Comedias and Autos of Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 167-70; extensive correction to Rennert's *Life of L. de V.*—A. H. Bushee: *The Spanish Novel*, *ibid.*, 127-8: on Rodriguez Marin's *Mateo Aleman*.—W. W. Comfort, *The Moors in Spanish popular poetry before 1600*, reprint from *Haverford Essays*, Haverford, Pa., 1909, 273-303.—M. A. Buchanan, *La Vida Es Sueño, comedia famosa de D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca*, University of Toronto Library, 1909, Vol. I, pp. 135. Critical text with notes. An important contribution, to be noticed later in this *Review*.

---

## NOTES AND NEWS

*Both of the editors of this REVIEW are advocates of the movement for the simplification of English spelling. Within appropriate limits, contributors will be freely permitted to follow their individual predilections in the matter.*

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Modern Language Association was held at Cornell University, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, the 28th, 29th and 30th of December. The meeting was well attended, and was pronounced a success by the faithful who had attended many such occasions. The Romance papers were in evidence, and showed careful preparation. The increasing activity of Romance scholarship, as evinced in the *Publications*, was publicly mentioned. The following officers were elected: President, Brander Matthews, of Columbia University; 1st Vice-President, J. W. Cunliffe, University of Wisconsin; 2d Vice-President, J. D. M. Ford, Harvard University; 3d Vice-President, A. B. Faust, Cornell University. The next meeting will be held in New York City.

Similarly, all reports announce that the meeting of the Central Division, at the University of Iowa, was successful and inspiring. The Central Division chose as Chairman Professor Laurence Fossler, of the University of Nebraska. The next meeting of the division will be at St. Louis, where was held, in December, 1896, the second annual meeting of this body. A joint meeting with the Eastern Division is due in 1911. In both divisions, there are committees working on revised lists of texts for the study of modern languages.

Professor Bédier, of the Collège de France, sailed for home at Christmas-tide, and arrived safely. He came under the auspices of the *Alliance Française*, to conduct a series of lessons such as he gives at the *Collège de France*. These lessons were meant to be rigorously scientific, and to resemble as little as possible the conventional public lecture. The subject-matter concerned the period of Old French, and largely, but not solely, the epic literature. The lessons of Professor Bédier produced an admirable and, let us hope, lasting impression of what constitutes the finest qualities of French scholarship and character. Professor Bédier delivered a series of his lessons at the following universities: Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Illinois; also one or two lessons at Vassar, and at the universities of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan. He represented the *Collège de France* at the installation of President Lowell of Harvard, and received the honorary doctorate from that university.

Professor Lucien Foulet, of the University of California, is spending half a year in France. His address will be Care of the Crédit Lyonnais, Paris.

Professor H. Suchier announces an edition of the *Chanson de Guillaume*. It is dedicated to Joseph Bédier.

Professor Charles H. Grandgent, of Harvard University, has been spending a part of his sabbatical year in southern France, at Le Cannet. He is at present traveling in Italy. His address is Care of Baring Bros., London.

Professor M. Levi, of the University of Michigan, is spending the year in France. His address is 5 rue Cassini, Paris.

Under the title: *Li Contes del Graal, Crestien's von Troyes Contes del Graal (Percevaus li galois)*, an edition of the valuable manuscript, Paris, fonds français 794, has appeared, without date or indication of printer or of place. It is said to have been issued privately for the pupils of Professor Baist, at Freiburg im Breisgau. We are sorry not to be able to indicate a book-dealer from whom a copy of this rare volume might possibly be obtained.

Professor A. Cohn, head of the department of Romance languages at Columbia University, has gone to France to remain until August. His address is Care of Munroe & Co., 7 rue Scribe, Paris.

Professor C. C. Ayer, of the University of Colorado, intends to spend next year in foreign travel and study.

Mr. A. A. Livingston, of Columbia University, has accepted an appointment to Cornell University as Assistant Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures. He will also edit the catalog and subject index of the admirable Petrarch collection of that university.

Mr. S. G. Patterson is spending the year in Europe as Cornell fellow in Romance Languages.

Mr. J. A. Ray, formerly of Annapolis, is in Arabia in the consular service.

Professor Walter Morris Hart, of the University of California, whose work interests Romance scholars by so many side-lights, is spending the year in Europe. His address is Care of the Crédit Lyonnais, Paris.

Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois, has been commissioned by the Spanish Royal Academy to prepare a critical edition of the *Celestina*. The edition will appear in the official series of masterpieces.

Dr. Aurelio M. Espinosa is said to have been offered an assistant professorship in the department of Romanic Languages at the Leland Stanford University. Professor Espinosa obtained his A.B. and his A.M. at the University of Colorado in 1902 and 1904, and later his doctor's degree from the University of Chicago. His publications are well known.

---



## RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

### THE MEANING OF TRUTH : A Sequel to "Pragmatism."

By WILLIAM JAMES, LL.D. 8vo. pp. xxiv+298. \$1.25 *net*; by mail, \$1.38.  
 "Perhaps the most eminent living American philosopher and psychologist, Prof. James is certainly the most original and suggestive."—N. Y. TIMES.

### THE INDIVIDUAL AND REALITY : An Essay Touching the First Principles of Metaphysics.

By EDWARD DOUGLAS FAWCETT. Medium 8vo. pp. xxiv+449. \$4.25 *net*.  
 "I hail your book as a great and powerful agency in the spreading of truth."—  
 Professor WILLIAM JAMES.

### HABIT-FORMATION AND THE SCIENCE OF TEACHING.

By STUART H. ROWE, Ph.D., Head of the Department of Psychology and Principles of Education, Brooklyn Training School for Teachers; Lecturer on Educational Psychology, Adelphi College, Brooklyn. Author of "The Lighting of School-Rooms," "The Physical Nature of the Child and How Study It." Crown 8vo. pp. xviii+308. \$1.50 *net*; by mail, \$1.64.

### THE LAST YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE, 1656-1658.

By CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. With 3 Plans. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xx+342. Vol. II. pp. xii+346. \$7.00 *net*.

These volumes are intended to be a continuation of the "History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate" which Dr. S. R. Gardiner left unfinished, the work being undertaken by Professor Firth in accordance with Dr. Gardiner's wishes.

### VIRGINIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SLAVERY AND SECESSION

By BEVERLEY B. MUNFORD. Small 8vo. pp. xiii+329. \$2.00 *net*; by mail, \$2.16.

"Mr. Munford has studied his subject carefully, he has used many unpublished sources, he puts his statements clearly and forcibly, and settles one disputed matter in history authoritatively."—N. Y. SUN.

### A MEMOIR OF THE RT. HON. WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY, M.P., O.M., LL.D., D.C.L., Litt.D., Member of the French Institute and of the British Academy.

By HIS WIFE. With Photogravure and 4 other Portraits. pp. xvii+432. Large Crown 8vo. Cloth, gilt top, \$2.50 *net*; by mail \$2.65.

"She has packed it tight with good things, and anyone who fails to read it misses some very interesting and illuminating reading."—CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

### BEASTS AND MEN. Carl Hagenbeck's Experiences for Half a Century Among Wild Animals.

An abridged translation by HUGH S. R. ELLIOT and A. G. THACKER, A.R.C.S., with an Introduction by P. CHALMERS MITCHELL, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., Secretary of the Zoological Society of London, and Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park; with Photogravure Portrait of the author and 99 other Illustrations. 8vo. pp. xiv+299. \$3.50 *net*.

### TO BE PUBLISHED SHORTLY

#### THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH PARLIMENTARY PARTY from 1870 to 1890.

By FRANK HUGH O'DONNELL. With numerous Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo.

Mr. F. Hugh O'Donnell was a member of Parliament in Mr. Butt's party, and afterwards co-operated with, and shortly differed from, Parnell and Parnellites. The book relates the origins of the Home Rule movement, the rise and authorship of the Active Policy, commonly known as Obstruction, the intervention of the American Irish, which produced the Land League, the rise, progress and fall of Mr. Parnell and his relations both with English parties and with American organizations. New and strange light, illustrated by much documentary evidence, will be thrown upon the Land League and the Invincible Conspiracy.

An important portion of the book deals with the relations between the Active Irish Policy and questions of grave imperial interest in South Africa, India and elsewhere.

#### GOVERNMENT BY INFLUENCE and Other Addresses.

By ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN, Commissioner of Education of the United States. Crown 8vo. \$1.35 *net*.

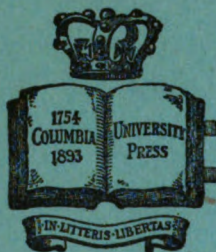
Addresses delivered on various occasions during the first three years of the author's service in the Bureau of Education.

**LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., Publishers, FOURTH AVE. and 30TH STREET, NEW YORK**



# The Columbia University Press

Columbia University in the City of New York



The Press was incorporated June 8, 1893, to promote the publication of the results of original research. It is a private corporation, directly related to Columbia University by the provisions that its Trustees shall be officers of the University and that the President of Columbia University shall be President of the Press.

The publications of the Columbia University Press include works on Biography, History, Economics, Education, Philosophy, Linguistics, and Literature, and the following series :

Columbia University Biological Series  
Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology  
Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature  
Columbia University Studies in English  
Columbia University Geological Series  
Columbia University Germanic Studies  
Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series  
Columbia University Contributions to Oriental History and Philology  
Columbia University Oriental Studies  
Columbia University Studies in Romance Philology and Literature  
Blumenthal Lectures                      Hewitt Lectures  
Carpentier Lectures                      Jesup Lectures

Catalogues will be sent free on application.

**THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, Agents**

64-66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

## A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

with the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG  
MILTON A. BUCHANAN  
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD  
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET  
JOHN L. GERIG  
C. H. GRANDGENT  
GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG  
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON  
KENNETH MCKENZIE  
HUGO A. RENNERT

EDWARD S. SHELDON

HUGH A. SMITH

---

## CONTENTS

Richard de Normandie dans les Chansons de Geste. JOSEPH BÉDIER . . . . .	113
Arthurian Literature. A. E. CURDY . . . . .	125
Two Traces of the Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange in the Old Spanish Romances HÉLÈNE M. EVERS	140
The Opening Diablerie of the Unpublished <i>Mystère de Saint Martin</i> , by Andrieu de la Vigne. DAVID H. CARNAHAN . . . . .	149
A Brief Study of the Phonology of the Neapolitan Dialect. HERBERT H. VAUGHAN	158
Barthélemy Aneau: a Study in Humanism. JOHN L. GERIG . . . . .	181
Dante: <i>Purgatorio</i> (XIII, 49 ff.). J. D. M. FORD . . . . .	208
Note on the Foreign Elements in Roumanian. FELICIU VEXLER . . . . .	209

For continuation of Contents see next page

PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

---

LANCASTER, PA.,  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

CONTENTS—Continued from first page

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

A. C. Lee, <i>The Decameron: Its Sources and Analogues</i> , by G. L. H. . . . .	213
Florence N. Jones, <i>Boccaccio and His Imitators in German, English, French, Spanish and Italian Literature</i> , by G. L. H. . . . .	213
Joseph Vianey, <i>Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle</i> , by RUTH SHEPARD PHELPS . . . . .	215
Clarence W. Alvord, <i>Kaskaskia Records</i> , by R. W. . . . .	216
Charles Oulmont, <i>Estienne Forcadet, un juriste, historien et poète vers 1550</i> , by J. L. G. . . . .	217
Willy Schulz, <i>Das Handschriftenverhältnis des "Covenant Vivian,"</i> by R. W. . . . .	219
BRIEF REPORT ON AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ROMANCE SCHOLARSHIP IN 1909 (continued) . . . . .	223
NOTES AND NEWS . . . . .	225

Articles to Appear Shortly

- The Devil as a Dramatic Figure in the Spanish Religious Drama before Lope de Vega. J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, University of Pennsylvania.  
 Arthurian Literature (continued), A. E. CURDY, Yale University.  
 Notes on Renoart, HÉLÈNE M. EVERS, Western Reserve University.  
 Gonzalo de Berceo in Spanish Literary Criticism before 1780, JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD, University of Illinois.  
 Barthélemy Aneau: a Study in Humanism (continued), JOHN L. GERIG, Columbia University.  
 Magis,—mar,—men. OTTO JESPERSEN, University of Copenhagen.  
 The Carmen de Prodiciona Guenonis, Translated into English, with Textual Notes. A. A. LIVINGSTON, Cornell University.  
 Petrarch Confessions. JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Cornell University.  
 A Note on Saint Gelais and Bembo. CAROLINE RUUTZ-RHES, Rosemary Hall.  
 Honor in the Spanish Drama. DONALD CLIVE STUART, Princeton University.  
 Two lately-discovered Letters of Foscolo. GEORGE B. WESTON, Harvard University.

PARIS

LEIPZIG

LONDON

Lemcke & Buechner

(ESTABLISHED 1848)

IMPORTERS and BOOKSELLERS

American and Foreign Books

AT LOWEST PRICES

30-32 West 27th Street

NEW YORK

Weekly importation from all European countries or by direct mail from our foreign offices.

Managers of the

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS BOOKSTORE

WEST HALL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

## A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSION, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE EARLY ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

**HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS**

with the coopération of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG  
MILTON A. BUCHANAN  
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD  
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET  
JOHN L. GERIG  
C. H. GRANDGENT  
GEORGE L. HAMILTON  
EDWARD S. SHELDON

HENRY R. LANG  
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON  
KENNETH MCKENZIE  
HUGO A. RENNERT  
HUGH A. SMITH

---

The subscription price of the ROMANIC REVIEW is \$3.00 per year ; single copies, \$1.00. Postage is prepaid by the publishers to destinations in the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai. Postage is charged extra as follows : To Canada, 12 cents for annual subscription ; for single copies, 3 cents ; to all other countries in the Postal Union, 24 cents for annual subscription ; for single copies 6 cents. Name and address should be given exactly as they ought to appear on wrappers containing the REVIEW. Remittance should be made by New York cheque, draft or money order (ten cents should be added on all cheques drawn on banks outside New York City), payable to the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS.

The ROMANIC REVIEW is issued by the Columbia University Press, a corporation. The officers of the Press are Nicholas Murray Butler, president ; William H. Carpenter, secretary, and John B. Pine, treasurer. The principal place of business of the corporation and the address of the officers is Columbia University, New York City.

All communications with regard to the ROMANIC REVIEW should be addressed to the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 41 North Queen St., Lancaster, Pa., or at Columbia University, New York City.

# NEW SPANISH TEXTS

---

This new series is appearing under the editorship of Professor J. D. M. FORD, of Harvard University.

## **Alarcón (Ruiz de): Las Paredes Oyen.**

Edited by CAROLINE BOURLAND, Professor in Smith College. [*In preparation.*]

## **Ayala: Consuelo.**

Edited by AURELIO M. ESPINOSA, Professor in the University of New Mexico. [*In preparation.*]

## **Calderón: El Magico Prodigioso.**

Edited by A. F. KUERSTEINER, Professor in the University of Indiana. [*In preparation.*]

## **Calderón: El Alcalde de Zalamea.**

Edited by B. P. BOURLAND, Professor in Adelbert College. [*In preparation.*]

## **Cervantes: Novelas Ejemplares. (Selections.)**

Edited by HUGO A. RENNERT, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. [*In preparation.*]

## **Hartzenbusch: La Coja y el Encogido.**

EDITED by J. GEDDES, Jr., Professor in Boston University. [*In preparation.*]

## **Hills's Modern Spanish Lyrics.**

Edited by E. C. HILLS, Professor in Colorado College. [*In press.*]

## **Ibáñez (Blasco): La Barraca.**

Edited by R. H. KENISTON, Instructor in Harvard University. [*In press.*]

## **Morley's Spanish Ballads.**

Edited by DR. S. GRISWOLD MORLEY. [*In preparation.*]

## **Selgas: La Mariposa Blanca.**

Edited by H. A. KENYON, Instructor in the University of Michigan. [*Ready.*] 60 cents.

## **Tres Comedias Modernas.**

Edited by F. W. MORRISON, of the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis. [*Ready.*] 60 cents.

## **Valdés: La Hermana San Sulpicio.**

Edited by J. G. GILL, Professor in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. [*In preparation.*]

---

# HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

34 West 33d Street  
NEW YORK

378 Wabash Avenue  
CHICAGO



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. I — APRIL-JUNE, 1910 — No. 2

---

## RICHARD DE NORMANDIE DANS LES CHANSONS DE GESTE

LES CHANSONS de geste célèbrent un personnage qui, de l'aveu de tous, n'est autre que Richard I, petit-fils de Rollon, fils de Guillaume Longue-Épée, duc de Normandie de 943 à 996.

La *Chanson de Roland* le connaît déjà. C'est lui qui commande, dans la bataille contre Baligant, l'*eschiele* des Normands :

3044 Naines li dux et li quens Jozerans  
La quinte eschele unt faite de Normans.  
Vint milie sunt, ço dient tuit li Franc.  
Armes unt beles et bons cevals curanz ;  
Ja pur murir cil n'erent recreanz ;  
Suz ciel n'ad gent ki plus poissent en camp ;  
*Richarz li vielz* les guierat el camp :  
Cil i ferrat de sun espïet trenchant.<sup>1</sup>

Il n'est pas compté au nombre des douze pairs dans la *Chanson de Roland*, mais bien dans *Gui de Bourgogne*, dans *Renaut de Montauban*, dans *Fierabras*, etc. Les chansons mêmes qui ne l'admettent pas dans la liste honorée des douze pairs le tiennent du moins pour l'un des principaux barons de Charlemagne, comme il convient au possesseur du beau fief qu'est la Normandie.

Il tient donc un emploi dans presque toutes les chansons de geste. M. Clemens Brix, en une dissertation très méritoire,<sup>2</sup> a rassemblé les mentions que font de lui les chansons de geste, et a résumé les scènes où il figure ; par malheur, si les chansons de geste peuvent

<sup>1</sup> Edition Gröber (*Bibliotheca romanica*) ; cf. vers 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Richard I., Herzog von der Normandie in der französischen Literatur* (dissertation de doctorat de l'Université de Münster), 1904.

fournir sur Richard une collection de fiches, on ne saurait tirer de ces fiches une biographie poétique.

En effet, ce haut seigneur n'est, poétiquement, qu'un assez mince personnage. Il se tient avec complaisance à la disposition des poètes, prêt à toutes sortes de besognes. Dans les *Saisnes*, par exemple, il est un des "barons herupés" qui refusent à Charlemagne le tribut; plus tard, réconcilié avec l'empereur, il obtient de lui de commander contre les païens la première "bataille."<sup>3</sup> Dans la *Destruction de Rome*, il descend en Italie à la tête d'une armée d'avant-garde. Dans *Fierabras*, dans la *Prise de Pampelune*, il combat vaillamment en Espagne. Dans *Aymeri de Narbonne*,<sup>4</sup> quand Charlemagne offre la ville de Narbonne à ses compagnons harassés de guerre et que tous refusent tour à tour, l'empereur ne manque pas de l'offrir à Richard de Normandie :

" Venez avant, Richarz de Normendie;  
 Vous estes dus de molt grant seignorie,  
 Si estes plains de grant chevalerie:  
 Tenez Narbone, prenez en la baillie . . . "

et, comme les autres, Richard de Normandie refuse. Pareillement, dans *Renaut de Montauban*,<sup>5</sup> quand Charlemagne requiert tour à tour ses principaux barons de se charger de conduire l'un des fils Aymon au gibet, il ne manque pas d'en requérir Richard de Normandie :

" Venés avant, Richars de Ruhem la cité;  
 Vous iestes uns de ceus u plus me sui fiés;  
 Onques de vo linage ne me vint fausetés:  
 Or vos covient, amis, que Richart me pandés,"

et, comme les autres, Richard de Normandie refuse. Dans ce même roman de *Renaut de Montauban*, Richard joue plus tard un beau rôle de prisonnier intrépide,<sup>6</sup> mais il est visible qu'à son défaut le poète en aurait aussi bien chargé un Estout de Langres, ou un Ydelon de Bavière, ou tout autre comparse disponible; et c'est au hasard aussi que le poète du *Couronnement de Louis*<sup>7</sup> lui a confié un rôle

<sup>3</sup> *La Chanson des Saxons*, édition Fr. Michel, tome II, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Edition Demaison, v. 358.

<sup>5</sup> Edition Michelant, p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 382 ss.

<sup>7</sup> Edition Langlois, *passim*.

de rebelle. Selon le *Couronnement de Louis*, Richard meurt prisonnier du fils de Charlemagne, à Orléans, dans un sombre cachot; cependant, la *Chanson de Roland* l'avait fait périr bien plus tôt, en Espagne, sous les coups de l'émir Baligant (v. 3471); mais, au dire de la *Chevalerie Ogier*,<sup>8</sup> il serait mort bien plus tôt encore, en Lombardie, tué par le roi Desiier; ce qui n'empêche pas, s'il faut en croire le roman de *Gormond et Isembard*,<sup>9</sup> qu'il ait été occis par le roi Gormond, à Cayeux en Vimeu. Ces quatre versions de sa mort, à Orléans, en Espagne, en Lombardie, en Vimeu, sont le symbole de l'insignifiance de sa destinée poétique. Tour à tour bon vassal de Charlemagne et vassal révolté du fils de Charlemagne, le roi Louis,—bon vassal néanmoins, dans *Gormond*, du roi Louis,—et nonobstant vassal révolté, dans *Garin le Lorrain*,<sup>10</sup> de Pépin le Bref, nous dirions que Richard joue dans l'épopée française un rôle incohérent, s'il n'était plus exact de dire qu'il n'y joue aucun rôle réel.

Il n'y est rien, qu'un nom. Mais sur ce nom se pose avec une netteté particulière le problème de la formation des chansons de geste. Comment nos vieux poètes l'ont-ils connu et introduit dans leurs romans?

Léon Gautier fait sans hésiter la réponse habituelle: "Il est permis d'affirmer qu'à l'époque du *Roland* des chants populaires lyriques étaient depuis longtemps consacrés à notre héros."<sup>11</sup>

Devant cette théorie des "chants populaires lyriques," nous restons parfois désarmés. Par exemple, les romans de chevalerie du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle connaissent un "roi Desiier de Lombardie" ou un "roi Yon de Gascogne": c'est, dit la théorie, que Yon et Desiier ont été de leur vivant chantés en des "ballades," ou en des "cantilènes," ou en des "chants populaires lyriques," voir en des "poèmes épiques," lesquels se sont propagés à travers les siècles. Et si nous osons dire au contraire que ces noms ont pu être tirés par les poètes du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle de banals livres latins ou de banales traditions d'église, on nous somme d'en produire des preuves. Comment en produire? Parfois, nous n'en avons d'autres que celles

<sup>8</sup> Edition Barrois, v. 5409.

<sup>9</sup> Edition Bayot, v. 134 ss.

<sup>10</sup> Edition P. Paris, tome I, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> A la note du vers 171 de son édition de la *Chanson de Roland*.

que nous tirons de l'extrême invraisemblance de l'hypothèse adverse, et de notre impuissance à nous représenter ce qu'auraient pu être ces illustres "ballades" ou "cantilènes" ou "épopées" du VIII<sup>e</sup> ou du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Nous serions ici dans le même embarras, si Richard avait comme Desier vécu au temps de Charlemagne, ou, comme le roi Yon, au temps de Charles Martel. Mais il a vécu bien plus récemment, et l'hypothèse des "cantilènes" ne peut être formée à son sujet sans que sa bizarrerie frappe aussitôt les yeux. Richard de Normandie est mort en 996, près de deux siècles après Charlemagne. Le plus ancien romancier qui a eu la fantaisie de l'introduire dans une chanson de geste écrivait au plus tard cent ans après cette date de 996, puisque Richard est déjà un personnage du *Roland*. Ce premier auteur, faisant de Richard un baron de Charlemagne, a donc commis le même anachronisme que ferait un romancier d'aujourd'hui qui prendrait Napoléon pour l'un des généraux du roi Louis XIII.

Par là, il est visible que ce premier poète n'exploitait pas des "chants populaires lyriques" sur Richard de Normandie: ces chants populaires, à moins qu'on les veuille supposer vides de tout contenu, ne l'auraient-ils pas averti, par quelque circonstance de temps ou de lieu, que Richard ne vivait pas au temps de Charlemagne? Introduire dans l'armée de Roncevaux, à une époque où il n'y avait en France ni Normands ni duché de Normandie, une troupe de Normands commandée par le duc Richard de Normandie, c'est une erreur d'une admirable naïveté; elle ne se conçoit que si elle est le produit d'une ignorance du passé merveilleuse et totale.

En son ignorance un premier auteur a ramassé quelque part le nom de ce personnage historique. Où? Il n'importe guère de le savoir, semble-t-il. En toute région de la France, au XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les livres abondaient qui parlaient de ce Richard, et ces livres avaient des lecteurs: l'un quelconque de ces lecteurs a pu, par un hasard quelconque, communiquer ce nom à l'un quelconque des auteurs de nos chansons de geste.

\* \* \*

Notre recherche pourrait donc prendre fin ici. Mais, ces mêmes auteurs de chansons de geste dont nous venons de constater à quel point ils ignoraient le passé, voici qu'à notre surprise ils savent rapporter de Richard trois traits particuliers, dont aucun n'est banal.

1° Ils l'appellent Richard le Vieux.<sup>12</sup> Pourquoi? *Ricardus vetus, vetulus, senior*,<sup>13</sup> c'est le surnom que porte notre duc en diverses chroniques normandes, qui le distinguent ainsi de son fils et successeur Richard II († 1027). Ces poètes ignorants ont donc pris le nom de leur Richard à des gens qui, eux, étaient renseignés sur la série des ducs de Normandie et qui distinguaient les deux Richard: *Ricardus antiquior, Ricardus junior*.

2° En un certain passage du roman de *Gui de Bourgogne*,<sup>14</sup> Richard porte un autre surnom:

Après parla Richars, li dus de Normendie:  
C'est Richart sans poür, ke de Roen fu sire.

Richard *sans peur*: les historiens normands du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle donnent en effet aussi à Richard I ce surnom, qui n'est pas indifférent, comme on le verra bientôt.

3° Dans *Gormond et Isembard*, notre héros apparaît dans la bataille:

140 Eis lur li quens de Normendie,  
Celui ki de Ruen fu sire,  
Qui de Fescamp fist l'abeïe.

C'est à Fécamp que nous mène aussi une autre chanson de geste, *Gui de Bourgogne*:

Après parla Richars, li dus de Normendie,  
Qui de Fescamp fist faire la plus mestre abeïe;  
Encor i gist en fiertre en une tor antie.

L'auteur de *Fierabras* sait de plus nous dire sous quel vocable Richard a placé l'abbaye de Fécamp: dans un épisode où les pairs de France, et parmi eux le duc Richard, admirent de riches statues

<sup>12</sup> *Chanson de Roland, Couronnement de Louis*, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Chez Orderic Vital, chez Robert de Torigny, dans la *Chronique ascendante*, etc. Voyez Brix, ouvrage cité, p. 16, note 4. Cf. Gröber, dans le *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, tome II, p. 463, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Vers 73, leçon du manuscrit du Musée britannique, à la page 135 de l'édition Guessard.

d'or de Jupin, d'Apollin, de Tervagant, qui parent une "synagogue" sarrasine, l'un d'eux s'écrie :

3169 " Car pleüst ore a Deu, le roi de maïsté,  
 Richarz tenist Jupin a Rouen sa cité,  
 S'en feroit le mostier de Sainte Trinité! "15

Voilà donc que se renouvelle pour Richard de Normandie le même fait singulier que nous offrent si souvent les chansons de geste. Comme pour Ogier, comme pour Guillaume, pour Girard et pour tant d'autres, les auteurs de ces romans, si prodigieusement ignorants de l'histoire vraie de leurs héros, savent pourtant quelles abbayes ils ont fondées ou protégées, et nous conduisent droit à leur tombeau. Ici encore, laissons-nous faire par eux et suivons-les où ils nous mènent.

\* \* \*

Ouvrons les diverses chroniques de Normandie : celle de Wace,<sup>16</sup> celle de Benoît.<sup>17</sup> Elles racontent que le duc Richard avait d'avance fait préparer son cercueil et l'avait fait déposer dans l'abbaye, par lui enrichie, de la Sainte-Trinité à Fécamp. Par son ordre, chaque vendredi, on remplissait ce cercueil de froment et on le distribuait aux pauvres. Richard tomba malade à Bayeux ; quand il sentit sa mort approcher, il se fit porter à Fécamp, dans sa chère abbaye, revêtit une haire, déposa une offrande sur le maître-autel, et reçut la communion et le viatique. On lui demanda quel lieu de l'église il avait choisi pour sa sépulture. Il répondit :<sup>18</sup>

" Amis, fait li dus, ne besoigne  
 Que cist mien cors, ceste charoigne,  
 De pechié plaine et de laidure,  
 Gise la enz, n'est pas droiture.  
 N'en sui dignes, qui forfaiz toz. . . . "

Et il demanda à être enterré à la porte de l'église, "ou desgout de la goutiere." On fit selon son désir. Mais le lendemain, le comte Raoul, ayant rouvert sa bière, trouva que son corps répandait une

<sup>15</sup> Le poète n'a pas nécessairement confondu en ces vers Rouen et Fécamp ; on peut entendre : "Plût à Dieu que Richard tint Jupin à Rouen, sa cité ; de l'or de cette statue, il élèverait [à Fécamp] le moutier de Sainte-Trinité."

<sup>16</sup> *Roman de Rou*, édition Hugo Andresen, tome II, v. 721 ss.

<sup>17</sup> Benoît, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, édition Fr. Michel, v. 26304 ss.

<sup>18</sup> Benoît, v. 26418.



odeur de sainteté. On éleva donc en ce lieu une chapelle, sous l'invocation de saint Thomas, et Richard II y fut à son tour enterré, en 1027. Le père et le fils restèrent là près d'un siècle et demi, et c'est cette tombe qu'ont pu voir nos plus anciens auteurs de chansons de geste. Mais, en 1162, les moines de la Sainte-Trinité voulurent leur donner une sépulture moins humble. L'élévation de leurs corps eut lieu en présence du roi d'Angleterre Henri II, et Wace la raconte en témoin oculaire :<sup>19</sup>

Le cors de lui et de sun pere,  
Si que jel vi, kar jeo i ere,  
Furent de terre relevez  
Et triés le maistre autel portez.  
La furent portez et la sunt :  
Li moigne en grant chierté les unt.

Autour de cette sépulture des légendes se sont formées, et aussi dans les autres églises que Richard avait fondées ou enrichies, à Saint-Ouen de Rouen, à Saint-Wandrille en Caux, à Saint-Michel-du-Péril de la Mer.<sup>20</sup>

Les unes avaient rapport à sa piété, comme le conte du sacristain de Saint-Ouen, ce fabliau monastique que Wace a rimé avec tant de bonhomie.<sup>21</sup>

D'autres légendes sont propres à expliquer ce surnom que lui donne une chanson de geste, Richard *sans peur*. L'une d'elles raconte son combat, l'épée à la main, la nuit, dans une église, contre un démon qui était entré dans la bière d'un mort exposé là :

Par nuit errout cume par jur,  
Unkes de rien nen out poür.  
Maint fantosme vit et trova :  
Unkes de rien ne s'esfreia . . .  
Pur ceo qu'il erroit par nuit tant  
Alout la gent de lui disant.

<sup>19</sup> *Rou*, édition H. Andresen, v. 2243.

<sup>20</sup> Voyez Wace, *Chronique ascendante*, v. 245 ss.; *Rou*, v. 207 ss.; le *Roman du Mont-Saint-Michel*, par Guillaume de Saint-Pair, v. 1681 ss., v. 2714 ss., etc.

<sup>21</sup> *Rou*, v. 336 ss.

K'autresi cler par nuit veeit  
Cum uns autres par jur feseit.<sup>22</sup>

C'est par une de ces nuits, où il errait comme en plein jour, que le duc rencontra, dans la forêt de Moulineaux-sur-Seine, la troupe des âmes damnées, la *mesnie Hellequin*, qui s'en allait en Palestine combattre de fantastiques Sarrasins.<sup>23</sup> Richard attend le roi-fantôme, le force à l'emporter avec lui par les airs dans un pan de son manteau :

Adont partirent le dit Richart sans paour, Hellequin et toute sa mesgnie, faisans grant noise et tempeste. Et com vint a heure de mienuit, ledit Richart ouyt sonner une cloche comme a une abbaye et lors demanda ou c'estoit que la cloche sonnoit et en quel pais il estoient. Et le roi lui dist que c'estoient matines qui sonnoient en l'église de Sainte Catherine du Mont Sinai. Et le duc Richart sans paour, qui de tout temps avoit accoustumé d'aler a l'église, dist au roy qu'il y vouloit aler ouïr matines. Lors le roy dist au duc Richard : "Tenez ce pan de ce drap et ne laissez point que tousjours vous ne soyez dessus et alez a l'église prier pour nous, et puis, au retourner, nous vous reviendrons querir."

Mais la plus illustre des légendes auxquelles le nom du duc Richard ait été mêlé est celle qui faisait la richesse et la gloire de l'abbaye de Fécamp, la légende du Précieux Sang. L'abbaye s'enorgueillissait de posséder, enfermées en deux capsules de plomb, le sang qui s'était figé autour des plaies du Sauveur en croix et le couteau dont s'était servi le disciple Nicodème pour recueillir ces parcelles du corps de Dieu.

Or c'est le duc Richard sans peur, selon la tradition de l'abbaye,<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Row*, v. 275 ss. Cf. la *Chronique ascendante* de Wace, v. 2511 ss., la *Chronique* de Benoît (édition Fr. Michel, tome II, p. 325), etc. C'est sur ces chroniques et principalement sur les récits de Wace que se fonde le roman de chevalerie de *Richard sans peur*, duc de Normandie (du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, en quatrains monorimes). Voyez sur ce roman, qui finit par entrer dans la librairie de colportage, Leroux de Lincy, *Nouvelle bibliothèque bleue*, Paris, 1842, p. XXV-XXIX, et G. Paris, *La Littérature normande avant l'annexion*, 1899, p. 11.

<sup>23</sup> D'après la *Chronique de Normandie* (fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle) ; voyez la *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, édition Fr. Michel, tome II, p. 336 ss.

<sup>24</sup> Représentée par un récit latin qui se lit en plusieurs manuscrits (Musée britannique, fonds Harley 1801 ; Caius College, à Cambridge, etc.), et qui a été traduit dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en vers français. Ce poème français a été publié par Leroux de Lincy en appendice à son *Etude historique et littéraire sur l'abbaye de Fécamp*, 1840.

qui, par la grâce divine, avait retrouvé les titres d'authenticité de ces reliques. Un jour qu'il se faisait représenter par son chapelain les actes de l'église de Fécamp, occupée à cette époque par des religieuses, il y trouva un document jusqu'alors ignoré, l'histoire du Précieux Sang : on y lisait comment Isaac, neveu de Nicodème, avait enfermé les reliques dans le tronc d'un figuier et l'avait confié aux flots de la mer, et comment la mer l'avait porté au rivage choisi par Dieu ; comment un cerf blanc avait révélé au duc Ansegis le champ du figuier (*Fici campus*), et tous les miracles qui faisaient de ce champ un lieu sacré. Le duc Richard, émerveillé à la lecture de cet acte, appela des ouvriers de toutes parts et fit rechercher les reliques. On fouilla sous l'autel et on les y trouva enfermées dans le tronc du figuier. Richard fit alors élever, à la place de la modeste église bâtie par son père, Guillaume Longue-Epée, un temple magnifique. "Tous les matériaux étant réunis, il ouvrit lui-même la terre pour poser la première pierre du nouvel édifice, et cette pierre se trouva être un fragment de celle sur laquelle, au temps de Guillaume Longue-Epée, un ange avait laissé l'empreinte de son pied." Richard travaillait lui-même avec les ouvriers et enferma le précieux sang dans un pilier proche du maître-autel. Et pour qu'il fût mieux honoré, il remplaça les religieuses par une communauté d'hommes : les religieuses furent transférées à Montivilliers ; Richard établit à Fécamp des chanoines ; son fils, Richard II, y fit venir des bénédictins.

A quelle époque fut rédigée cette histoire ? Sans doute vers 1171, date à laquelle les moines, ayant retrouvé le pilier où Richard avait caché les reliques, les transférèrent sur le maître-autel. Mais il est probable que, bien plus anciennement, on racontait à Fécamp une histoire analogue du Précieux Sang. Vers l'an 1120 déjà, l'archevêque de Dol, Baudri de Bourgueil, ayant visité l'abbaye, écrivait une relation de sa visite, d'où il suffira de détacher ces quelques lignes : "Ce monastère est digne d'être comparé à la Jérusalem céleste. On le nomme la Porte du ciel, le Palais du Seigneur. L'or et l'argent y brillent de toutes parts, et les ornements de soie. On y voit beaucoup de reliques, et l'on y conserve le Précieux Sang de Jésus-Christ, qui fut inhumé par Nicodème, comme le dit saint Jean. Des pèlerins viennent en foule de tous pays vers cette abbaye."

Des pèlerins, et sans doute aussi, à leur suite, des jongleurs. La légende du Précieux Sang de Fécamp rappelle aisément une légende

illustre dans la poésie: celle du Saint-Graal. Ce qui est sûr du moins, c'est que les vieux romanciers du Graal ont remarqué l'analogie et fait le rapprochement: en des vers bien connus,<sup>25</sup> un continuateur de Chrétien, au moment de raconter l'aventure du Mont Douloureux, allègue comme son autorité un livre de l'abbaye de Fécamp. Il racontera cette aventure, dit-il,

Si com li contes nos affiche  
Qui a Fescans est touz escrits.

\* \* \*

Si les jongleurs ont introduit Richard de Normandie dans les romans carolingiens, c'est qu'ils connaissaient ces légendes, du moins les plus anciennes; c'est qu'ils avaient visité l'abbaye de Fécamp.

C'est une conjecture, dira-t-on. Non, mais un fait. Un document précieux nous apprend que des jongleurs hantaient en effet cette abbaye et qu'ils étaient en relations étroites avec ces bénédictins.

C'est une pièce que Leroux de Lincy (*Essai historique et littéraire sur l'abbaye de Fécamp*, Rouen, 1840, p. 378) a publiée "d'après le Vidimus d'une charte de la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, conservée à Rouen dans les Archives de la Seine-inférieure." Léon Fallue (*Histoire de la ville et de l'abbaye de Fécamp*, Rouen, 1841, p. 485) en a publié la vieille traduction que voici:

*Charte de la confrérie de saint Martin des frères jongleurs établie à Fécamp.*

A tous les filz de sainte mere Eglise asquieulx ces present escrit vendra, je, Raal, humble abbé de Sainte Trinité de Fescamp salut en vrai salu de tout le monde. A desservir la grace de la divine pitié notre Seigneur, nulle chose tant ne lui plect comme aemplir la lay et les commandemens faire, et que nous soions aussi courchiés et dolens des pechiés et des mesaventures de nos freres comme de nos meïsmes; ne autrement nous ne pourrions aler lassus amont en paradis pour le pechié de la char, qui tant est pesans, se grant carité de fraternité, de devocion, d'oresons, d'omosnes ne nous alege le pechié, et que nous entendons<sup>26</sup> que est devocion et<sup>27</sup> oreson et omosne. Nous avons recheü avec nous une maniere de gens seculiers, lesquieulx l'en appelle

<sup>25</sup> Voyez le livre de Miss Jessie L. Weston, *The Legend of Perceval*, p. 155, et William A. Nitze, dans *Modern Philology*, 1909, vol. VII, p. 153.

<sup>26</sup> Corriger: et se nous n'entendons?

<sup>27</sup> L'édition Fallue porte *de* et non *et*.

Jongleurs.<sup>28</sup> Jaçoit ceu que la vie d'iceulx soit abandonnee a jouer et que elle soit escoulourjable,<sup>29</sup> nequedent le fondement de foy qui est fundé en Jhesu Crist fait divers membres<sup>30</sup> aerdre a un bon chief. Laquelle chose n'est pas nouvelle ne nouveaument trouvee, ainz fu commenchie en temps de bonne memoire Ricart premier, duc de Normendie, et dura tout le temps o segond duc Ricart et emprès mons. Willeme abbé. A icellui temps defailli iceste fraarie,<sup>31</sup> mès par mauvestié et par avarice qui tousjours refrede et amenise, fut delessie iceste fraarie après la mort du premier roi Henri. Adechertes mons. Henri, de bon[ne] memoire abbé, a icellui temps renouvella iceste fraarie<sup>32</sup> et les rechut et concueilli en fraternité par le consentement de tout le chapistre. Adechertes, jeu, Raal, abbé, ne vult pas que je n'ensuive les escrases et les faiz de si grans gens et de si nobles, [si] m'establi frere d'iceulx freres jongleurs, et leur octroyons plaine parcheünerie de tous nos bienfais qui seront fais en notre abbeie, si est assavoir en messes, en vegilles, en jeünes, en aumosnes en oressons, et en toutes choses plaisantes a Dieu, que par carité ardente puissent avec nous, et nous avec eux, aparestre devant la fache Jhesu Crist en leech et exultation o symphonies, o timbres, o vieles, o psalterions, o orgues, o harpes, o fieules plaines de bones odours tenantes en leur mains.<sup>33</sup> Espesiaument pour iceulx et pour nos freres,<sup>34</sup> en tout temps et chascun jour nous celebrons trois messes, l'une de Saint Esprit que il nous commant au Filx; l'autre de Notre Dame qu'elle deprie pour nous son Filx; la tierche pour les trespasés que eulx aient repos pardurable. Et chascune fois que il y en ara un trespasé des freres, et l'en le nous lerra assavoir, il sera assous premierement en chappitre et en fesmes le servise auxi hautement come de un de nos freres moignes. Et chascun an pour icheux freres nous faisons deux trentieulx,<sup>35</sup> l'un après Noel, l'autre emprès Penthecoustes. Ceste fraarie doit estre en ceste maniere tenue que chascun an, au jour de la Saint Martin en esté, s'assembleront les freres jongleurs et tous ceulx que nous avons recheüs avec nous et ferons tous ensemble une sollempnité et sollempnelle prochession, et de chascun d'iceulx l'en cuidra cinq deniers, lesqueulx

<sup>28</sup> Voici le texte original: *Inter caritatis nostre sinum in unitate fraternitatis quosdam homines seculares, arti jocularie deditos, volenter et diligenter admisimus.*

<sup>29</sup> *Quorum etsi ludicra et lubrica sit vita . . .*

<sup>30</sup> *Membra debilia.*

<sup>31</sup> Le texte latin porte autre chose: *Tempore secundi Ricardi dominique Willelmi abbatis primi perfecta plenius et consummata, ad nostram usque perseveravit etatem. Sed . . .*

<sup>32</sup> *Fraternitas.*

<sup>33</sup> *Quatinus caritate juvante et ipsi nobiscum et nos cum illis in leticia et exultatione, in symphonia et choro, in tympano et psalterio, in cordis et organo, in manibus tenentes cytharas et phyalas plenas odoramentorum conspectui summi regis valeamus apparere.*

<sup>34</sup> *Specialiter autem tam pro eis quam pro reliquis fratribus nostris . . .*

<sup>35</sup> *Duo tricenaria.*

seront en tel maniere departis que les deux pars seront a[s] meseaux de Fescamp, la tierche partie sera au luminaire de nostre eglise, la quinte partie sera a l'euvre d'icelle esglise avec les lais des mors. Et en l'obbit d'iceulx freres larra chascun qui pourra trois soubx, les povres deux soulx, les très povres douse deniers. Tous ceux qui tendront ceste fraarie, soient jongleurs ou chevaliers ou autres, lerront du leur a l'euvre de la dite eglise. Adechertes de cette fraarie nous establimes mestre et recteur Henri de Gravenchon.<sup>88</sup> A tous ceulx qui ceste fraarie tendront et garderont soit pais et joie *in secula seculorum*. Amen.

Ce beau document appelle quelques remarques. Ici, comme dans l'étude de tant d'autres légendes épiques, les jongleurs de geste nous conduisent vers une abbaye; une fois de plus, entrant dans cette abbaye, nous constatons que ces jongleurs sont liés avec ces moines par des rapports réguliers,—mais combien étroits, à Fécamp!

Cette charte est, je crois, le plus ancien document qui atteste la formation d'une confrérie de jongleurs.

L'abbé de qui elle émane est le sixième abbé de Fécamp, Raoul d'Argences, qui régit le monastère de 1188 à 1219. Mais il résulte de ce texte que la confrérie est bien plus ancienne. Les liens de fraternité entre moines et jongleurs s'étaient relâchés ou brisés quelque temps, dit la charte, après la mort du roi Henri I<sup>er</sup> d'Angleterre (1135); mais l'abbé Henri de Sully (1139-1188) les avait renoüés. La confrérie florissait donc à la belle époque des chansons de geste, et, s'il fallait en croire la tradition du monastère, elle remonterait aux premières années de sa fondation, au temps même du duc Richard I. Certes, ce trait doit être légendaire: il ne prouve pas moins que les jongleurs du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle croyaient que le bon duc Richard les avait appelés, lui le premier: "mes frères les jongleurs." N'en est-ce pas assez pour expliquer qu'ils l'aient admis dans leurs poèmes et placé au nombre des douze pairs de Charlemagne?

JOSEPH BÉDIER

NEW YORK,

22 décembre 1909

<sup>88</sup> Henricum de Grevenum.

## ARTHURIAN LITERATURE

FROM the beginnings of Arthurian romance there has apparently been no subsidence of interest in the stories, both principal and secondary, which are connected with the name and exploits of the main character and the satellites swinging around him as a center. The production has not always been constant, nor do we find in each century reproductions of the tales and versions of the preceding century. This may be indicative of the real situation, or it may be due to the fact that all the copies of a certain version have been lost, or, if extant, still lie undiscovered in some hidden recess. The whole corpus of the literature belonging to the Arthurian cycle, and to the still more extensive one, the Celtic or Breton, must have been enormous. What relation the entire number of versions we now possess bears to the whole production will never be known. We have knowledge of certain versions which have been lost, and, in some cases, also of the names of the authors. It is the purpose of this article to determine, as well as can be done with the material available, the condition and progress of the literature and its geographical distribution, to show its chronological development, and to present the names and titles belonging to each century. Only literature, as such, will be considered, and no account will be taken here of the progress of critical literature: studies, editions, and similar productions. Theories regarding origins of the tales, or the hypothetical existence of unknown writers or versions will not be regarded, nor will any works inspired by the Arthurian stories, as, for instance, *Amadis*, *Le Petit Artus*, etc., be considered. Allusions to the presence of versions at different periods and in various countries may be found in many productions in the middle Ages, but all such references are of little value in this article, because, even if we can thus attest the existence of the tales, it is not certain that they were written in the language of the writer making the mention. Compare, for instance, the quotations in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Tratado*<sup>1</sup> concerning the existence

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo. *Tratado de los romances viejos*. Madrid (*Bibl. clásica*), 1903-6, II, 448 ff.

of Arthurian tales in Spain. Were these versions written in Spanish, French or Italian? We do not know. And, too, the names thus mentioned and the tales about them were, doubtless, due in many cases to oral tradition, and were thus not represented in the written literature of the time. This article is entirely historical, and, to a large extent, statistical, and is an attempt to bring together the information scattered here and there in monographs, which is frequently difficult to locate. The data given here have been obtained by extensive reading of monographs, critical editions, and bibliographies, searches made in journals and the publications of learned societies, and the examination of not easily accessible versions in the libraries of this country and Europe. The list is, certainly, not complete, nor, probably, in all cases correct, due to the lack of accurate knowledge regarding the treasures of libraries and the facts concerning early writers. The writer will be grateful for information regarding errors or omissions. Scholars are not agreed in many cases as to dates and relationships, nor even as to the existence, under names now known, of certain writers, nor concerning the original date of certain versions. This makes the task of the historian and bibliographer difficult. Thus, any enumeration is subject to error, but, in the light of what is known, based on extant versions, the statements regarding the condition of the cycle in any period are, probably, relatively correct. Few references are made to other articles, as this paper is to be followed by a chronological and descriptive bibliography of Arthurian literature, by means of which the statements here made can be controlled.

We may, for convenience, divide the whole period into two parts, one before and the other after the first printed monument. This division is purely arbitrary, and is not based on any suggestive development of the literature, but represents a certain factor in the production and preservation of previous versions which might have otherwise been lost. The two periods here established overlap, as manuscripts are found in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, although in small numbers. Doubtless more than those at present known have existed. The dividing date in our especial case is, as far as is known, 1477, when two German publications appeared, both at Augsburg, one dealing with *Perceval*, and the other treating of



*Titurel*. These were rapidly followed, as will be shown farther on, by versions on other subjects, and published in other cities and countries. The first period has for some time been the object of study by scholars with the view to solving, if possible, the problems regarding the origins of the cycle, the genealogy and interrelationship of versions. Various prose and metrical productions have been edited and subjected to critical analysis. Some attention has been directed to the narrations of the sixteenth and later centuries, but the period after the invention of printing has received little attention, except in the case of Malory, Tennyson, and Wagner. Much yet remains to be done, and, until the work has progressed more fully, it is impossible to state the real facts with accuracy, especially those concerning the large number of anonymous versions which have not been adequately described.

The earliest date for Arthurian literature is the eighth or ninth century, when, in Nennius, we have the first statement regarding Arthur, in which he is spoken of as a warrior. Evans<sup>2</sup> quotes the chronicle of Helinand,<sup>3</sup> who writes to the effect, that a Breton hermit of the eighth century, 720, wrote a Latin history, or description, of the *Grail*, but, on page 297 of the work cited, Evans concludes that the work was written shortly before the year 1220.

Villemarqué<sup>4</sup> publishes a Welsh popular song of the tenth century, *Arthur et la Reine Gwennivar*; on p. 427, a poem of the same century entitled *Arthur, Tristan et Gwalchmai*, and on p. 430, *Arthur un jour de bataille, fragment épique tiré de la légende armoricaine des rois, poème du X<sup>e</sup> ou du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après un manuscrit gallois en prose du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. These statements are not supported by sufficient evidence to be conclusive.

We must then, in the absence of information to the contrary, consider Geoffrey of Monmouth as the next writer who interested himself in the Arthurian legend, although as incidental material in a different line of writing. In his *Historia Britonum* and *Vita Merlini*, Arthur appears as warrior and Merlin as prophet. No

<sup>2</sup> *The High History of the Holy Graal*, London, Dent, 1898, II, 293.

<sup>3</sup> *Helinandi op.*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia, cursus completus*. Parisiis, 1844-6, CCXII, 814.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Romans de la Table ronde*, etc. . . . , Paris, nouvelle édition, 1861, 140 ff.

legendary or fabulous deeds are here ascribed to Arthur; the statements are made with the coolness and assurance of the conscientious historian. Gildas, of the sixth century, is regularly mentioned in histories of the Arthurian cycle, but there is no mention in his writings of an Arthurian personage;<sup>5</sup> he is connected with Geoffrey only through data concerning the history of the British people. Geoffrey became the basis of many chronicles<sup>6</sup> and of a few works of semi-historical and semi-romantic fiction, and served as a medium for the introduction of legendary material, which, like the stories that became attached to Charlemagne, became identified almost exclusively with Arthurian personages.

The names in the twelfth century, including six chroniclers connected with Geoffrey of Monmouth, who translated or rehandled his *Historia Britonum*, are: Alfred of Beverly; Benedict of Gloucester, who, in his life of St. Dubricius, gives an outline of Geoffrey's account of Arthur; Bérout; Chrestien de Troyes; Eilhart von Oberg; Etienne, monk of Bec, who, in his *Draco Normannicus*, gives a Latin paraphrase of Geoffrey's *Historia*, in which Arthur is more exalted than in Geoffrey; Gautier (Gauchier) de Douvens (Denet, Dons, Dordans, Doudain) who continued Chrestien, Geoffrey of Monmouth; Geoffroi Gaimar; Godefroy de Laigny (Ligni), continuator of Chrestien; Gottfried of Viterbo; Gottfried von Strassburg; (or beginning of the thirteenth century), Hartmann von Aue; Hélie de Borron; Henry of Huntingdon; Layamon; Henry Lonelich; Luce de Gast (Gua, Gaut, Guesnes, Genes, Wat, Wad, Gat, Gal); Gautier Map; Marie de France; Robert, a monk, or Brother Robert; Robert de Borron; Robert of Gloucester; Thomas (French); Thomas (English); Ulrich von Zatzikhoven; Wace; William of Malmesbury; besides numerous anonymous productions.

R. H. Fletcher<sup>7</sup> notes that Alanus de Insulis (1175) mentions the belief in the return of Arthur from Avalon. Villemarqué<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> However, E. W. B. Nicholson, in *Academy*, 1895, 297ff., suggests, that the word "urse," in Gildas, is his translation of the name *Arthur*.

<sup>6</sup> R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, especially those of Great Britain and France, Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, X, 1906, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, X, 1906, 101.

<sup>8</sup> *Romans*, etc., 25-27.

states that Gauthier Calenius, or Walter of Oxford,<sup>9</sup> brought Tysilio's *Légende des rois*, early seventh century, from Armorica, and translated it into Cambrian. No evidence has come to the writer that his production is extant. Arnaldo Daniello is supposed to have written a Provençal *Lancelot*. Compositions are also referred to by the names Breri and Li Kievres. Fletcher<sup>10</sup> gives a list of chroniclers who followed Geoffrey of Monmouth. In the cathedral at Modena is a relief representing a scene from 'Arthurian romance, the storming of a castle.<sup>11</sup>

Anonymous versions are: the *Brut* of Munich, *Lai du cor*, a Welsh manuscript based on Gautier Map, *Lancelot*, *Perceval*, and *Tristan*, which is represented by a Bohemian version based on Eilhart von Oberg, a French metrical version attributed to Thomas, a Greek version, which, however, may belong to the following century, and an episode describing Tristan's disguise as a madman.

Thus the first written monuments are represented by the following titles: *Arthur*, *Brut*, *Cligès*, *Cor*, *Charette*, *Erec et Enide*, *Grail*, *Chevrefeuille*, *G(u)iron*, *Lancelot*, *Historia Britonum*, in Latin and French, *Lanval*, *Meliadus*, *Merlin*, *Perceval*, *Round Table*, *Tristan*, and *Ivain* (*Iwein*). There were in all fifty-four versions,<sup>12</sup> eighteen titles, twenty-eight authors, including six chroniclers, and eight languages were represented. The distribution as to language is interesting. Of the versions mentioned, French has thirty, German, four, Latin,<sup>13</sup> eleven, English, three, Welsh, Provençal (lost), Bohemian, and Greek each one. Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian do not yet appear, and only the district is represented which is nearest the place of origin of the legends, except in the case of Bohemia and Greece. The spread will be rapid in the next century.

In the thirteenth century we find the following names:<sup>14</sup> Albrecht

<sup>9</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography*, London-New York, 1885 ff., under Calenius.

<sup>10</sup> *Harvard Studies*, etc., x, 1906, 171 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Foerster, *Zeitschrift f. romanischen Philologie*, XXII, 1898, 243 ff., 526 ff.

<sup>12</sup> By version is not meant here the number of manuscripts, but the various treatments of a subject, or the treatments in different languages.

<sup>13</sup> Latin compositions should be ascribed to the countries in which they were written, but the data regarding these versions are not sufficiently available to warrant this being done with accuracy.

<sup>14</sup> Names which appear in any century are not counted in the following, even if their productions continue into the following century.

von Scharfenberg, Biket, Hans Brant, Colin le Fruitier, Douglas of Glastonbury, Elias, Hauk Erlendsson, Konrad Fleck, Fulke Fitz-Warin, Gautier d'Aupais, Gautier de Cayx, Gerbert (de Montreuil), Robert Guichard, Guillaume de Rennes, Guillaume le Clerc, Guiot, Guiot de Provins, Heinrich von Freiburg, Heinrich von dem Türlin, Hutton d'Arcy, Jacob van Maerlant, Jehan, Manessier, Paien de Maisières, Philippe Mousket, Der Pleier, Raoul de Houdenc, Renaut, Renaut de Beaujeu, Richart d'Yrlande, Brother Robert, Rusticien de Pise, Sarrazin, Der Stricker, Ulrich von TÜRHEIM, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Wirnt von Gravenberg, besides a large number of anonymous writers. The name of King Haakon, although himself not a writer, is closely connected with French literature in this period. At his command Brother Robert translated the lays of Marie de France, the *Tristan* of Thomas, and, probably, the *Mantel mantaillé* into Icelandic.

Besides the names properly belonging to this century the following are represented by manuscripts or rehandlings: Chrestien de Troyes, Eilhart von Oberg, Geoffrei Gaimar, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gottfried von Strassburg, Hartmann von Aue, Hélie de Borron, Layamon, Luce de Gast, Gautier Map, Marie de France, Robert de Borron, Wace.

The titles handled in this century were: *Arthur*, the main legend and two supplementary ones; *Atre périlleux*; *Brut*; *Claris et Laris*; *Cligès*; *Lai du cor*; *Chevalier au Cygne*; *Chronicles*; *Chevalier à l'épée*; *Chevalier à la robe vermeille* (?); *Chevalier as deus espées*; *Donnée des amants*; *Durmart*; *Erec*; *Fergus* (*Fregus*); *Fe-busso*; *Grail*, several versions; *Gologras and Galeron*; *Guiron*; *Garel von dem blühenden Tal*; *Giglain*; *Iwein*; *Jaufre*; *Joseph d'Arimathie*; *Krone*; *Lancelot*; *Lais*; *Mantel*; *Merlin*; *Meliadus*; *Mele-ranz*; *Meraugis de Portlesgues*; *Perceval*; *Perlesvaus*; *Raguidel*; *Rigomer*; *Titurel*; *Tristan*, several versions; *Wigoleis*; *Wigamur*; *Yvain*.

There has been an enormous growth of production in this century, judging from the extant monuments. There are thirty-eight names, forty titles and one hundred and thirty-nine versions, divided among fourteen languages as follows: French, seventy-nine; German, twenty-two; Latin, eleven; Italian, six; Icelandic, five; Welsh,

four; English, three; Dutch and Provençal, each two, and Flemish, Greek (?), Portuguese, Spanish and Hebrew, each one.

The subject most frequently treated is *Tristan*, of which there exist thirteen anonymous versions, and nine the authorship of which is known; next is *Lancelot* with five anonymous and two identified, *Merlin*, five anonymous and three identified, *The Grail*, including *The Round Table* and *Joseph of Arimathia*, seven anonymous and three identified. Several of these belong also to the next century. Geoffrey of Monmouth's history continues through this century, and reappears in succeeding ones, but the interest in it must have been due to its historical material, rather than to any novelistic elements. From now on the corpus of Arthurian literature is in full vigor. Besides the principal subjects treated, incidental motives appear, at first, in some cases, entirely unconnected with Arthurian literature, except that they were Celtic in character, fabulous or mysterious, and thus, like the Arthurian stories proper, belong to the larger cycle, the Celtic or Breton. They were handled separately, or became amalgamated with the larger stories, and thus lost their independent character. On the other hand, an incident or personage was, here and there, lifted from a dependent position, and became the subject for separate treatment.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, not including the printed volumes, there is a decrease in the number of versions, and the names are slightly fewer in number than in the twelfth century, where there are twenty-eight, and in the thirteenth century, where thirty-eight have been reported. The number of anonymous works is still large. This falling off in interest was not limited to the Arthurian stories. It is well known that a feeling of weariness and staleness had come over the literary world, and, too, the constant rehandling of old material, and the resulting lack of invention were producing disastrous results. The prose redactions especially were loaded at this time with details of description, labored effort and repetition of kindred motives, and showed little or no originality. Paulin Paris, in his description of the manuscripts in the Royal Library,<sup>15</sup> says of these, that they have fortunately been lost to a great degree. Surely, in reading them we feel little inspiration,

<sup>15</sup> *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, etc., Paris, Techener, 1836-48, *passim*.

and our interest in them now lies almost solely in their historic position, or in the material they offer for treatment by later and more brilliant writers, and not in their own literary qualities.

The names belonging to the fourteenth century are: Thomas Chestre, Philipp Colin, Thomas Castleford, Guillem de Torella, Ranulf Higden, Hugh of Eghinton, John of Trevisa, Peter Langtoft, Lodewije van Velten, Robert Manning of Brunne, Penninc, Pedro de Barcellos, Rauf de Bo(h)un, Guillem Rexach, Robert of Thornton, Maistre Richart, Peter Vostaert, Claus Wisse, Zorzi, and one devout writer ascribed a version of the *Grail*, or *Joseph of Arimathia*, to the authorship of Christ. There is a larger proportion of anonymous versions in this century than in the one preceding. Fletcher<sup>16</sup> has given the names of the Latin chroniclers of the century who followed Geoffroy of Monmouth.

Writers of previous centuries who are now represented are: Chrestien de Troyes, with the continuations of Manessier; Gautier de Doulens, and Gerbert; Eilhart von Oberge; Geoffrey of Monmouth; Gottfried von Strassburg; Hartmann von Aue; Heinrich von Freiburg; Heinrich von dem Türlin; Hélié de Borron; Jacob van Maerlant; Lodwije van Velthem; Luce de Gast; Gautier Map; Raoul de Houdenc; Robert de Borron; Rusticien de Pise; Wace; Wolfram von Eschenbach.

The number of writers known for this period is comparatively small, and the number of titles has decreased: *Arthur*, with several additional variants; *Donnée des amants*; *Brut*; *Febusso*; *Guiron*; *Grail*; *Gawayne*; *Iwein*; *Jaufre*; *Joseph*; *Lancelot*; *Lais*; *Lanval*; *Libeaus desconnus*; *Mantel*; *Meliadus*; *Morien (Lancelot)*; *Meriadoc*; *Merlin*; *Novelli antiche*, a collection containing several short poems on Tristan and Lancelot; *Perceval*; *Round Table*; *Titurel*; *Tristan*; *Wigoleis*.

Statistics for the fourteenth century are: nineteen names, twenty-four titles, one hundred and four versions, divided among fourteen languages as follows: French, thirty-eight; English, sixteen; Italian, thirteen; German, nine; Latin, eight; Spanish, seven; Portuguese, four; Flemish, three, and Bohemian, Provençal, Swedish, Welsh, and Dutch, each one. This century was less productive of authors, whose names are known, than the preceding one.

<sup>16</sup> *Harvard Studies*, 1906, 175 ff.

In the fifteenth century there is only a slight advance in the number of names, but the titles have increased: twenty names, thirty-seven titles, with one hundred and three versions, divided among nine languages, as follows: English, thirty-two; French, twenty-six; German, sixteen; Italian, fourteen; Icelandic and Welsh, each four; Spanish, three; Latin and Portuguese, each two. This total of names does not include printers.

The authors and scribes for the century are: Aubret, Bourgchier, Daniello di Ghery, Ludowicus Flüegl, Ulrich Furerterer, Giovanni de' Cignardi, Gilles Gassien, Lonelich, Malory, Micheau Gonnet de Brouce, Robert of Thornton, Owen Jones, G. Papin, Rate, Segebert von Babenberg, Pierre Sala, E. Towler, Venetio, Jehan Wauquelin, Zuliano de Anzola, besides a number of anonymous productions, and the reproductions of printers whose names are not here given.

The new period entered with the last quarter of this century. In 1477 were printed the first books that interest us here: *Ist zweifel Hertzen nachgebur*, etc., Augsburg, which treats of Perceval, and *Titurel*, by Wolfram von Eschenbach, also at Augsburg. These were followed, in 1480, by *Vita (Historia) di Merlino*, Venice, Luca Veneto (Veneziano), a translation of Robert de Borron, which was reprinted at Florence in 1485; *I Due primi libri della storia di Merlino*, also a translation, by Zorzi, from Robert de Borron, Florence, 1495; 1480, Caxton, *Chronicle of England*, translated from French *Brut*; 1481, *Livre de bataille*, Lyons; 1484, *Hienach folget die historie von herren Tristrant und der schön Isalden von Irlande*, etc., Augsburg, Antonio Sorg; also Augsburg, 1498, by Schönsperger, and the same date, *Volksbuch*, Augsburg; 1485, Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, translated from the French, and printed and divided into chapters by Caxton at London (Westminster); reprinted 1498 by Wynkyn de Worde; 1485, *Historia di Merlino*, Florence, same as Veneto, 1480: 1486, *Lanselet*, printed by Govert van Ghemen ter Goude, Holland (no place is mentioned); 1488, *Histoire du roy Arthur et des chevaliers de la Table ronde* (Gautier Map's), Rouen, also Paris; same date, *Prophécies de Merlin*, Paris, Anthoine Verard, and *Table ronde, autrement dit Lancelot du Lac, compile et extraict . . . des vraies hystoires . . . par Gaultier Map*, Rouen,

Jehan le Bourgeois; 1489, *Histoire*<sup>17</sup> *du tres vaillant, nobles et excellent chevalier Tristan, fils du roi Meliadus* (Luce de Gast), Rouen, Jehan le Bourgeois, and Paris, Verard; 1496, the same, Paris, Verard, and Rouen, printer unknown; 1492, *Libro de battaglia de Tristano*, Cremona, Bernadinum de Misentis de Papia, a small poem of 130 stanzas; 1493, *Wigoleis vom Rade*, by Wirnt von Gravenberg, Augsburg, Schönsperger; 1494, *Faits et gestes du noble . . . Lancelot*, Paris, Verard; 1495, *Vita di Merlino*, Florence, also Venice; *Tristan*, Paris, Verard; 1498, *Histoire de la vie, miracles, enchantemens de Merlin* (Robert de Borron), Paris, Verard; *Booke of Kynge Arthur*, Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde; *Tristan*, Schönsperger, Augsburg; *Volksbuch*, Augsburg, containing a German prose rendering of Eilhart von Oberge's *Tristrant*; 1499, *El baladro del sabio Merlin con sus profecias*, Burgos, Juan de Burgos; Luce de Gast's *Tristan*, Paris, Verard; *Lancelot*, Paris. In all, there were twenty-seven printed versions, copies of which have been preserved.

Here the writer ventures to criticize the manner of referring to the early printed books. Scholars have an indiscriminate way of referring, for example, to the Rouen *Tristan*, of 1489, as the 1489 *Tristan*, or the Jehan *Tristan*, etc. Such careless practices cause endless confusion and waste of time to the student, besides giving occasion for error on the part of the bibliographer who has not personal access to the volumes indicated. The writer has in his possession three separate cards of one title and four of another, besides numerous ones in duplicate, the result of this careless habit. Upon examination, the volumes resolved themselves into the same version under the same title. A reasonable practice would be to indicate by author when known, giving place and date of publication; if the author is unknown, then the printer, with place and date. This would make for uniformity and accuracy.

The centers for publication were: England: London, Westminster (Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde); Germany: Augsburg (Hans

<sup>17</sup> Löseth, *Les Romans en prose de Tristan*, etc. . . . Paris, Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1890, XXII, gives the title as: *Roman du noble Tristan* . . . etc., but a copy in the British Museum, London, and one in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, bear the title: *Histoire des vertueux faits du* . . . etc., and another copy in the Bibl. nat., and one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, have *Histoire du tres vaillant*, etc.



Schönsperger, Antonio Sorg) ; France: Rouen (Jehan le Bourgois), Paris (Antoine Verard, Jehan du Pre, Gaillard le Bourgois) ; Spain: Burgos (Juan de Burgos) ; Italy: Cremona (Bernadinum de Misentis de Papia, Cesare Parmensem), Venice (Luca Veneto or Veneziano), Florence. . . .

The titles of the fifteenth century are: *Arthur*, with supplementary versions; *Armes des chevaliers de la Table ronde*; *Arbre de bataille*; *Brut*; *Chronicles*; *Cavaliere del falso scudo*; *Cligès*; *Sir Corneus*; *Claris et Laris*; *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal*; *Guiron*; *Gawayne*; *Grail*; *Guinglain*; *Historia britonum*; *Iwein*; *Iarlles* (Welsh version of Chrestien's *Ivain*); *Joseph*; *Krone*; *Lancelot*; *Libeaus desconnus*; *Llyfr*; *Lanval*; *Mantel*; *Meliadus*; *Merlin*; *Vows of the companions of the Round Table*; *Papagau*; *Perceval*; *Peredur*; *Perceforest, Round Table*; *Titurel*; *Tristan*; *Tourneys of the companions of the Round Table*; *Wigoleis*; *Ysaye le triste*.

Writers of previous centuries who are represented are: Albrecht von Scharfenberg, Chrestien de Troyes, Eilhart von Oberge, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hartmann von Aue, Heinrich von Freiburg, Heinrich von dem Türlin, Hélie de Borron, Jacob van Maerlant, Luce de Gast, Gautier Map, Renaut de Beaujeu, Robert de Borron, Rusticien de Pise, Der Stricker, Wace, Wirnt von Gravenberg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Zorzi.

The sixteenth century was the gala time of Arthurian literature before the nineteenth century. There are thirty-five titles, twenty-nine names, and two hundred and twelve versions, now including editions, divided among eight languages, of which French has eighty-three, Italian forty-six, German thirty-two, English twenty-six, Spanish nineteen, Latin four, Icelandic and Portuguese each one. The increase in versions is accounted for by the large number of printed editions in which were reproduced, in some instances, older versions, frequently altered, and, in other cases, new versions or redactions. It is noticable that only one of the older incidental motifs appears in extant literature in this century, that of the "*Manteau mautailé*", while, on the other hand, there are new compositions on Guinevere,<sup>15</sup> Gundelbano, the Lady of Shalot, Sagra-

<sup>15</sup> A tragi-comedy performed at Fontainebleau, 1564, which is lost.

mor, and descriptions of the arms, sports, and vows of the companions of the Round Table.

The predominance of prose over metrical versions is apparent. The introduction of printing was at once making its influence felt. The dissemination of literary monuments in permanent form was not, before this period, an easy matter, owing to the slowness of writing, the expense of the operation, and the cost of the material on which to transcribe, but the difficulties in the process of reproduction had now become notably lessened. Then, too, verse was giving way more regularly to the prose form, as the public was no longer so greatly dependent on the offices of the professional reader or reciter for its intellectual entertainment. This made possible the increasing interest in the longer tale to the prejudice of the shorter, detached episode, which was frequently semi-dependent in character. Some of those episodes had already become permanently incorporated in the longer narratives. Under the new conditions one would expect a rapid and extensive spread in the production of the novelistic literature of the Arthurian tradition. Such is the case, as is demonstrated by the large number of versions, two hundred and twelve, but the geographical limits are still restricted to western Europe, to France, England, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Norway, and Belgium, with one Spanish version, and Latin is still in evidence with four versions, plus five chronicles based on Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The places of publication were: France: Paris: Anthoine Verard,<sup>16</sup> *Giron, Lancelot, Merlin, Tristan*; Michel le Noir, *Giron, Grail, Tristan, Merlin, Lancelot*; J. Badius Ascensius, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* in Latin; Philippe le Noir, *Merlin, Ysaye, Grail, Lancelot, Round Table*; Jehan (le) Petit,<sup>17</sup> *Grail, Lancelot*; Galliot du Pré, *Grail, Ysaye, Perceforest, Meliadus*; Anthoine Houic, *Devise des armes*; Jehan Longis and Jehan Saint Denis, *Perceval*; Denis Janot, *Tristan, Meliadus*; Claude and Rinaldo Cal-

<sup>16</sup> Among these names are included those of printers and dealers. It is frequently difficult to distinguish between them.

<sup>17</sup> Jehan le Petit, Galliot du Pré, and Michel le Noir collaborated in printing, or selling, a *Grail*, and the names of Jehan le Petit and Michel le Noir appear together on the title-page of a *Lancelot*.

deria, *Girone* in Italian; Nicole (Nicolas) Bonfons, *Tristan, Arthur*; Veuve Maurice de la Porte, *Tristan*; Jehan Trepperel and Jehan Jehannot, *Merlin*; Gabriel Buon, *Tristan*; Nicolas Cousteau, "pour Galliot du Pré," *Perceforest*; and, no printer or dealer known, *Perceval* one, *Grail* two, *Tristan* two, *Perceforest* three, *Merlin* two, *Lancelot* one, *Meliadus* one; Rouen: Jehan and Richard Mace, associated with Michel Angier, of Caen, *Merlin*; Lyons: Claude Nourry, *Giglain*; Benoist Rigaud, *Tristan, Lancelot*; F. Didier, *Manteau*; Germany, Worms: Gregorius Hofman, *Tristan*; Frankfort: Weygand Han, *Tristan*; G. Rube and Weygand Han, *Wigoleis*; Thomas Rebart and Kilian Hahn, *Tristan*; Johan and Sigmund Feyerabendt, *Buch der Liebe*, with a prose rendering of Eilhart von Oberg's *Tristan*; Nicole Rost, *Tristan*, and an unsigned *Heldenbuch* containing *Tristan*; Strassburg: Jacob Fröhlich, *Tristan*; an unsigned *Tristan* and *Gawain*; Augsburg: J. Knoblauch, *Wigoleis*; Switzerland, Berne: a *Tristan*; Basel: P. Pernam, *Merlin*; England, London: Wynkyn de Worde, *Joseph, Merlin*; Richard Pinson (Pynsson), *Joseph*; John Herford, Leland's *Assertio*; Richard Grafton, *Arthur*; William Copland, *Arthur*; Thomas East, *Arthur*; John Wolf(e), Leland's *Assertio, Arms of the Companions of the Round Table*; R. Robinson, *Devise des armes*, Leland's *Assertio, Misfortunes of Arthur*; Edinburgh: John Pinkerton, *Gawain*; Walter Chapman (Chepman), *Golagros and Gawain*; Spain, Seville: Juan Cromberger, *Tristan*; Domenico de Robertis, *Tristan*; unsigned, a *Tristan, Merlin, Grail*, and *Perceval*; Toledo: Juan de Villaquiran, *Grail*; an unsigned *Tristan*; Valladolid: Juan de Burgos, *Tristan*; Barcelona: a *Gawain*; Belgium, Antwerp: Martin Nucio, a Spanish *Tristan*; Italy, Milan: Joanne da Castione, *Tristan*; an unsigned *Gawain*; Bologna: Benedetti, *Novelle antiche*, containing short poems on *Tristan* and *Lancelot*; Venice: Bartolomeo and Francesco suo genero, *Merlin*; Michele Tramessino (Tremezzino), *Perceforest, Tristan, Lancelot*; P. Niccolini, *Tristan*; i Guerra, *Lancelot*; Alexandro and Benedetto de Bindoni, *Tristan*; Vicentio (Vicentino) and Nicolo Zoppino, *Lancelot*; Venturino de Roffinelli, *Merlin*; Florence: Giunti, Borghini's *Libro di novelli*, containing *Tristan*.

A comparison of the first half and the second half of this cen-

ture shows a decrease in the number of productions: one hundred and seven to eighty-four, with twenty-one additional ones, the relative dates of which are not determined. The last quarter has only thirty-six, the other quarters having fifty-nine, forty-eight, and forty-eight respectively. French, with fifty and twenty-five, not including eight undated, and Spanish, with fourteen and five, are the only languages showing a decrease during the course of the period, while German, with ten and seventeen, not including five undated, English, with eleven and fifteen, and Italian, with eighteen and twenty, not including eight undated, present an increase, the others remaining stationary. This falling-off in French is significant, for interest in France will wane appreciably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The names of authors and copyists belonging to the sixteenth century are: Nicolo Agostini, L. Alemanni, Vincenzo Borghini, Johan Bourghcher (Lord Berners), Philippe Camus, R. Copland, Christopher Crispin, Erasmo di Valvasone, Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, Fossa da Cremona, Enea Galetti, Gilles Gourmant, Carlo Gualteruzzi, John Harding, John Hawkins, Thomas Hughes, Juan de Villaquiran, John Leland, William Liely, Jean (Ian) Maugin, John Pinkerton, C. Platin, Pseudo-Shakespeare, Roderigo de Reinos, Hans Sachs, Sala<sup>18</sup> de Lyon, Spenser, Stowe, Timoneda, Warner.

The subjects treated are: *Arthur, Armes des chevaliers de la Table ronde, Chevalier au lion, Chronicles*, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Devise des armes, Erec, Fairy Queen, Gawain, Genevière, Giglain, Giron, Golagros and Gawain, Grail, Gundelbano, Jaufre* (son of Conde don Ason), *Joseph, Lady of Shalot, Lancelot, Lanval, Libeaus desconnus, Mantel mantaillé, Meliadus, Merlin, Oliver and Arthur, Perceforest, Perceval, Round Table, Sagramor, Serments des chevaliers de la Table ronde, Tristan*,<sup>19</sup> *Tournois des chevaliers de la Table ronde, Wigoleis, Ysaye le triste*.

<sup>18</sup> This is not the same Sala who wrote a *Tristan et Lancelot* in the fifteenth century.

<sup>19</sup> Tristan is treated in supplementary versions, in addition to the regular ones: *Innamoramento di Tristano, Qualità di Tristano, Lettera di Tristano, Death of Tristan*, and an Italian version of the incident of Tristan as fool.

Names of the previous centuries reappearing at this time are: Eilhart von Oberge, Ulrich Fûerterer, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hartmann von Aue, Heinrich von dem Tûrlin, H  lie de Borron, Luce de Gast, Malory, Robert de Borron, Robert of Gloucester, Rusticien de Pise, Sala de Lyon (?).

*(To be continued.)*

A. E. CURDY

YALE UNIVERSITY

## TWO TRACES OF THE CYCLE OF GUILLAUME D'ORANGE IN THE OLD SPANISH ROMANCES\*

IN his treatise on the old Spanish *romances*,<sup>1</sup> Sr. M. Menéndez y Pelayo calls attention to a few traces of the epic cycle of Guillaume d'Orange found among the *romances* of the Carolingian cycle. He mentions particularly *El Soldan de Babilonia y el Conde de Narbona*,<sup>2</sup> *El Almirante Guarinos*,<sup>3</sup> and in *Valdovinos y el Marques de Mantua*, a vow similar to that of Guillaume in *Aliscans*.<sup>4</sup> Two other fragments of the cycle of Guillaume, which seem not to have been ascribed to their probable sources, occur, one in *Valdovinos*,<sup>5</sup> the other in a poem concerning Floripes and Gui de Borgoña, which forms one of a series of *romances* about Charlemagne and his followers.<sup>6</sup>

The first part of *Valdovinos*, which Menéndez y Pelayo considers the oldest part, relates a situation very similar to the famous scene of the death of Vivien. Danes Urgel, Marques de Mantua,<sup>7</sup> while hunting, is separated from his followers and loses his way. In the heart of the forest he finds his nephew Valdovinos dying of wounds received through the treachery of Carloto, the son of Charlemagne. The servant of Valdovinos has been sent to find a confessor, and returns, while the marquis is speaking with his nephew, accompanied by a hermit, who administers the last rites to the dying man. After telling of the treachery of Carloto, Valdovinos expires in his uncle's arms. The latter places the body on his horse, and

\*The author is indebted for valuable suggestions to Professor Raymond Weeks, Columbia University.

<sup>1</sup> *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, vols. XI, XII; *Tratado de los Romances Viejos*. Madrid, 1903 and 1906.

<sup>2</sup> *Antología*, vol. XII, p. 408.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 374.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> *Autores Españoles, Romancero General*, I, 355; also Wolf and Hofmann, *Primavera y Flor de Romances*, Berlin, 1856, vol. II, p. 174 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Romancero General*, II, 1255, 1256.

<sup>7</sup> *son de Saisnes*, see *Antología*, vol. XII, p. 393 ff., and cf. Gautier, *Epopées*, II, p. 339, notes, with passages from other critics there mentioned.

takes it first to the chapel of the hermit, where the marquis makes a formal vow of vengeance; thence he continues his journey to "Mantua." The following passages give the main outline of the story:

Cuando llegó á un rio,  
En medio de un arenale  
Vido un caballero muerto,  
Comenzóle de mirare.  
Armado estaba de guerra  
A guisa de peleare;

. . . . .

Una voz sintió hablar:  
— ¡Oh Santa Maria Señora,  
No me quieras olvidar!  
¡A tí encomiendo mi alma,  
Plégate de la guardare!  
En este trago de muerte  
Esfuerzo me quieras dare;  
Pues á los tristes consuelas  
Quieras á mí consolare,  
Y al tu precioso Hijo  
Por mí te plega rogare  
Que perdone mis pecados,  
Mi alma quiera salvar.

. . . . .

¡Oh noble marques de Mantua,  
Mi señor tio carnale!  
¿Dónde estás que no ois  
Mi doloroso quejare?  
¡Qué nueva tan dolorosa  
Os será y de gran pesare  
Cuando de mí no supierdes  
Ni me pudierdes hallare!  
Hecístesme heredero  
Por vuestro Estado heredar,  
¡Mas vos lo habréis de ser mio  
Aunque sois de mas edade!

. . . . .

— ¿Qué dices, amigo mio?  
¿Traes con quien me confesare?

Que ya se me sale el alma;  
 La vida quiero acabare:  
 Del cuerpo no tengo pena,  
 Que el alma querria salvar.

. . . . .

Cuando aquesto oyó el Marques  
 La habla perdido hae,  
 En el suelo dió consigo,  
 La espada fué arrojar,  
 Las barbas de la su cara  
 Empezólas de arrancare,  
 Los sus cabellos muy canos  
 Comiéndolas de mesare.  
 A cabo de una gran pieza  
 En pié se fué á levantare;  
 Allegóse al caballero  
 Por las armas le quitar.

. . . . .

En la boca lo besaba  
 No cesando de llorare,  
 Las palabras que decia  
 Dolor es de las contare.  
 —!Oh sobrino Valdovinos,  
 Mi buen sobrino carnale!  
 ?Quién os trató de esta suerte?  
 ?Quién os trujo á tal lugare?  
 ?Quién es el que á vos mató  
 Que á mí vivo fué á dejare?  
 !Mas valiera la mi muerte  
 Que la vuestra en tal edade!  
 ?No me conoceis, sobrino?  
 !Por Dios queraisme hablare!

. . . . .

A vos tenia por sobrino  
 Para mi Estado heredare,  
 Agora por mi ventura  
 Yo vos habré de enterrare.  
 Sobrino, de aquí adelante  
 Yo no quiero vivir mase:  
 Ven, muerte, cuando quisieres,  
 No te quieras retardare;



. . . . .  
Su escudero fué á llegare :  
Un ermitaño traia  
Que en el bosque fué á hallare,  
Hombre de muy santa vida

. . . . .  
Esforzando á Valdovinos  
Comenzóle amonestare  
Que olvidando aqueste mundo  
De Dios se quiera acordare.

. . . . .  
Confesóse Valdovinos  
A toda su voluntade.  
Estando en su confesion,  
Ya que queria acabare,  
Las angustias de la muerte  
Comienzan de le aquejare:

. . . . .  
Acuerdo van á tomare  
Que se fuesen á la ermita,  
Y el cuerpo allá lo llevare.  
Pónenlo encima el caballo,  
Nadie quiso cabalgare.  
El hermitaño los guia,  
Comienzan de caminar ;  
Llevan via de la ermita  
Aprisa y no de vagare.  
Desque allá hubieron llegado  
Van el cuerpo desarmare.  
Quince lanzadas tenia,  
Cada una era mortale,  
Que de la menor de todas  
Ninguno podria escapare.

Cuando así lo vió el Marques  
Traspasóse de pesare,  
Y á cabo de una gran pieza  
Un gran suspiro fué á dare.  
Entró dentro en la capilla,  
De rodillas se fué á hincare,  
Puso la mano en un ara

Que estaba sobre el altare,  
 Y en los piés de un crucifijo  
 Jurando, empezó de hablare.  
 —Juro por Dois poderoso,  
 Por Santa María su Madre,  
 Y al santo Sacramento  
 Que aqui suelen celebrare,  
 De nunca peinar mis canas,  
 Ni las mis barbas cortare;  
 De no vestir otras ropas,  
 Ni renovar mi calzare;  
 De no entrar en poblado,  
 Ni las armas me quitare,  
 Sino fuera una hora  
 Para mi curpo limpiare;  
 De no comer en manteles,  
 Ni á mesa me asentare,  
 Hasta matar á Carloto  
 Por justicia ó peleare,  
 O morir en la demanda  
 Manteniendo la verdade:  
 Y si justicia me niega  
 Sobre esta tan gran maldade,  
 De con mi Estado y persona  
 Contra Francia guerreare,  
 Y manteniendo la guerra  
 Morir ó vencer sin pare.  
 Y por este juramento  
 Prometo de no enterrare  
 El cuerpo de Valdovinos  
 Hasta su muerte vengare.

Besides the similarity of the principal events, certain little touches recall familiar details of the French poem. Compare the description of the place where Valdovinos is found:

Cuando llegó á un rio,  
 En medio de un arenale—

and

Vivien trove sur un estanc  
 A la funteine dunt li duit sunt bruiant<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Chançon de Willame*, 1987, 1988.

Also the formula that describes his mortal wounds:

Quince lanzadas tenia,  
Cada una era mortale,  
Que de la menor de todas  
Ninguno podria escapare,

and in *Willame*, 1992, 1993:

Parmi le cors out quinze plaies granz  
De la menur fust morz uns amirailz.

Compare the following details from the uncle's lamentation:

Cuando aquesto oyó el Marques  
La habla perdido hae,  
En el suelo dié consigo—

. . . . .

Ven, muerte, cuando quisieres,  
No te quieras retardare

with the following lines of *Aliscans*:

Ne pot mot dire tant par fu adolés,<sup>9</sup>

. . . . .

'Au duel k'i maine si chaī de Bauchant,  
Encontre terre se vet sovant pasmant,<sup>10</sup>

. . . . .

Or vos ont mort Sarrasin et Persant.  
Terre, car ouvre, si me va engloutant!<sup>11</sup>

The most striking elements of the Vivien story, the broken vow, the lay communion, the glory of death in battle, the tragedy of defeat, are wanting, to be sure, in the Spanish version; but the points of similarity are not so commonplace that they can be attributed to chance. Valdovinos, like Vivien, holds in his uncle's affections the place of a son; like Vivien, he is found by his uncle alone beside a stream under the trees, dying of many wounds; both receive the last communion in the heart of the forest, under unusual

<sup>9</sup> *Aliscans*, 692.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 720, 721.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 711, 712.

conditions. In each case the dying man sends loving messages, the one to his mother and his wife, the other to Guibourg; in each case also, the body is placed upon a horse to be taken away. In both cases, the body does not receive immediate burial. As to the chapel, a chapel is frequently associated with the resting place of Vivien.<sup>12</sup> It seems clear that this first *romance* of the Valdovinos series may well be a distant echo of the impressive episode of Vivien.<sup>13</sup>

The French poems, being much older and more primitive, are more simple, direct and crude, and, for that reason, more effective; but the Spanish poem is not lacking in these qualities, especially if we compare it with the other *romances* of the same series, which tell of the trial and execution of Carloto.

It is to be noted that, in the *romances* derived from the French epics, the imitation is never servile, and that in some cases the story is changed almost beyond recognition. Keeping in mind this freedom of treatment, the similarity between *Floripes y Gui de Borgoña* and the *Prise d'Orange* is perhaps more apparent than that of Valdovinos and Vivien.

In a battle between Christians and Moors, Oliver has wounded and defeated Fierabras, son of the "Almirante Balan." Fierabras is taken to the camp of Charlemagne, and is baptized. Oliver and four others are taken prisoners and confined in a tower. Floripes, the daughter of Balan, is in love with Gui de Borgoña, whom she has seen in a tourney. After killing the guard, who opposes her,

<sup>12</sup> The fullest statement of the circumstances of the burial of Vivien is to be found in an article by Raymond Weeks, in *Romania*, XXXIX, pp. 260-63, 266.

<sup>13</sup> The Conde Viviano, mentioned as present in the portion of *Valdovinos* derived from *Ogier*, is qualified as: "de Agramonte," and is of course Vivien de Monbranc, son of Beuve d'Aigremont. The name Valdovinos is of course from the French Baudouinet. Fr. J. Wolf, in his *Primavera*, II, p. 217, note, drew attention to the fact that the Spanish *romances* confused Baudouinet, son of Ogier, with Baudouinet, brother of Roland. Cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 413, note 2. The possible influence of Vivien on *Valdovinos* merits a fuller examination than can be given it here. Is it, for example, an accidental coincidence that Naime is the grandfather of Vivien in the *Enfances Vivien*, and of Valdovinos in the Spanish *romance* (for this latter relationship, see p. 199, of volume II of Wolf)? . . . For the legend of Baldovino, son of Ogier, in Italy, vid. Pio Rajna: *Romania*, III, p. 31 ss. In the Franco-Italian version, Carloto slays Baldovino while they are hunting; cf. the Spanish *romance*.

she visits the prisoners in their dungeon to see whether Gui is among them. With the usual candor of the Saracen princess in such a story, Floripes announces that she will help the prisoners to escape if Gui will marry her. Oliver promises that he shall, and Floripes conceals the knights in her own apartments. In the meantime, Charemagne has sent Roland with six other knights to demand the surrender of Balan and the restitution of the five prisoners. As soon as they enter the town, they are recognized and disarmed. Floripes, upon hearing that Gui is among the new prisoners, tells Oliver of the event and arranges with him a plan of rescue. She asks her father to let her have charge of all the prisoners, saying that she wishes to torture them. Balan agrees, and she arms Roland and his companions as she has done the others. They sit down armed to dinner, and Floripes with them. Gui agrees to the marriage that Oliver has arranged for him, and the troth is pledged. A courtier discovers them at dinner, and is immediately killed by Naymes. After another interview with her father, Floripes gives the signal, and the prisoners rush from their hiding-place and kill all the Moors except Balan. The French knights fortify themselves in the tower, while Balan summons his men from the city; the tower is attacked, Gui is captured and freed again, and a messenger is sent to Charlemagne, who arrives with an army just in time to save his knights. Balan is taken and put to death, Floripes is baptized, and marries Gui.

In the *Prise d'Orange*, there are not so many prisoners, but they are recaptured a number of times. Orable, like Floripes, asks for the prisoners, but her request is refused. Guillaume dramatically defies Arragon, as Roland defies Balan, the hero in each case being a prisoner and unarmed. In both poems the captured knights dine with the Saracen princess, and are supplied by her with the necessary armor. In both, a messenger is sent for help, and the poem ends with the death of the pagan leader, the capture of his city by a christian army, and the baptism and marriage of the princess.

Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo explains the presence of these traces of the Guillaume cycle in the *romances*, by the fact that this cycle is "meridional por la patria de sus héroes y por el teatro de sus hazañas," and finds it quite natural that this epic should have left its mark, "tratándose de una poesía tan vecina, y que alguna

vez, como en el *Sitio de Barbastro*, había tratado asuntos de nuestra propia historia."<sup>14</sup> The surprising part is rather that the traces of this great "neighboring" cycle should be so few and so faint. The names of its leading characters appear to be unknown, and their deeds, when not entirely forgotten, are attributed to others.

As given in the *Romancero General*, the text of *Valdovinos* is of the sixteenth century, and that of *Floripes* of the beginning of the nineteenth.<sup>15</sup> These dates alone account sufficiently for the many changes the stories have undergone, but not the complete loss of the cycle to which they belong and their transference to another. Why did the "southern" epic, whose action is often laid in Spain, disappear, and the northern epic survive? A partial explanation is offered by the influence of the church, which supported the Carolingian epic by the legends of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Compostela and his grant to the church of Sant Iago of the primacy of Spain;<sup>16</sup> but this influence alone, though powerful, seems hardly sufficient to account for the different fate of the two cycles.

HÉLÈNE M. EVERS

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY,  
Womans College

<sup>14</sup> *Antología*, XII, 410.

<sup>15</sup> *Romancero General*, I, pp. lxvii and lxxxvii.

<sup>16</sup> *Antología*, XI, p. 189.

THE OPENING DIABLERIE OF THE UNPUBLISHED  
MYSTÈRE DE SAINT MARTIN (Bib. Nat., ms. fr.  
24332), BY ANDRIEU DE LA VIGNE.<sup>1</sup>

THE fact that great pleasure was experienced by most of the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in evolving strange poetic combinations, appears clearly in even a cursory reading of the lyric collections of the period. Complicated and bizarre as some of these collections seem, none have surpassed in intricacy the peculiar inventions of Andrieu de la Vigne. The words of M. Anatole de Montaiglon, in his introduction to the poet's *Complaintes et Epitaphes du Roy de la Basoche*,<sup>2</sup> may be well quoted in this connection.

L'auteur a fait l'amoncellement le plus prodigieux de mots baroques et incompréhensibles, de vers équivoqués et batelés, de strophes commençant par les quatre bouts, etc. Il a réuni à plaisir toutes les difficultés que nous font admirer les anciens Arts de rhétorique; mais ces tours de force n'ont été possibles qu'aux dépens du bon sens, . . . c'est André de la Vigne, qui a poussé plus loin qu'aucun poète de son temps l'amour de la bizarrerie.

The critics of the eighteenth century hold the same attitude towards his poetic eccentricities, and have a similar estimate of the literary value of his productions. M. l'Abbé Goujet, referring to the large collection of poems printed at the end of the *Vergier d'honneur* of Andrieu de la Vigne, says:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Andrieu de la Vigne, a native of La Rochelle, was born about 1468. During his youth, he is supposed to have been secretary to Octavien de Saint Gelais, Bishop of Angoulême. Later, he held the same position in the household of the Duke of Savoy, from whose service he entered into that of the queen, Anne de Bretagne. During the years 1494-1495, he accompanied the French army in its expedition to Italy, as poet to the king, Charles VIII, with the official title of "Facteur du Roi." He appears again, in 1496, at Seurre in Burgundy, as author and manager of the *Mystère de Saint Martin*, which was played by the citizens of that town. Little is known of his life after this date, but from a study of his later productions, and from brief mention of him in contemporary literature, one may judge that his death occurred shortly before 1527.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil de Poésies Françaises*, Paris, 1878, XIII, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliothèque Française*, Paris, 1745, X, p. 290.

En général, il n'y a pas vingt de ces pièces qu'on puisse lire avec quelque satisfaction, tant le style en est dur, grossier, et rempli d'expressions bizarres, de mots inventés ou tirés du latin; tant on y trouve de jeu de mots fades et insipides, de fréquentes répétitions des mêmes tours, des mêmes pensées et des mêmes façons de parler.

He quotes the following mediocre triolet as one of the prettiest of this collection:

De trop aymer c'est grant folie;  
 Je le sçay bien quant à ma part,  
 Quelque chose que l'on m'en die  
 De trop aymer c'est grant folie;  
 A la parfin on en mendie  
 Qui n'en fait bientôt le départ;  
 De trop aymer c'est grant folie,  
 Je le sçay bien quant à ma part.

The justice of these criticisms is apparent from a study of the "diablerie" which is given later in this article, or better still, perhaps, from a consideration of the following passage taken from among many similar ones in the *Complaintes et Epitaphes du Roy de la Bazoche*:<sup>4</sup>

Parverse, adverse qui, trop diverse, verce  
 Lyesse et ce que tu renverse vexe,  
 D'appresse presse, la cicatrice tisse,  
 De quelque part que ta finesse naisse,  
 D'anesse n'esse, car tu delaisse lesse  
 D'expresse presse et d'infelice lice;  
 L'indice disse, s'en ton divice vice,  
 Service veisse, mais ta malice lisse  
 D'une office ysse, qui est mortelle, telle  
 Qu'au genre humain ta force est immortelle,  
 Lente, lasche, lourde, louche, lubrique, etc.

Such a poet should, truly, be at his best in writing a diablerie. In fact, if we consider the general function of the diablerie in a mystery, its dramatic "raison d'être," we are forced to admit that, in this present case, the author has succeeded well in producing the effect desired from such a composition. This strange jargon of

<sup>4</sup> *La Bazoche contre la Mort*, lines 61-71.



mythological terms, of slang, of meaningless expressions, with its monotonous rhythm and explosive rime, produces a striking and weird effect which is well adapted to the demands of this type of medieval drama.

While we may thus grant a certain degree of success to the opening diablerie, nothing can be said in favor of the others, four in number, scattered thruout the *Mystery*. They contain the ordinary commonplaces, with the exception of two short speeches,<sup>5</sup> in "rime senée," which are worse than commonplace, but whose counterpart we meet, frequently, in the productions of the other writers of the time, including Marot himself.

The great fault of de la Vigne, in common with his contemporaries, is too great productivity, with consequent carelessness of thought and style. Called to Seurre by the citizens of that town in the spring of 1496, he completed the entire *Mystère de Saint Martin* in the short space of five weeks, if we are to credit his own statement in the *procès-verbal* of the piece. As the *Mystery* contains 10682 lines,<sup>6</sup> this task was no light one, even for the man who had just completed the immense *Vergier d'honneur*.

In spite of this haste the *Mystery* was well received, and was performed not only at Seurre but probably also at Tours, where the well known preacher, Michel Menot, uses it as the text of a peculiar sermon, couched partly in Latin and partly in French.<sup>7</sup>

The entire description of the preparations for the play as well as its presentation, is set forth in eloquent terms by de la Vigne himself, in the *procès-verbal* of the *Mystery*. This preface has

<sup>5</sup> These two selections are printed at the end of the present article.

<sup>6</sup> The following statement, which credits the *Mystère de Saint Martin* with 20,000 lines, must be due to some misapprehension: H. Suchier und A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur*, Leipzig und Wien, 1900, p. 284: "Von dem Dichter, Andrieu de la Vigne, der das Leben des heiligen Martin dramatisierte (es wurde 1496 zu Seurre gespielt), wissen wir, dass er seine 20,000 Verse in fünf Wochen niedergeschrieben hat. Wenn er in ziemlich gleichmässigen Tempo gearbeitet hat (und wer das Stück gelesen hat, muss eine solche Arbeitsweise sogar für wahrscheinlich halten) muss er täglich gegen 600 Verse fabriziert haben." Even if we include the two pieces, *La Moralité de l'Aveugle et du Boiteux* and *La Farce du Munyer*, both of which are found in the same manuscript with the *Mystery*, the total number of lines does not approach the figure named.

<sup>7</sup> *Menoti Sermones ab ipso Turonis declamati*, Paris, 1525.

been reproduced too frequently to need comment here, except the passage relating to the tragi-comic accident which happened to the player, in the rôle of Satan, while in the act of emerging from his "secret," during the performance of the diablerie. The author describes this happening, with its results, as follows.

Puis après commença à parler Luciffer, pendant lequel parlement celui qui jouoit le personnage de Sathan, ainsi qu'il volut sortir de son secret par dessoubz terre, le feu se prist à son habit autour des fesses, tellement qu'il fut fort bruslé, mais il fut si soubdaynement secouru, devestu et rabillé, que sans faire semblant de rien, vint jouer son personnage; puis se retira en sa maison. De ceste chose furent moult fort espoventez les dits joueurs; car ils pensoient que puisque au commencement incontinent les assailloit que la fin s'en ensuivroit."

With the aid of Saint Martin, however, the players continued their rôles:

En abolissant la cremeur<sup>s</sup> devant dicte, les dits joueurs prindrent une telle hardiesse et audace en eulx qu'onques lyon en sa taynyère ne meurtrier en un boys ne furent jamais plus fiers, ne mieulx assurez qu'ils estoient quant ilz jouoient.

The actor, playing the rôle of Satan, reappears on the scene in the afternoon, seemingly none the worse for his mishap. His danger, truly, seems not to have sobered his language, for he presents his excuses to Lucifer in the following speech, the coarseness of which might occasion some surprise did we not know that the indecent *Farce du Munyer* had been received the day before with much applause by the same audience:

Malle mort te puisse avorter,  
Paillart, fils de putain cognu,  
Pour à mal faire t'en orter,  
Je me suis tout brûlé le cul.

Thus began the performance of the *Mystère de Saint Martin*, which, triumphing over the evil auspices, was played to the end successfully, or, in the words of the author, "tryumphaument, aul-

\* M. Edouard Fournier (*Le Théâtre Français avant la Renaissance*, Paris, 1872, p. 174) explains this word "cremeur" as "brûlure" (crematio). The word means rather "crainte," from the Latin "tremorem."

tentiquement, et magnifiquement, sans faulte quelle qu'elle fust au monde."

The diablerie, which forms the basis of this article, consists, mainly, of two ballades of the type of the "chant royal," altho the second alone is given this title by the poet. Each ballade is made up of three stanzas of twelve decasyllabic lines, arranged according to the formula (aab aab bbc bbc), and with an envoi of six lines (aab aab). The first ballade, *Ballade de sa Puissance Infernalle*, is recited entirely by Lucifer; the second, *Ballade de Champ Royal finissant toute par C*, is given by Satan, Burgibus, and Berith.

# [DIABLERIE]

## PERSONNAGES<sup>9</sup>

Luciffer .....	Amye Oudot
Sathan .....	Symphorien Poincenot
Burgibus .....	Pierre Belleville
Proserpine .....	Messire Ponsot
Astaroth .....	Jehan Bonfils
Agrapart .....	(—————)
Bérith .....	Robert Tordis

*Icy se commence a monstrier Luciffer, faisant cris et hurlemens orribles, et de tous les aultres deables n'en doibt on voir nully, car ilz seront soubz terre pour sortir es secretz<sup>10</sup> ad ce ordonnez, quant il en sera temps. Luciffer dit ceste presente ballade et le couplet ensuivant ains que les aultres deables se monstrent.*

## BALLADE DE SA PUISSANCE INFERNALLE.

'Au zodiaque du tenebreux Pluto,  
Et Megera, Theziphon,<sup>11</sup> Aletho,<sup>12</sup>  
Seurs furiennes, mon pover se provoque;  
Au fluvieux, caronny<sup>13</sup> Flegeto,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The list of "personnages" for the entire Mystery is given by M. Achille Jubinal, in his *Mystères Inédits du Quinzième Siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, p. ix.

<sup>10</sup> M. Petit de Julleville, in *Les Mystères*, II, p. 539, gives the reading "et seront" instead of "es secretz." His interpretation is not justified by the MS.

<sup>11</sup> *Complaintes et Epitaphes*, line 55; "theziphonic alabre."

<sup>12</sup> Alecto.

<sup>13</sup> De Charon.

<sup>14</sup> Phlégéthon.

- 5 Ignifferant, et le vil Cochito,<sup>15</sup>  
 Lymbes obscures, poinct je ne reciproque;  
 La, Cerberus vipereux, mes crins croque,  
 Le navigateur Charon aussi m'estoque,  
 Dessoubz Lethes, lac dampnable, eternel;
- 10 Puis vient Mynos, qui a ses jours m'ynvoque,  
 Et Zurburbus, sur ce poinct me convoque,  
 Prince Infernal, Deable Sempiternel.  
 En la penthere de mon dur memento,  
 Le chicaneur clergault, Radamento,
- 15 Par sathalites herbereux, trop m'estoque,  
 Puis Exion,<sup>16</sup> au paludin trito,<sup>17</sup>  
 Sa roe ardant pres du gouffre stito;<sup>18</sup>  
 Les Tartarins<sup>19</sup> fault que sonnand je choque  
 Au mont Gargare, de verberable broque,
- 20 Et soubz Ismare par despit les coloque,  
 Leur denotant mon pouvoir supernel;  
 La Cornuaille, Luciabelle tocque,  
 Porte sur tous, car je suis en ce stoque  
 Prince Infernal, Deable Sempiternel.
- 25 Soubz les ostilles du tribulant Nepto,  
 Les ydriades,<sup>20</sup> avec Polupeto,  
 Brouer mes sors,<sup>21</sup> font a la nyque noque;  
 Je patibulle<sup>22</sup> le gueux Elupisto  
 Aux rouges fourches du noir Dyaetho,
- 30 Par Eacus, qui en ce ne se mocque;  
 Le bocnouyste, chanu, decrepit roque,  
 Durdrilupus, me fait enterner loque  
 Avec Gritis, mon affin<sup>23</sup> fraternel;  
 Puis Achiron<sup>24</sup> mon estat fanfreloque,

<sup>15</sup> Le Cocyte.<sup>16</sup> Ixion.<sup>17</sup> Au marais de Triton.<sup>18</sup> Du Styx.<sup>19</sup> *Compl. et Epit.*, line 59, "tartarin flabre."<sup>20</sup> Hydryades.<sup>21</sup> Préparer (brasser) le destin.<sup>22</sup> Pendre.<sup>23</sup> Allié.<sup>24</sup> *Compl. et Epit.*, line 58; "acheronic mabre."

- 35 Car en ce crot,<sup>25</sup> sans per, on me revoque,  
Prince Infernal, Deable Sempiternel.

PRINCE.

- Orgueil, Envie, contre Avarice bloque,  
Ire, Paresse, a Luxure je troque,  
De Glotonnye suis le chief paternel,  
40 Du Createur ne donne une freloque,  
Pour ce, que suis au pulullant tristoque  
Prince Infernal, Deable Sempiternel.

*Il crit et se tempeste et ne disent encore mot les aultres deables.*

- Ou estes vous, traistres, villains, mastins?  
Que faictes vous, detestables mutins?  
45 Quoy! dormez vous maintenant? quesse cy?  
Deables d'enffer, loups garoux et lutins,  
Corps fantastiques, fors esprits, serpentins,  
De par le Deable, venez tretous icy;  
Avancez vous, car j'ay le cueur transsi  
50 Et tout le corps de grant despit noircy;  
Sortez dehors, que la malle tempeste,  
La malle rage et malle mort aussi,  
Villaynement, ains que partez d'icy,  
Vous puisse a tous fouldroyer, corps et teste!

*Icy sortent les deables de leurs secretz, l'un cy, l'autre la, avecques feu et fouldre orrible, crians et braillans comme il appartient.*<sup>26</sup>

**S'ENSUITE UNE BALLADE DE CHAMP ROYAL FINISSANT  
TOUTE PAR "C."**

SATHAN.

- 55 Prodigue infect, portant d'enfer le froc,  
Corps invoqué, de tous venins le broc,  
Que te fault il, lupardin<sup>27</sup> appostac,  
Puys infernal, dampné, gouffrineux roc?  
Deable d'enfer, que vault ton villain croc,

<sup>25</sup> Creux.

<sup>26</sup> It is at this point in the performance that the accident, described in the *procès-verbal*, happened to the actor who was playing the rôle of Satan.

<sup>27</sup> De léopard.

- 60 Quant ton parler ne prisons ung patac?<sup>28</sup>  
 Tu va, hurlant, cryant patie patac;  
 Que malle bosse, malle poisons, maultac<sup>29</sup>  
 Et malle grayne, te puisse prandre au bric!<sup>30</sup>  
 Ort, vil, villain, puant coquodrilac,<sup>31</sup>
- 65 Loup ravissant, pour lequel je dys gnac,  
 Que te fault il, paillart, puant aspic?  
 La malle mort, soit de taille ou d'estoc,<sup>32</sup>  
 Te puisse, brief, serrer le palletoc,  
 Briqueboiller et broiller en ung lac!
- 70 Le feu d'enfer te presente le choc  
 Pour te brusler, soit en tache ou en bloc,  
 Et boursoffler au charonnyeux bac,  
 Ou t'emporter, soit d'aboc ou d'abac,<sup>33</sup>  
 'Au paludin sulphureux Bulcibac!<sup>34</sup>
- 75 Desesperé, superbe porc espic,  
 Sot, plus douteux que bosse ny entrac,  
 Je viens le cours vers toy, faisant tric trac,  
 Que te fault il, paillart, puant aspic?

## BURGIBUS.

- Gresle, tempeste, en faisant tic tac toc,  
 80 Te puisse prandre, d'abac aussi d'aboc!  
 Prince, portant de tous tourmens le sac,  
 Orrible monstre, loubineux sennedoc,<sup>35</sup>  
 Dragon pugnaie, ort, bazelique coc,  
 Pour quoy bray tu? j'apporte mon bissac;
- 85 Vecy Berith, le seigneur de Boussac,  
 Et 'Astaroth, qui va disant sic sac,  
 Courans, brouans, plustost qu'on ne dit pic,  
 Soubz ton obscur, tremebundeux<sup>36</sup> tillac,  
 'Affin qu'enfer ne s'en voise abasac,<sup>37</sup>
- 90 Que te fault il, paillart, puant aspic?

<sup>28</sup> Petite monnaie.<sup>29</sup> Maladie éruptive.<sup>30</sup> Piège.<sup>31</sup> *Compl. et Epit.*, line 53; "cocodrille."<sup>32</sup> A tort et à travers.<sup>33</sup> *Compl. et Epit.*, line 74; "Praticiens, Soit d'aboc ou d'abac."<sup>34</sup> Belzébuth.<sup>35</sup> Personne sénile.<sup>36</sup> Tremblant.<sup>37</sup> A bas + ac.

BERITH.

- Prince dampné, scrupuleux coac,  
 Germe maudit, corps d'infernal eschac,  
 Insaciable cornu, tigre estopic,  
 Bec jaulne infect, temeraire ypodrac,\*  
 95 Fol enraigé, qu'as tu mengé, poac poac?  
 Que te fault il, paillart, puant aspic?

LUCIFFER.

- Qu'il me fault quoy, ruffiens miserables?  
 Je seuffre trop de maulx intollerables  
 De voir aller notre enffer en decours;  
 100 Pour ce, paillars, putiers abhominables,  
 Espris volans, deablesses et grans deables,  
 Sortez dehors, ou voz jours seront cours,  
 Et si brouez trop plustost que le cours  
 Par tout le monde, en villes et en cours,  
 105 En monasteres et en religions,  
 Puis qu'a vous maintenant je recours,  
 'Admenez moy, pour me donner secours,  
 De toutes ames cent mille legions.

SATHAN.

- Pour en avoir deux ou troys millions,  
 110 'Ains que soit nuyt, nous nous humylions  
 'Au grant conseil que present nous envoie,  
 Et pour monstrier noz grans rebellions,  
 Comme affamez et enraigez lyons,  
 114 Sans plus de plait, nous nous mectons en voye.

*Pause de tourmens, de cris et (et) hurlemens terribles en enffer; puis jouent tronpetes et clerons. 'Après ladicte pause, se partira de son eschaffault, le pere saint Martin, la mere saint Martin, avec leurs escuyers et demoiselles, et s'en viendront sur le parc, faisant leur tour comme il appartient.*

The two examples of "rime senée," which are given below, are found, respectively, in the third and fourth diableries of the *Mystery*.

\* Podagre.

*Folio 114, verso:*

SATHAN.

Roy rigoureux, racyne ruyneuse,  
 Roche restive, rodelle rumyneuse,  
 Rouge ribault, reprouvable rogneuse,  
 Rogue rougeux, riche ronce, raffleuse,  
 Ravissant ris, rural retatynart,  
 Reprehenssible, renfrongné regrongnart,  
 Raby rebelle, redoubtable regnart,  
 Rustic, regnant, rampant, rafflant, riffiant,  
 Radis, rayee, roc, robuste roillart,  
 Regent, retrou, ront, rapineux rocart,  
 A quoy, grant deable, vas tu ainsi ronfflant?

*Folio 124, verso:*

LUCIFFER.

Puant, pugnaïs, porc prejudiciable,  
 Poilleux, pensu, putier, pasteur, paillart,  
 Parvers poiltron, paludin penetrable,  
 Paralletique, puissant prince, pillart,  
 Persecuteur parjuré, papellart,  
 Patron perdu, perilleux, préparé,  
 Palle pelle, pousif, pourry pendart,  
 Par tous les deables soit ton corps desvoré!

DAVID H. CARNAHAN.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.



## A BRIEF STUDY OF THE PHONOLOGY OF THE NEAPOLITAN DIALECT

### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE following study concerns itself with the dialect of the city of Naples and, more particularly, with that of the *Sezione di Chiaja*. Some of the outlying districts, *e. g.*, *Campo di Marte*, already show some slight variations from the language studied herein.

The sources of this study have been both oral and written. The writer first took lessons in conversation, at the same time studying texts, and then, after he had acquired some fluency in the spoken language, he went among the people to verify the results and the conclusions which he had obtained. In addition to this, he profited much from aid given him by others who had made a special study of the dialect. Among these he wishes to thank particularly Signor Alberto Cerbino, actor on the Neapolitan stage and author of several Neapolitan comedies, and Signori Bideri and Izzo, well-known publishers of *Canzonette Napoletane*.

Among the written sources may be mentioned *G. Papanti, I Parlari Italiani in Certaldo, Livorno, 1875*; *F. Wentrup, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Neapolitanischen Mundart, Wittenberg, 1855*; *Raffaele Andreoli, Vocabolario Napoletano-Italiano, Torino, 1877*; *Ferdinando di Domenico, Vocabolario Metodico, Filologico, Comparato del Dialecto Napoletano &c., Napoli, 1905*; *A Scarpa Stretta, A Critica Jurnata r'un Farmacista, Ridazioni di Alberto Cerbino*, and a large collection of popular songs and dialogues edited and published by *Bideri and Izzo*.

Among more general works on Italian dialects are Ascoli's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1880, and in the *Archivio Glottologico*, VIII, 98-128, 1882-5, and the articles in *Grober's Grundriss*, Vol. I (first and second editions).

### ACCENT

Neapolitan differs from the Tuscan in its system of accentuation for, while the Tuscan uses the stress accent common to other

European languages, the Neapolitan has preserved the quantitative accent of the Latin.

There is perhaps no more fundamental determinant in the development of a language than its accent. The development of every sound in a language is directly dependent upon the force expended in pronouncing it and the time employed in doing so. Generally speaking, when no strong stress is used the flow of language will be softer and more even, the explosion of consonants will have less force and their development will be less dependent upon their position, since in initial position they will have no more force than when medial and will therefore undergo approximately the same changes. Only slight stress being used, aspirates tend to disappear and voiceless consonants, losing their force, become weaker than the voiced; therefore a consonant is on its way to disappearance when from voiced it becomes voiceless. The quantity of a syllable will seldom be shortened since, if the vowel for any reason loses its length, the consonant immediately following is doubled in compensation. Syncope is less frequent, inasmuch as, there being no strongly-stressed syllables, the unstressed syllables are less slighted. These rules all apply to Neapolitan.

*Note 1.*—In Central Italy there are two remnants of the quantitative accent: (A) the retention of the double consonants, which tend to disappear under a strong stress accent and which have disappeared almost entirely in Northern Italy. (B) The distinct pronunciation of unaccented syllables which are more or less slighted in the North.

*Note 2.*—As Neapolitan has remained so similar to its mother language there are many words whose development has been checked or altered by the consciousness of the Latin form. Such words may be called *patrician* as they occur especially in the vocabulary of the educated, while the other words which have undergone a thoroughly popular development may be called *plebeian*. These terms are not to be confused with the terms “learned,” “semi-learned” and “popular.” For examples of *patrician* and *plebeian* words see below under initial pretonic A, E; initial FL, PL, etc.

PRETONIC VOWELS. (Vulgar Latin)<sup>1</sup>

*Initial*

Initial pretonic vowels tend to disappear. This is because in Neapolitan the final vowels are usually kept, although somewhat slighted, and the resultant hiatus in connected discourse has led to a weakening and final disappearance of the initial vowel. A and U seem to have resisted this tendency to fall much better than other vowels.

*Pretonic Initial A*

Pretonic initial A usually remains. AMMORE.

It falls in NATOMÌA (anatomìa); STRÒLACO (astròlogus); STROLÀBIO (astrolabium).

Sometimes other pretonic vowels are changed to A. ASTREMO (extremus); ASÈMPIO (exemplum); ADDIÒTA (idiota); ANCHIRE (implere); ACCIDERE (occidere); ACCASIONE (occasionem); ASSURPARE (usurpare).

Sometimes two forms exist side by side. ATERNITÀ, ETERNITÀ; ACCELLENTE, ECCELLENTE; ACCHIALE, ACCHIARE, UCCHIALE; ACCASIONE, UCCASIONE. The forms in A are probably plebeian while those which retain the general character of the Latin vowel are patrician.

Sometimes A becomes initial by the disappearance of an initial consonant (usually G). ALLINA (gallina); ALLO (gallus); ÀMMARO (gamberus). The forms GALLINA, GALLO, GÀMMARO are however coexistent.

Compounds with A + a consonant (from Lat. AD-) are common. ADDÒ,<sup>2</sup> dove; ABBADARE, badare; ABBASTANTE, bastante; ACCANOSCERE, conoscere; AMMANCARE, mancare; ANNASCUOSTO ANNASCUSO, di nascosto.

*Pretonic Initial E*

Pretonic initial E is usually lost. Sometimes there are two existing forms, showing plebeian and patrician development. TICHETTA, ETICCHETTA; VANGELO, EVANGELO.

<sup>1</sup> Wentrup starts with Classic Latin vowels and does not mention their Vulgar Latin forms.

<sup>2</sup> Equivalents not in parentheses are Tuscan.

It remains in words which were used only among the higher classes of society. ECÒNUMO; ELEVAZIONE; EMBREMA; EQUIPAGGIO; ERUZIONE.

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

#### *Pretonic Initial I*

Pretonic initial I generally falls except in words used in the higher classes of society. Sometimes two forms are coexistent.

IMPIEGO, MPIEGO; INCANTO, NCANTO; INTRATA, NTRATA.

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

#### *Pretonic Initial O*

Pretonic initial O usually becomes U. UBBERIENZA, ubbidienza; UBBRICAZIONE, obbligazione; UCCHIATA, occhiata; UNESTÀ, onestà; UFFRIRE, offrire.

It sometimes falls. NORE, onore; PENEIÒNE (opinionem); RAZZEIÒNE (orationem).

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

#### *Pretonic Initial U*

Pretonic initial U usually remains. UMORE.

It sometimes falls NEVERZALE (universalem); NU (unum).

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

### PRETONIC VOWELS NON-INITIAL

#### A

Pretonic A non-initial remains.

CAPPIELLO, cappello; CAPILLO, capello; GALANTE.

#### E

Pretonic E non-initial remains.

DECISIONE; LENTEZA; NEPOTE.

In hiatus it becomes I.

CRIARE (creare); CRIANZA.

I

Pretonic I non-initial generally remains.

FIDARE; FIDUCIA; FINEZA.

Classic Latin short I (Vulgar Latin E) gives E.<sup>3</sup>

TENTORE; DEFFECORTÀ, difficoltà; LETECARE, litigare.

O

Pretonic O non-initial generally becomes U.

CUNTARE; CUNSUMO; CUNSIDERARE; FUNTANA.

U

Pretonic U non-initial remains.

SUPINA; SUPEROIRE; MURAGLIA.

TONIC VOWELS

A

Tonic A<sup>1</sup> remains.

PATE, padre; SARVÀ, salvare; MMACULATA, immacolata.

E (open)

Tonic open E generally remains unless there is in the Latin source an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it diphthongizes to IE.<sup>4</sup>

Examples of the persistence of tonic open E.

GALLENELLA; FRAVULELLA, fragoletta.

Examples of the diphthongization of tonic open E.

GALLENIELLO; FRUSCIAMIENTO; FRATIELLO; APIERTO; CIERTO.

In hiatus tonic open E becomes I as in Tuscan.

E (close)

Tonic close E remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes I.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Wentrup fails to distinguish between Classic Latin long *I* and short *I*.

<sup>4</sup> Wentrup attempts to distinguish between *e* in position and *e* final in the syllable. His result is that checked *e* usually diphthongizes while free *e* may or may not! In the speech of the educated or semi-educated these vowel changes are often interfered with by the consciousness of related forms, and we find but few printed texts which are reliable in this respect.

<sup>5</sup> Wentrup simply says "Long *e* remains or changes to *i*."

NIRO, NERA; CHISTO, CHESTA, CHISTE (m. pl.), CHESTE (f. pl.); PIRO, pero; MILO, melo.

## I

Tonic I remains. FINE; FILO; FILA; GIRO; LINO.

## O (open)

Tonic open O remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes UO.<sup>6</sup> NUOVO, NOVA; PUORTO, PORTA; BUONO, BONA; UOVO, OVA; UOSSO, OSSA.

In hiatus it becomes U. PUETA.

## O (close)

Tonic close O remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes U.<sup>7</sup> NNUSTRIUSO, NNUSTRIOSA, industrioso, —a; NFUMUSO, NFUMOSA, collerico, —a; NFAMONE (infamonem).

TESTEMONIO is probably patrician.

In hiatus with I resultant from S final in accented syllables it forms the combination UJE. NUJE; VUJE.

In hiatus with U it forms the combination UJO, and with A it forms OJA. SUJO, SOJA.

## U

Tonic U remains. UNNECE (undecem); STUFA.

## POST-TONIC VOWELS

*Non Final*

Post-tonic non-final A, E, I tend to become E unless followed by R, under which condition the tendency is towards A.

SÀBBETO, SÀPETO, sabato; ÈLECA; ÒRGHENO (in URGANISTA the A is pretonic); MMÀGENE; ÒRDENE; ÛRDEMO, ultimo; GIÒVENE; ÈLLARA.

<sup>6</sup> Wentrup tries to distinguish between *o* in position and *o* final in the syllable with the same results which he obtained in discussing *e*, *i*, *e.*, free *o* > *uo* or remains, while checked *o* > *uo*! Some of the forms which he has cited are obviously tainted by analogy, *e. g.*, *bono*, *m*, is scarcely popular and is influenced either by the Latin form or the feminine or both.

<sup>7</sup> Wentrup simply states that long *o* remains or becomes *u*.

Post-tonic non-final O or U becomes U. URÀCULO; UÒVULO; MIRÀCULO.

*Final*

Final unaccented vowels become obscure, but not entirely confused.<sup>8</sup>

A'

Final unaccented A remains, although much obscured in pronunciation and scarcely more than whispered. FILA; MIA; EPIS-TULA.

E

Final unaccented E remains, although much obscured in pronunciation and scarcely more than whispered. FINE; UNZIONE.

I

Final unaccented I is usually written E, although it is not to be confused with E coming from Latin E, as the E from Latin I produced a vowel-change in the preceding tonic syllable,<sup>9</sup> while the E coming from Latin E causes no such development.

CHISTE, (m. pl.),	CHESTE, (f. pl.).
SUJE, (m. pl.),	SOJE, (f. pl.).
CHILLE, (m. pl.),	CHELLE, (f. pl.).
TUJE, (m. pl.),	TOJE, (f. pl.).

O

Final unaccented O (generally representing Classic Latin short U) becomes obscured in sound and is usually pronounced as a semi-mute U, although it is written as O. It produces a vowel-change in the preceding tonic syllable.<sup>10</sup>

PUORCO, masc.,	PORCA, fem.
PUOSTO, masc.,	POSTA, fem.
BUONO, masc.,	BONA, fem.
Uovo, sing.,	OVA, pl.

<sup>8</sup> Wentrup says that final vowels are either dropped or changed to *e*, but are kept in writing with the exception of *i* which is written *e*. Final vowels drop in some of the Neapolitan provinces, but not in the dialects of Naples itself.

<sup>9</sup> Providing it contains an *e* or *o*.

<sup>10</sup> If it contains an *e* or *o*.

## U

Final unaccented U is confused with final unaccented O and produces the same results.

## CONSONANTS (Vulgar Latin)

Consonants tend to lose their force and are often confused. These confusions are generally of the voiced with the voiceless consonants, as the voiceless, losing the force of their explosions, become even weaker than the voiced. Metathesis is very common, especially with R. (L. is often confused with R.)

*Initial*

## B

Initial B remains or is confused with V, which is usually bilabial.

BAGNO; BALESTRA; BANCO; BANNERA, bandera; BANNO, bando; VALLENA, BALLENA; BALICIA, VALICIA, valigia; BUOSCO, VUOSCO; VALANZA, bilanza; VARCA, barca; VASO, bacio, (basium.)

BR initial remains or is confused with VR, sometimes with PR. BRILLO; BROCCA; BRODO; VRACCIO, braccio; VRANCA, branca; VRECCIA, breccia; BRUNELLA, PRUNELLA.

BL initial becomes J in purely plebeian words. JANCO; JASTEMMARE.

In patrician words we have BI. This may however be simply a borrowing from the Tuscan. BIAVA, biada; BIANCO.

## F

F initial remains. It is sometimes however confused with V. Often after F or V we have metathesis of an R originally final in the syllable and the result is the combination FR or VR.

FORTE; FINE; FERMATA; FESTA; VROCCA, forca; VRUCATA, forcata; FRÀVECA, fabbrica; FRAVAGLIERA, farfaglieria; FREVA, febbre.

FL presents three developments.<sup>11</sup> In purely plebeian words it becomes SCI; in purely Neapolitan patrician words it becomes FR; in words influenced by, or borrowed from the Tuscan, it becomes FI.

<sup>11</sup> Wentrup only mentions the plebeian development.



*Plebeian words:* SCIAMMA, fiamma; SCIANCO, fianco; SCIORE, fiore; SCIUMMO, fiume.

*Patrician words:* FRAUTO, flauto; FRACCO, fiacco; FRATO, fiato; FREMMA, flemma.

*Words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan:* FIANCO, cf. SCIANCO above; FIACCO, cf. FRACCO above; FIATO, cf. SCIATO, FRATO; FIOCCO, cf. SCIOCCO.

FR initial remains. (Sometimes confused with VR.) FRATE; VROCCA.

## V

V initial usually remains, but is often confused with B, and occasionally with F. Metathesis of an R originally final in the syllable or even belonging to the following syllable is frequent, the result being initial VR.

VASO, bacio; VARCA, barca; VASCIELLO; VEDERE, BALICIA, VALICIA; VROCCA, forca; VRITO, vetro; VRIOGNA, vergogna; VRECCIA, freccia.

Initial VR remains. See examples under V.

## P

Initial P remains, although weakened and often confused with B. PUMATA; PONTE; PORTA; PORCA.

Initial PL presents three developments. In purely plebeian words it becomes CHI; it purely Neapolitan patrician words it becomes PR; in words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan it becomes PI.

*Plebeian words:* CHIÒVERE; CHIÀGNERE; CHIÙ; CHIANO; CHI-ATTO.

*Patrician words:* PREBBA; PRATÈA; PRÀTANO; PRENARIO; PRICO, piego.

*Words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan:* PIACERE; PIANO; PIATTO.

As will be seen from the foregoing examples sometimes two forms are co-existent.

Initial PR generally remains, although sometimes confused in pronunciation with BR. Metathesis of an R final in the syllable or even belonging to the next syllable is possible, resulting in initial PR instead of simple P.

PRETA, pietra; PREMONE (pulmonem); PRÈVULA, pergola; PRUBBECARE, pubblicare.

## D

Initial D remains or weakens into a spirant, sometimes disappearing entirely. These developments are usually not shown in the spelling, but must be carefully noted in the spoken language. Occasionally we have initial D written as R, which spelling denotes a weak tongue-trilled R or a weak dental spirant.

DEVUZIONE; DOJE, due; DIGNO; RICERE (dicere); RIÈBBETO (debitum); R'O, del.

DR initial occurs rarely. It is kept. DRAÒNE, dragone; DRAPPARÌA; DRUGARÌA.

## T

T initial remains. There is often metathesis of an R final in the same syllable or even belonging to the following syllable resulting in initial TR.

TIANO (tegamen); TICO (tecum); TERRA; TRIATO, teatro; TRÙVULO, torbido.

TR initial remains. TRAFECARE; TRANSETO; TRENTA; TREZZA.

## L

L initial remains. LABBRO; LACO, lago; LÀGREMA; LEGGERE; LIBBRO.

## M

M initial remains although weakened. MATTINO; MATTO; MESSA; METTERE; MILO, melo; MISCHIO.

Does PANDOLINO for "mandolino" present an onomatopoeic development?

MB becoming initial becomes MM. So also MV or NV becoming initial becomes MM. MMASCIATA, ambasciata; MMEDIARE, invidiare; MMITARE, invitare.

MBL becoming initial becomes MBI. MBR becoming initial remains.

MBIANCO; MBRELLO; MBRIACARE.

MM or NM becoming initial remains as MM. MMERITARSE; MMEDICARE (immedicare).

MP becoming initial remains. MPAGLIARE; MPALARE; MPE-DIRE.

MPL becoming initial becomes NCHI or MPI. MPR remains. NCHIA NTARE, impiantare; NCHIA STRO, impiastro; MP IEGARE; MPRESA; MPRI ÈSTETO; imprestito.

N

N initial remains. NASO; NATURA; NEMMICO; NEPOTE; NUOVO; NU, uno.

It disappears in UN, non.

NC becoming initial develops as Tuscan NC. NCATENARE; NCE.

NCHI coming from MLP remains. NCHIA NTARE; NCHIA STRO.

ND becoming initial remains if the word has been regarded as a compound with the prefix IN, otherwise it becomes NN. NDERIZZO; NDIÀVULARSE; NDURARE; NDUVINO; NNUSTRIA, industria; NNURDO (indulto) NNOGLIA (inductilem?),<sup>12</sup> salsiccia.

NF becoming initial remains. NFAME; NFETTO; NFASCIATA; NFELICE.

NFL becomes NFR or NFI. NFRAGRANTE; NFIAMMARE.

NFR becoming initial remains. NFRACETARE, infradiciare; NFRASCARE; NFRATTO.

NG becoming initial remains, the G taking the sound of Tuscan G before E and I and remaining a stop before A, O, and U. NGAN NARE; NGE GNARSE.

NGR becoming initial remains. NGRANITO; NGRASSARE; NGRATO.

NN becoming initial remains. NNESTO; NNANZE; NNAMMURATO.

NQU becoming initial remains. NQUARTATO; NQUILINO.

NS becoming initial becomes NTS (written NS or NZ). NSINO; NSISTO; NZEGNARE; NZERRARE; NZURDIRE; NZOMMA; NZAPUNATA.

NT becoming initial remains. NTACCA; NTACCARE; NTAGLIO; NTAVULARE.

NTR becoming initial remains. NTRÈPETO, intrèpido; NTRICO, intrigo; NTRUNARE, intronare.

NV becoming initial becomes MM. MMITARE. See other examples under MB or MV.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Andreòli.

## R

R initial remains. RÀDECA; RANCIO; RANCORE; RARO; RÈGOLA; RIPA.

## S and X

S initial remains. SANO; SANTO; SÈNAPO; SEMPE, sempre; SESTO; SOMMA; SUPPRIRE, supplire; SURDO; SURZO, sorso.

SB and XB becoming initial remain as SB.<sup>18</sup> SBANIRE; SBALANZO; SBATTERE.

SV and XV becoming initial become SB. SBENTURATO; SBENIRE; SBITARE; SBISARE.

SBR and XBR becoming initial remain as SBR. SBRAVIARE; SBRENNESIARE, fare brindisi; SBRUGLIARE, sbrogliare.

The forms SBREVUGNARE, SBRIUGNARE, SBRUEGNARE, svergognare, show metathesis of an R final in the syllable.

SC and XC before A, O, and U give SC in which the S has the sound of Tuscan SC before E and I (English SH, K). SCALA; SCAMPARE; SCAPPARE; SCARPA.

SC and XC before E and I give SC as in Tuscan. SCETARE (excitare); SCESA; SCENA; SCEMO.

SCL and XCL becoming initial give SCHI (Eng. SHKY). SCHIAFO; SCHIARARE.

SCR and XCR becoming initial give SCR. SCRIVERE; SCRÙPULO.

SCREMA, scherma, shows metathesis.

SD and XD becoming initial give SD. SDEGNO; SDRAMMA; SDUGANARE.

SF and XF becoming initial give SF. SFACCIATA; SFALLUTO; SFARZETTO; SFASCIO.

SFL and XFL becoming initial give SFI. SFIANCARE; SFIATARE.

Is this not rather a case of borrowing and are not the true Neapolitan forms SCIANCARE and SCIATARE? It is difficult to decide whether the SCI in these cases comes from an initial FL or XFL becoming initial.

SFR and XFR becoming initial give SFR. SFRANTO; SFRATTO; SFRENARE.

<sup>18</sup> S before any other consonant, especially when initial, may be slightly palatalized and is often pronounced as Eng. *sh*. This is especially true of *s* before *c*.

SG and XG before A, O, and U give SG. SGABELLO; SGARBA; SGATTO; SGOBBIA; SGUMMARE; SGONFIARE.

SG and XG before E and I. No examples recorded.

SGR and XGR becoming initial become SGR. SGRANARE; SGRASSARE; SGRAVARE.

SL and XL becoming initial become SL. SLABRARE; SLAVATO.

SM and XM becoming initial give SM. SMAGLIARE; SMACCHIARE; SMANGIARE; SMANIARE; SMERCIO.

SP and XP becoming initial give SP. SPUORCO; SPICARE; SPEDIRE; SPANNERE, spandere; SPALLA.

SPL and XPL becoming initial give SCHI, SBR, or SPI, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or borrowed. SCHIANARE, spianare; SCHIANO; SCHIANTARE; SBRENNERE, splendere; SBRENNORE, splendore; SPIECARE, spiegare.

ST and XT becoming initial give ST. STACCARE; STAFFA; STAGNO; STARE; STANCARE.

STR and XTR initial or becoming initial give STR. STRACCIO; STRACHINO; STRACUOTTO; STRATA, strada.

SV and XV becoming initial give SB. SBENARE; SBENIRE; SBENTURA.

SGUIZZERO, svizzero, points to original SW or SGW.

## C

C initial before A, O, and U remains. CAUDO, caldo; CATÀVERE; CURTIELLO, coltello; CUOCO; CONTA; CONNULA, gondola; COGLIERE.

C initial before E and I develops as in Tuscan. CITÀ, città; CIGLIO; CERA; CEPRIESSO, cipresso.

CL initial gives CHI, CR, or CL, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or borrowed from the Latin (learned).

CHIAVARE; CHIUDERE; CHIARO; CREMENZA; CRIMMA; CLARINETTO; CLIENTE; CLIMMA.

CR initial remains. CRITECA; CRURO, crudo.

CRAPA, capra, shows metathesis resulting in initial CR.

## G

G initial before A, O, and U generally remains, but is sometimes lost. GAMMA, gamba; GOLA; GUDERE, godere; GUMMA; ALLINA; GÀMMARO, ÀMMARO.

G initial before E and I develops as in Tuscan. GEMELLO; GENERALE; GENERUSITÀ; GENTE.

GL initial becomes GLI or J. GLIANDRA; JACCIO, ghiaccio.

GN becoming initial develops as Tuscan GN. GNOPATE, signor padre; GNORE, signore.

GR initial usually remains, but sometimes becomes R. GRECA; GRAZIA; GRATO; GRATTARE; RANFA; RAGNONE.

### J and DI

J and DI initial give J. So also sometimes GL. JUORNO (diurnus); JUSTIZIA; JURARE; JUSTO; JUVO (jugum); JUDICIO; JESSO; JETTO; JETTATURA; JACCIO, ghiaccio.

### QU

QU initial remains before A; otherwise it becomes CH except in patrician or borrowed words. CHISTO; CHILLO; QUATENO; QUASE; QUATRO; QUAGLIO; QUINTA; QUIBUS; QUESTURA.

## MEDIAL CONSONANTS

### B

B intervocalic usually remains. B and V are often however confused. Sometimes B and P are confused. B is often doubled especially after initial A. ABBELE, abile; ABBELITÀ; ABBEVERARE; ABBULIRE; ÀBETO, abito; ABETATO; SÀPETO, SÀBBETO, sabato.

BR intervocalic usually becomes BBR. ABBREO, ebbreo; ABBREVIARE; ABBRUNZO, bronzo.

ABBRILE shows BR for PR.

CALAVRESE; CALAVRESTA; show VR.

FRÀVECA, fabbrica; FREVA, febbre; SFRÀVE CARE; sfabbricare; show metathesis of R, and the B remaining intervocalic has become confused with V.

BL intervocalic becomes BBR. UBBRICARE, obligare.

PRUBBECARE, pubblicare; PRUBBECA show metathesis but also BB.

BI and BBI intervocalic become GGI. AGGIO (habeo); ASSOGGETTARE; BENAGGIA; MANAGGIA; ARRAGGIATO.

ANNEGLIARE, annebbiare; NEGLIA, nebbia; NIGLIO; are difficult to explain.

F

F intervocalic remains. ADDEFENNERE, difendere.

FF intervocalic remains. AFFÀBELE; AFFACCIARE; AFFAMATO; AFFATICARE.

FL and FFL give SCI, FFR, FFI, FFL, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, borrowed from the Tuscan, or borrowed from the Latin. ASCIARE (adflare); ASCIATARSE; AFFREZIONE; AFFRIGERE; AFFIANCO; AFFIAMMARE; AFFIARTARSE; AFFLEZIONE; AFFLIGERE.

Note that often two forms are co-existent.

FR intervocalic remains. ADDEFRISCO; ADDEFRESCARE.

FFR intervocalic remains. AFFRANCARE; AFFRAPARE; AFFRUNTO, affronto.

V

V intervocalic usually remains. ADDEVENTARE; ADDUVINARE.

In ARRUINARE it has disappeared. Is this perhaps not a borrowing?

VV, DV intervocalic usually becomes BB. ABBIARE; ABBIENTO; ABBIZIARE.

P

P intervocalic usually remains, but is often confused in pronunciation with B. ACCUPARE, occupare; ANTIPASTO.

ÈBBRECA, epoca, is difficult to explain.

PP intervocalic usually remains. CAPPÀ; CAPPIELLO; TAPPO.

PI, PPI, DPI, intervocalic may give GGI, CCI, BBI, or PPI. ASSAGGIARE; SACCIO; SECCIA; ADDUOBIO; DOPPIO.

PL intervocalic. Examples: REPRUBECA (not original PL); ALLEBBRECA, replica.

PPL, DPL intervocalic gives CCHI, PPR, or PPI, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or influenced by the Tuscan.

ACCHIANARE; ACCOCCHIARE; APPRACARE; APPRECIARE; APPIACERE.

PR intervocalic remains. CUPRIRE, coprire.

PT intervocalic gives TT as in Tuscan. ACCATTIVARSE; ADDUTTARE.

D

D intervocalic may remain; or it may become a dental spirant, designated by R;<sup>14</sup> or it may lose its voice and become a weak T;

<sup>14</sup> Or it may actually be a tongue-trilled r.

or it may lose its force still more and become a very indistinct dento-labial sound designated by V;<sup>15</sup> or it may disappear entirely. On the other hand it may become DD. ACCÀDERE; ACCIDENTATO; AD-DEDECA, dedica; ARAPIRE (adaprire); MARONNA, madonna; ACCA-RÈMIA; CATÀVERE, cadavere; GRATETÙTENE; CÒMMETO, comodo; BIAVA; CHIOVO; INCHIUVARE; PARAVISO; AUNIRE (adunire); AOR-NATO (adornato); ADDORE, odore; CRÈDDETO, credito; GRATETÙD-DENE.

It will be noted that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

TIÈPULO, tepido; PELAGRA, (podagra); show L.

PERNICE (perdix); ARPINO (Elpidius) show N.

DR may be confused with TR. ALISANTRO (Alexander); CUC-CUTRILLO,<sup>16</sup> coccodrillo.

DD intervocalic usually remains. ADDEFFENNERE; ADDATA, data; ADDEREZZARE; ADDOVE, ADDÒ.

DI intervocalic may give GGHI, or J, or GGI, or DI, or DDI. AGGHIUDECARE; AGGHIOGNERE; AGGHIUSTARE; APOJARE; APOJO; APOGGIARE; CUMMEDIA; CUMMEDDIA.

It will be noted that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

The forms in GGI are probably Tuscan; those in DI, DDI are probably patrician.

DM intervocalic becomes MM. AMMIRAGLIO; AMMUBIGLIARE.

DN intervocalic becomes NN. ANNUCARE; ANNUDO; ANNUMERARE.

## T

T intervocalic remains, although sometimes doubled and sometimes weakened into an obscure sound designated by C.<sup>17</sup> ACCIDENTATO; ABBITARE; SCUTO; STRATA; TUTTO; VUMECARE, vomitare.

TU intervocalic becomes TT. BATTERE.

TR intervocalic usually remains, though the R may be misplaced by metathesis or may be lost.

ANNETRIRE; PRETA, pietra; TRIATO, teatro; PATE, PATRE, padre; MATEMA, mia madre.

TY intervocalic may become Z, ZZ, ZI, ZZI (Z-TS), or SCI, GI.

<sup>15</sup> Wentrup regards this as a secondary development arising from hiatus formed by disappearance of the *d*.

<sup>16</sup> This shows metathesis (Lat. *crocodilus*).

<sup>17</sup> This also occurs in Vulgar Florentine (S. Frediano).



ABBIZIARE, avviziare; ACCAREZZARE; AGGRAZIARE; AMICIZIA; APPREZZARE; ACCURTEZZA; ASSULUZIONE; STASCIONATO, STAGIONATO; ANGOSCIA.

L

L intervocalic usually remains, but is sometimes confused with R.

ABBALERSE, avvalersi; ÀBBELE, abile; ALEZIONE, elezione; UCCHIARE, UCCHIALE, ACCHIARE.

LL intervocalic remains. ABBALLO; AFFULLARSE; ALLARIARE, allargare.

LB intervocalic is interchangeable with RB. ALBA, ARBA; ÀLBERO, ÀRBERO.

LC intervocalic before A, O, and U usually becomes RC. ARCUOVO; SURCO; BARCONE.

LC intervocalic before E and I may develop into UC, in which the C has the sound of Roman C before E and I. If preceded by a U, the U resulting from the L disappears. ADDUCIRE.

LD intervocalic may become RD or UD. CAUDO; SCARDINO; SCAUDARE; FARDA, FAUDA.

LG intervocalic before A, O, and U remains. COLGO.

LG intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan. COGLIERE.

LNE intervocalic develops as in Tuscan. BAGNARE.

LM intervocalic may become MM. AMMENO.

LP intervocalic may become RP or UP. NCURPARE, incolpare; ASSARPARE, assalpare.

LS intervocalic may become RZ or UZ (Z-TS). ACCEUZO, eccelso; FAUZO, FARZO; BORZO; BÀRZEMO.

If preceded by U it may give Z. PUZO, polso.

LT intervocalic may become UT or RD. AUTARE; AUTEZZA; RISARDO; ÒRDEMO, ultimo.

LTI intervocalic may become IZ or UZ. AIZARE; AIZATURA; AUZO (altius)

LTR intervocalic may give T, UT, or UTR. ATO, AUTO, AUTRO.

LV intervocalic may become RV. ASSORVERE; BERVA; PORVA, polvere.

SPUVERARE shows V alone after U.

LY, LE, LI intervocalic develop as in Tuscan. BATTAGLIA;  
AMMUBIGLIARE.

## M

M intervocalic usually remains, but is sometimes doubled. ÀNEMA; ABBALLAMIENTO; ABBRAMMA; AMMORE; ACCARÈMMIA, accademia.

MM, NM intervocalic give MM. AMMANCARE.

MB intervocalic becomes MM. AGGAMMARE; GAMMA; AMMA-  
scía, ambascía.

MBI intervocalic becomes GN. SCAGNO; CAGNARE.

MP intervocalic usually remains. ABBAMPARE, avvampare;  
ACCAMPARE.

MPL intervocalic becomes NCHI, MPR, or MPI, according as  
the word is plebeian, patrician, or influenced by the Tuscan. NCHI-  
UMMARE; CUMPRIMENTO; ASSEMPIA.

MPR intervocalic remains. AMPRESA.

MN intervocalic becomes NN. DANNARE.

DAMMAGGIARE is probably borrowed.

## N

N intervocalic usually remains. It may be doubled. ANEMA;  
ABBUNNANTE; ANNORE, onore.<sup>18</sup>

NC intervocalic before A, O, and U remains. AMMALIN-  
CUNIRSE; AMMANCARE; BIANCO, JANCO.<sup>19</sup>

NCL has become GN in GNOSTRO, inchiostro.

NC intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan or gives  
NZ<sup>20</sup> (NTS). ABBENCERE, vincere; ANCINO, uncino; PANZA;  
FRANZA.

ND intervocalic becomes NN. ABBANNUNARE; ABBUNNANZA;  
ADDEFENNERE; ADDIMANNARE; DICENNO.

<sup>18</sup> *beleno* (venenum), *caloneco* (canonicus) show *l* by dissimilation.

<sup>19</sup> Wentrup considers *becchè* (*benchè*) a case of assimilation (*nc* > *cc*)—  
but this is rather to be taken as *bɛ̃ + che* in which the *c* would geminate regularly  
to preserve the quantity of the preceding syllable. *Be* is the regular Neapolitan  
form of the Latin *bene*.

<sup>20</sup> *nz* points to *ncy* intervocalic.

NG intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains. ALLUNGARE; LUNGO.

NG intervocalic before E and I usually becomes GN, sometimes NG as in Tuscan. AGGHIIGNERE; aggiungere; ASTRIGNERE; CHIÀGNERE, piangere; ANGÈLECO; ÀNGIULO.

The last two examples may be patrician or learned.

NS intervocalic may remain but more frequently becomes NZ (NTS). ACCUNSENTIRE; ADDENZARE; CANZARE; PENZARE.

NT intervocalic usually remains. ACCANTO; ACCIDENTATO; ABBASTANTE.

NTR intervocalic may become NT. DINTO.

NTY, NTE, NTI, intervocalic become NZ as in Tuscan. ACCELLENZA; AMINENZA; ASSENZIALE; ANZE.

NV intervocalic becomes MM. ACCUMMENIRE, acconvenire; AMMENTARE, inventare; BEMMENUTO, benvenuto; MMIDIA, invidia.

## R

R intervocalic remains.<sup>21</sup> CURA; PERO.

In the infinitive of verbs the last syllable is usually dropped and we have PENZÀ; CURÀ; FINÌ; LÈGGE.

RR intervocalic remains. ACCORRERE; ACCURRENZA.

RB intervocalic remains. AGGARbare; BIRBONE; AMMURBARE. AÙSCIULO, arbusciolo, shows its disappearance.

RC before A, O, and U remains. ABBARCARE; FURCARE; MIÈRCUDI.

RC intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan, or gives RZ (RTS). AMMARCIARE; MERCIE; PERZÒ; MPERZO.

RD intervocalic remains. ABBUORDO; ACCUORDO; ACCURDARE.

RG intervocalic before A, O, and U may become RI. In patrician words it remains. LÀRIO, LARGO; ALLARIARE.

PRÈVULA shows metathesis of R and a regular development of intervocalic G.

RG before E and I develops as in Tuscan. ARRISORGERE.

PRÒJERE, porgere, shows metathesis of R and a regular development of intervocalic G.

RM intervocalic remains. ADDURMIRE; ALLARME.

<sup>21</sup> When there are two R's in the same word, dissimilation is frequent. *lecordare, allecordare, ricordare; pellegrino* (peregrinus).

RN intervocalic remains. ATERNO; ATERNITÀ.

RS intervocalic becomes RZ (RTS). AMMURZARE; ARZENALE; ARZÈNICO; ARZO; ARZURA; PERZIANA.

RT intervocalic remains. ACCERTARE; ACCUORTO; ACCURTEZZA.

In ÀRDICA, ortica, it has become RD.

### S

S intervocalic remains, occasionally being confused with SS. ABBUSARE; ABBUSO; ACCASARE; ACCUSO; AMMUSSARE.

SS intervocalic remains, however taking a certain palatal quality and sometimes being written SCI. ACCESSIVO; CASCETTA; CASCIA, cassa; ABBASCIO, abbasso.

SC before A, O, and U remains.<sup>22</sup> ABBUSCARE; AFFUSCARE; MASCULO.

SC before E and I develops as in Tuscan. AMMASCIATA; AMMUSCIARE.

ST intervocalic remains. ABBASTARE; ABBISTARE, avvistare; ACCUSTARE, accostare.

STR intervocalic often becomes ST. MASTO, maestro; INCHI-ASTO, impiastro; PULLASTO.

SY, SE, SI intervocalic becomes S. VASO (basium) bacio; CAMISA, camicia; CERASO (ceraseum) ciliegio.

### C

C intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains. ABBRÀ-ICO, ebraico; ÀDUCARE, educare; AFFATICARE.

C intervocalic before E and I develops as in Roman. ABBE-CENARE, avvicinare; AFFECACE, efficace; AFFICIALE, ufficiale.

CC before A, O, and U remains. ABBUCCARE; ACCADERE; ACCASIONE; ACCUPARE.

CC before E and I becomes ZZ. AZZETTARE; AZZIETTO; LAZZO.

Many words show Tuscan CCI. ABBRACCIARE; ACCAC-CIARE; AFFACCIARE.

CL intervocalic becomes CCHI. UOCCHIO; UCCHIATA.

AGRISSE, eclissi, is patrician and shows GR.

CCL, DCL intervocalic become CCHI or CCR, according as the word is plebeian or patrician. ACCHIAPARE; ACCRAMARE, acclamare.

<sup>22</sup> The *s* is slightly palatized (Eng shk, sht).

ACCRAVACARE, accavalcare, is an example of metathesis resulting in CCR.

CR intervocalic may remain or become GR. LÀCREMA, LÀGREMA.

CT intervocalic becomes TT as in Tuscan. TITTO, tetto; FATTO; AFFETTO.

CTE, CTI intervocalic become ZZ, ZI as in Tuscan. ARRIZZARE; BENEDIZIONE.

## G

G intervocalic before A, O, and U may remain; or it may lose its voice and become a very weak C; or it may be weakened still more and result in a very indistinct consonant sound designated by V; or it may lose its consonant value either partially or completely and become J or disappear. BRIGANTE; STRECA; TÈCULA; STRÒLACO, astrologo; LETECARE (litigare); SPAVO; JUVO (jugum); SUVERO;<sup>23</sup> PAVARE (pagare); PREJARE, pregare; CHIAJA, piaga; ANNEJARE, annegare; NIOZIO, negozio; RAÒSTA, aragosta; AÙSTO, agosto.

G intervocalic before E and I may become J or give Tuscan GGI. PÀGENA, PÀGGENA; LEGGE; LEGGERE; LEJERE; FAJO.

GG, DG intervocalic before E and I develop as in Tuscan. AGGENTAGLIA; ALLUGGIARE.

GGL, DGL intervocalic become GGHI. AGGHIAJARE, agghiaciare.

GN intervocalic becomes palatal as Tuscan GN. ACCUMPAGNARE; ARREGNARE; ASSIGNARE.

GR intervocalic often becomes CR; but may remain; or become simply R. ACRO; SCENÒCRAFO; TELÈCRAFO; ANNEGREIRE; ALLERAMENTE.

GGR, DGR intervocalic usually give GGR. AGGRANIRE; AGGRAVARSE; AGGRAZIARE.

## J

J intervocalic gives V in PEVO and disappears in MAORE.

MAGGIORE is a borrowing from the Tuscan and is usually used to designate rank in the army.

<sup>23</sup> Wentrup restricts *g* > *v* to a position before *o* or *u*.

## FINAL CONSONANTS.

Final consonants had mostly disappeared at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, leaving the final sounds vowels. However final S in accented syllables persisted and has left a trace in Neapolitan, appearing as JE. NUJE (nos) ; VUJE (vos).

HERBERT H. VAUGHAN

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

---

## BARTHÉLEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

BARTHÉLEMY ANEAU, poet, historian, juriscult and educator, was one of the many interesting personages of the early French Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> His interests were so numerous, his struggles so great, and his erudition so profound, that no complete history of this period of French literature can any longer neglect to give him just consideration. His influence on the Lyonnese Renaissance is incontestable, while his name is inseparably connected with the history of the Pléiade through his criticism—not always just—of the *Deffence et Illustration* of Du Bellay. As an educator, he was highly esteemed by his scholarly contemporaries. Influenced by Rabelais, for whom he did not conceal his admiration, he anticipated in many respects our modern methods of instruction. Under his able direction, the small Collège de la Trinité acquired a national reputation. He was not a poet of importance: he was merely one of the many clever versifiers, last offshoots of the dead rhetorical school. La Monnoye, though severe, is nevertheless to a great extent correct when he says that Aneau is a *pauvre écrivain soit en latin soit en français*.<sup>2</sup> Conservative to the extreme in regard to literature, he was unable to foresee, as did Peletier, du Mans and others, that a new inspiration would be requisite to rekindle the dying embers of poetry. Too liberal for the times in his religious views and severe as a critic, he became rich in enemies, whose relentless attacks were not to cease even with his tragic death. But throughout his whole life, he clung to his ideals and refused to swerve from the rule of duty. For this alone, if for nothing else, he deserves to be remembered.

### I

Aneau (Latinized as Anulus) was a native of Bourges.<sup>3</sup> Of his parents we know nothing, save what the poet tells us himself in

<sup>1</sup> The preparation of this study was announced in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, VIII, 1907, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Bregnot du Lut, *Nouveaux Mélanges biographiques et littéraires*, Lyons, 1829-31, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the passage in the *Emblèmes d'Alciat* in which he calls Bourges "*ville de ma nativité*."

explanation of his *devise*, or motto, *pardurable peu durable*.<sup>4</sup> Taking for his emblem a serpent with its tail in its mouth encircling a rose, he adds:

Extraict de gens non gentilz, n'apparens,  
Armes n'ay nobles de mes parens;  
Mon père eut nom Aneau, ma mère Rose:  
Du nom des deux ma marque je compose.<sup>5</sup>

The date of Aneau's birth is unknown. But from the statements which he makes in the *Quintil Horatian* and in the preface of the *Picta Poesis*, we are inclined to place it not later than 1509, and probably in the vicinity of 1505. In the former work, he declares that he had translated *toute l'Art Poétique* of Horace *y a plus de vingt ans avant Pelletier et tout autre*.<sup>6</sup> Now according to M. Chamard, the *Quintil Horatian* must have appeared in 1550.<sup>7</sup> So the only conclusion possible is that Aneau must have completed his translation before 1530, more probably, if we allow for the *plus* in his statement, about 1528 or 1529. It would be natural to suppose that Aneau was at least twenty years of age when he accomplished such a work. Furthermore we are not sure that this was his first literary effort. Taking all these facts into consideration, as well as his aptitude for Latin, we can safely assume that 1505 approaches very closely the date of his birth. This is also quite in accord with what he tells us of himself in 1552 in the dedi-

<sup>4</sup>The Archives of Bourges contain no information concerning the family of Aneau.

<sup>5</sup>*Imagination poétique*, Lyons, 1552, p. 14. The poet continues:

L'Aneau, Serpent en soy se retordant,  
Par cercle rond, queue en teste mordant;  
Et en figure Hieroglyphique, Note  
Qui en Aegypte, Aeternité dénote  
La Rose aussi, qui flaistrit et périt:  
Dès le jour mesme auquel elle florit:  
Mortalité représente. Et pourtant  
Que d'âme et corps est mon estre constant:  
D'un corps mortel, et d'une âme immortelle:  
Armes des noms je porte en marque telle.

<sup>6</sup>*Art poétique françois* (of Thomas Sibilet) . . . *avec le Quintil Horatian*, etc., Paris, 1573, p. 181.

<sup>7</sup>*La Date et l'Auteur du Quintil Horatian*, *Revue d'Histoire littéraire*, 1898, p. 60, etc.



catory preface of the *Picta Poesis*. He states therein (p. 3) that more than thirty years have elapsed since he has seen his friend Babo, with whom he studied under Simon Dagobert. In other words, about 1520, or when Aneau was fifteen or sixteen years of age, he was still attending the preparatory school in the famous Hôtel Jacques-Cœur.

From the above-mentioned preface we also learn that Aneau passed his youth in his native city, Bourges. Addressing his friend Philibert Babo, bishop of Angoulême,<sup>8</sup> he recalls the pleasures of their childhood days, how greatly he enjoyed going to school with Babo and his three brothers—*cum tribus unâ fratribus tuis apud Biturigum Metropolis in Magnifica Iacobi Cordis domo*. It was there that, along with other noble youths who afterward became celebrated men—*Aliisque nobilissimis tùm pueris, nunc autem viris ornatissimis*,—they were first instructed in letters—*primum in literis institueremur*—by Simon Dagobert, *prudentissimo et eruditissimo viro*. Aneau states furthermore that more than thirty years have elapsed since that time, when he last saw his friend—*ab illo tempore elapsis triginta et amplius annis, cùm ego te numquam postea viderim*. It appears from the above that the parents of Aneau were in comfortable circumstances, inasmuch as they were able to send their son to a school held in such a magnificent *hôtel*, where he was the companion of scions of noble families.

After completing his studies with Dagobert, Aneau pursued in all probability more advanced courses in the University of Bourges, which was at that time one of the leading institutions in France.<sup>9</sup> As early as 1529, the celebrated German humanist, Melchior de Wolmar, was occupying the chair of Greek in this university—a chair that was to be filled later by Amyot.<sup>10</sup> The numerous biographers of Aneau are most probably correct in asserting that the elegance of his Latin and Greek verse is due to the careful training given by Wolmar.<sup>11</sup> According to De Thou, Wolmar showed

<sup>8</sup> This preface is addressed to *amplissimo viro, D. Philiberto Babo Angolis-morum Episcopo*, and is dated *Idibus Sept.*, 1552.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Andreas Alciat*, by Dr. Ernst v. Moeller, Breslau, 1907, pp. 51, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Lasalle, *Michel de l'Hospital*, Paris, 1875, p. 179.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. articles by Cocharde in Bregnot du Lut, *op. cit.*; Demogeot in *Lyon ancien et moderne*, Lyons, 1838-43, vol. I, pp. 409 ff.; Colonia, *Hist. litt. de Lyon*, Lyons, 1730, vol. II, pp. 666 ff.; Rabanis, *Notice hist. sur le collège royal de Lyon* in the *Arch. hist. du Département du Rhône*, Lyons, 1827, pp. 127 ff., etc.

wonderful talent for instructing youth; *et un plus merveilleux talent encore*, adds the Père Colonia, *pour l'empoisonner en l'instruisant*.<sup>12</sup> The Jesuit father is referring, of course, to Wolmar's celebrated pupils, Calvin, Amyot, and Théodore de Bèze, whose influence, in addition to that of his teacher, caused Aneau to regard the new faith with favor. Nevertheless, we may hasten to add that he never openly professed Protestantism—in fact, nothing can be found in his works which might place him in the ranks of the reformers.

It is also quite probable that Aneau acquired his broad legal knowledge from the great Italian jurist, André Alciat, who lectured in the University of Bourges from 1529 to 1533.<sup>13</sup> In a note to one of the *Emblèmes* of Alciat which we shall discuss later, Aneau writes the following: "Bourges . . . ville de ma nativité où le seigneur Alciat, auteur du présent œuvre, ha par plusieurs ans interpreté les loix à très grande renommée et en celle université premièrement leu en France."<sup>14</sup> In later life the poet used to advantage the careful legal training which he received while a student at Bourges. We have not only several works touching more or less upon the law, but we may note at once his ability as an orator and the argumentative spirit of many of his poems, which reveal the tendency of his thought. When the Parliament of Savoy decided to revise their statutes, Aneau was selected to perform the task.<sup>15</sup> Later on, the Echevins of Lyons commissioned him to make a redaction of the laws governing festivals and fairs.<sup>16</sup>

## II

It is not known whether Aneau began his teaching at Bourges, or whether he devoted his entire time there to literary work. Nor is it ascertained at what date he was called from his native city to the metropolis of southern France. We can easily understand why he considered favorably a call from the struggling Collège de la Trinité. The brilliant coterie of scholars and poets in Lyons,

<sup>12</sup> Colonia, *op. cit.*, p. 668.

<sup>13</sup> Moeller, *loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> *Emblèmes d'Alciat*, Lyons, Roville, 1549, p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> *Stile et reiglement . . . dressé par la court de Parlement de Savoye*, Lyons, Portonaris, 1553.

<sup>16</sup> *Ordonnances et Privileges des Foires de Lyon*, Lyons, Fradin, 1560.

the religious liberty enjoyed by the city under the government of Du Peyrat and others, the intellectual prominence of the professors of the Collège de la Trinité under the direction of Claude de Cublize<sup>17</sup>—all these facts had some influence upon his decision. On the other hand, Bourges was well represented at Lyons. Several of its former citizens were among the members of the city council of Lyons,<sup>18</sup> and probably used their influence toward the election of Aneau.

However that may be, Claude de Cublize, immediately after his appointment as principal of the Collège de la Trinité in 1533, began to look about for capable teachers. His attention was soon attracted to young Aneau, whose reputation as a poet and scholar had already passed beyond the bounds of his native city. It was the custom in the college—as is shown by a document of 1540 discussed later on—to have one or two regents able to direct the studies of the advanced students, while the younger men, or *bacheliers*, performed the purely pedagogical duties. Cublize, therefore, offered Aneau a position in the college about 1533,<sup>19</sup> and the young scholar accepted. Immediately after his arrival in Lyons, Aneau was placed in charge of the class in rhetoric.

As a teacher, Aneau acquitted himself with as much zeal as talent. During his long years of service in the Collège de la Trinité, he was always popular with his pupils. This was due no doubt to the fact that, as we learn from some verses in the *Imagination poétique* (p. 43), he was not possessed of the *tyrannie des magisters*, so common at that time. Beneath an engraving of a woman punishing a child, we find these characteristic verses:

<sup>17</sup> For Canappe, Raynier and other famous professors of this college, see my articles on the *Collège de la Trinité avant 1540*, in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1908, pp. 73-94; 1909, pp. 137-157 and 204-215.

<sup>18</sup> Claude de Bourges was Echevin of Lyons in 1532-33, the year that Aneau was probably called. Cf. Poullin de Lumina, *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire de Lyon*, 1767, p. 353.

<sup>19</sup> The date is not certain, for there is no document in the Archives of Lyons that supplies a list of the professors of this college between 1533 and 1540. The biographers of Aneau (see the articles above) give the date 1529, which is incorrect, for we do have the faculty-list for the years 1527-33, and Aneau's name is not recorded. Claude de Rubys states incorrectly in his *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon* (1604, p. 381) that, at the time of his tragic death, Aneau had been principal of the college *bien trente ans*. Aneau was appointed principal, as we shall show, in 1540, and was murdered in 1561.

En cest image est pincte la manie  
 Des magisters, et fière tyrannie,  
 Qui les enfans de libre nature  
 Sauvage rend, par coups et par bature,  
 Et les Esprits qui estoient libéraux:  
 Prosterne en crainte, et les mue en ruraux.

And the orator was in no way inferior to the educator. In fact, his ability was so universally recognized by the citizens of Lyons that he was called upon in 1538 to deliver the doctoral oration of St. Thomas—the very formal ceremony that took place in the Eglise St. Nizier on December 21 of each year, when the newly elected Echevins were installed in their offices.<sup>20</sup> Only once before had the Echevins of Lyons turned to the Collège de la Trinité for the orator of this occasion, and that was in 1532, when Jean Raynier, a regent of this college, was invited to speak upon the City and the State. The oration of Aneau was so well received that two years later (1540), he had the honor of being the orator for a second time—an honor that had fallen previously to but one individual, the celebrated physician Symphorien Champier, who was selected in 1504 and again in 1519.<sup>21</sup> Though the compensation was small, the honor was sought by all of the distinguished men of the city.<sup>22</sup>

While Aneau had already translated the *Ars Poetica* of Horace as early as 1529—which, as we have stated, remained in its manuscript state—he published his first work in 1537.<sup>23</sup> It was entitled

<sup>20</sup> This oration was delivered in Latin; but in the latter part of the century, French was also permitted. Cf. A. Bleton, *Les Oraisons doctorales de la Saint-Thomas*, Lyons, 1891.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* Maurice Scève père delivered this oration in 1506. Cf. *The Family of Maurice Scève*, *Mod. Lang. Publications*, 1909, p. 471.

<sup>22</sup> Aneau received thirty *sols* for delivering this oration. *Archives communales de Lyon*, CC. 915, fol. 94 (Dec. 21, 1538) and CC. 940 (Dec. 21, 1540).

<sup>23</sup> Claude de Rubys states (*Hist. de Lyon*, p. 356) that in 1513 the Swiss laid siege to Dijon and were threatening Lyons, which caused great excitement among the inhabitants of that city. This event, according to the historian, "donna subiect de nostre temps à maistre Barthelemy Aneau, principal du college de la Trinité, de représenter par gausserie, en des jeux publics, une grosse brayette qui faisoit peur à un Lion." We are unable to say whether this was a play or not. If it was, it was probably never published. Did this representation take place before 1537? From the words *de nostre temps* used by Rubys, we would place it between 1550 and 1560, probably at the celebration in honor of national peace, which took place in May 1559. Aneau, as will be shown later, arranged the most important part of this festival.

the *Mystère de la Nativité, par personnages, composé en imitation verbale et musicale de diverses chansons recueillies sur l'écriture sainte, et illustré d'icelle*.<sup>24</sup> According to Breghot du Lut and Demogeot, this is the same *Mystère* which appears in the volume entitled the *Chant natal*, published in 1539.<sup>25</sup> This statement cannot be verified, as the edition of 1537 has become so rare that no copy can be found. However, there is no reason for doubting these bibliographers. The same poem was published a third time in 1559 (with still further additions) under the title *Genethliac musical et historial de la conception et nativité de Jesus-Christ par vers et chants divers, entresemez et illustrez des noms Royaux, et de Princes, etc. Avec un chant Royal pour chanter, a lacclamation des Roys. Ensemble la IV<sup>e</sup> Eclogue de Virgile intitulée Pollion ou Auguste, prophetizant la natiuité de Jesus Christ, etc.*<sup>26</sup> This edition, however, is as rare as that of 1537, for even the careful Baudrier has been unable to discover a copy.

The *Mystère*, as it appears in the *Chant natal*, is only six pages in length. It bears the following title (p. C r<sup>o</sup>): *Mystère de la Nativité de nostre Seigneur Iesuschrist: par personnaiges sur diuers chants de plusieurs chansons. Et premierement, Le uoyage en Bethleem, et l'enfantement de la uierge, sur le chant, Le plus souvent tant il m'ennuye*. As the poet states in these last words, the *Mystère* was sung to the air of a popular song. In the opening scene, Mary addresses Joseph in the following manner:

Joseph, cher espoux, homme iuste,  
 En Bethleem nous fault aller:  
 Car l'empereur Cesar Auguste  
 A faict son edict publier,  
 En une somme ronde,  
 Pour nombrer tout le monde,  
 Et ung denier offrir:  
 Combien que nous confonde  
 Froidure, et nous morfonde,  
 Il nous conuient souffrir.

<sup>24</sup> Lyons, Sébastien Gryphe, 1537.

<sup>25</sup> Breghot du Lut, *op. cit.*, p. 197, and the article of Demogeot in *Lyon ancien et moderne*, 1838-43, p. 414.

<sup>26</sup> *A Lyon, par Godefroy Beringer*, 1559, 8vo, *Supplément Brunet*, I, 42.; Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, III, 54; Breghot du Lut, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

Like a good husband, Joseph replies:

Helas, chere dame Marie,  
Sur toutes pleine d'amytié,  
Craincte et amour mon cuer uarie,  
Ayant de uostre cors pytié.

But he adds after a moment,

Toutesfois la contraincte  
Ne fault que soit enfraincte  
De l'empereur Romain.

Then Mary advises that they start at once for Bethlehem,

Pour ce partons de la Province,  
Tirons tout droict en Bethleem.

But as they have neither *escu ne targe*, she is confident that Poverty will take them *en sa piteuse barge*, and Providence

. . . qui est tant large,  
Ne nous delaissera.

The practical Joseph hastens to assure his *chere dame Marie* that they have *ung beuf de pasture* to accompany them, and

Ung asne aussi, qui la porture  
De uostre tendre corps fera.

Here the poet inserts in the text the words *ilz uont*, which means that, after going around the stage several times, they arrive at their destination. Joseph sets forth at once in search of a suitable lodging:

Quelque logis parmy la ville  
Pour Dieu je m'en vais requerir,  
Car nous n'avons ne croix ne pille.

He discovers a splendid *hôtel* and hastens to seek admission. Who should help the poor if not the rich? he says in his naïve way. The host, however, gives him an unexpected reception:

Allez-vous en, vieillard infâme!  
Vous me ressemblez ung bergier.

Le logis que je baille  
N'est pas pour truandaille,  
Mais pour gens de cheval.  
Entre vous coquinnaille  
N'avez denier ni maille.  
Allez à l'hospital!

Greatly dismayed by such a welcome, the good Joseph says philosophically:

La chose est notoire et visible  
Que povreté n'ha point de lieu.

But fortunately he finds near-by *une estable*

Aux gens inhabitable,  
Ou convient demourer.  
Le lieu n'est pas notable  
Pour Roy ou Connestable.  
Il nous fault endurer.

There, at least, they meet with no rebuff. As soon as they are installed, Mary announces to Joseph:

Or maintenant l'heure est uenue  
De rendre le fruit précieux,

and the poet adds, *icy naist Iesuschrist*. Then follows the adoration of the Virgin, who says:

O Sauveur de l'humain lignaige,  
Divinité soubz corps humain,  
Je te rendz ma foy et hommaige  
Comme un filz du Roy souverain.

Joseph also has a word to say:

Helas, chere dame Marie,  
Le filz de Dieu de uous est né,  
Ainsi que par la prophetie  
Auoit esté déterminé.  
Orgueil et felonnie  
Si soit de nous bannie:

Car le uray filz de Dieu  
 En humble compagnie,  
 Mais de uertu garnie,  
 Nasquit en poure lieu.

Here follows the annunciation to the shepherds, which is composed *sur le chant du second couplet extraict d'ung ancien Noel*. This is sung *sur le branle de, Iolyet est marie: avec une reprise: et une queue sur le Gloria in excelsis Deo* (fol. C4 r°). This song, which consists of six stanzas, begins thus:

Pasteurs, qui veillez aux champs,  
 Oyez mes dicts, et mes chants:  
 Je vous nonce la nouuelle  
 Ioyeuse pour uous,  
 Dieu est né d'une pucelle,  
 Pour rachepter tous.  
 Allez, et l'adorez à genoux:  
*Gloria in Excelsis Deo!*

After this comes (fol. D r°) *la uenue et adoration des pasteurs*, which is sung *sur le chant, Sonnez my doncq quand uous irez*. Heeding the words of the angel, the shepherds come to worship the Infant Jesus. The first shepherd presents Him *un quartier de fromage*, the second his *bouteille d'eau*, and the third his *flaiol si bel*. This song, with which no doubt the edition of 1537 ended, consists of four stanzas, the first two of ten verses each, and the last two of nine.

It is true that this play does not reveal any profound poetical inspiration on the part of the author. But at the same time we must not fail to remember that it was composed for the pupils of the college. Aneau inaugurated in this institution the custom of giving plays at Christmas or at the end of the school year. "Mais ce n'était," says M. Brouchoud,<sup>27</sup> "pour les élèves chargés d'interpréter les rôles, que des exercices littéraires auxquels ils se livraient sous les yeux de leurs parents." But, as the same author remarks, these compositions of Aneau were the origin of the "véritables représentations dramatiques" that were given later when the college was directed by the Jesuits. We have already noted that the *My-*

<sup>27</sup> *Les Origines du Théâtre de Lyon*, Lyons, 1865, pp. 24-25.



*stère* was sung as well as acted by the children. For this reason, M. Demogeot considers it as "la première idée de nos opéra comiques," or, adds M. Delandine, "mieux, de nos vaudevilles."<sup>28</sup>

If the *Mystère de la Nativité* was the first work to be published in French by Aneau, his first Latin effort appeared the following year, 1538, among the epigrams of Gilbert Ducher. This poet, who was then teaching in the Collège de la Trinité, held his colleague Aneau in very high esteem. In an epigram addressed to him, Ducher speaks of the broad scholarship and versatility of his friend:

Doctrinae, encyclopaediam quod unus  
Perfectam efficias, et absolutam:  
Non iniuria es Anulus uocatus.

And Ducher closes the epigram by exclaiming:

. . si quis inter omnes,  
Dignus Castalio choro uideris,  
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta:  
Si quisquam esse potest mihi, absque suco,  
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta.<sup>29</sup>

To this Aneau replies in characteristic style, admitting modestly that he is unworthy of the encomium given him:

Est oratio, Socrati disertus  
Quam scripsit Lysias periclitanti.  
Hanc certè esse bonam, tamen recusans  
Haudquaquam sibi conuenire, dixit.  
De me sic tua, Ducheri poëta,  
Valde encomia censeo bona esse,  
Agnosco mihi non tamen quadrare,  
Agnosco tibi conuenire: qui sis  
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta.  
Summam proinde tibi remitto laudem,  
Multis quam cumulare nolo uerbis:

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Lyon ancien et moderne*, 1838-43, I, 414; Delandine, *Cat. de la Bibliothèque de Lyon*; E. Vingtrinier, *Le Théâtre à Lyon avant Molière*, *Lyon-Revue*, IV, pp. 104, etc.; Frères Parfaict, III, p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> *Gilberti Ducherii . . . Epigrammaton Libri Duo . . . apud Seb. Gryphium, Lugduni*, 1538, 8vo, p. 133.

Ne sit uisa manum manus fricare.  
 De me tu quod, amice, mentiaris:  
 Est candor tuus, integra et uoluntas:  
 Consultor malus hoc amor suasit.  
 Qualem me facis ipse, non enim sum,  
 Orator bonus, et bonus poëta.<sup>80</sup>

One of the most intimate friends of Aneau at Lyons was the famous printer, Etienne Dolet. In 1539 Dolet published his well-known history of the reign of Francis I, to which many of his friends contributed commendatory verses. Among them we may mention, besides our poet, Jean Raynier and Guillaume Durand, both former professors in the Collège de la Trinité. Aneau remained a firm friend of the irascible Dolet throughout all his misfortunes, and in the epigram contributed to this volume he does not conceal his admiration for the scholarly printer:

Musas, quae canerent gestarum encomia rerum  
 Vera, Themistocli perplacuisse ferunt.  
 Sed stupidus non est mage Graeco Principe Gallus:  
 Et nec ab affectu Rex alienus erit.  
 Sic (ubi cognorit tua carmina) spero, Dolete,  
 Augustum tibi, te illi fore Vergilium.<sup>81</sup>

The same year (1539), Dolet published a curious volume in honor of the birth of his son, Claude Dolet,<sup>82</sup> whom, notwithstanding the eulogies of the friends of his father, fate has consecrated to oblivion. Among the numerous laudatory poems found at the beginning of this work, there is one by Aneau, consisting of seventy-four Latin hexameters. As this is, so far as we know, the first serious effort of Aneau, we may pause for a moment to analyze it.

The poet begins by calling upon his Muse to sing genethliac verse,

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>81</sup> *Francisci Valesii Gallorum Regis Fata . . . Stephano Doletto . . . autore, Lugduni, 1539, p. 78, 4to, Bibl. nat., Réserve mYcIII.*

<sup>82</sup> *Genethliacum Claudii Doleti Stephani Doleti filii . . . Autore Patre . . . Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1539, 4to, Bibl. nat., Rés. mYc776.* This work was translated the same year by Dolet under the title, *L'Avant-Naissance de Claude Dolet*, Dolet, Lyons, 1539, pp. 46.

Musa Genethliacos, mea Musula, dicere versus  
Incipe, vt infantis primordia laeta canamus.<sup>28</sup>

But as he does not know whether the child is a boy or a girl, "*si puerum canitis*," he says, "*puer est hic carmine dignus*;" but, on the contrary, if it be a girl, "may the sacred lips of the Virgin Minerva give her the virginal auspices of light." Comparing Dolet to Cicero, the poet exclaims: "Of the second Tullius a second happier progeny, another image of the second Cicero is born." "*Iam*," he continues, "*noua progenies magno generata Dolet*."

*Pulcher* Apollo presided at the birth of the child as a token of a glorious life. "May the three Graces," says Aneau, addressing the new-born babe, "and the nine Muses be thy companions; and from thee, frail boy or perhaps girl, may the Goddesses, the three Divinities of the Universe, be nowhere absent." Venus has granted to the handsome body, not a vulgar form, but one by which it shall be a Helen or another Nereus.

The poet then calls upon Pallas to take the child under her protection and to teach it *sapientia verba, factaque fortia*. But if Nature has made of it a girl, *virgo pudicitiam Pallas conseruet honestam*, so that she will surpass the chaste Penelope and yet live to a better fate than Lucretia. While the skillful Minerva will teach her to paint the texture with the needle to such a point that the Lydian Arachne will yield to her in the Phrygian work.—"But if thou be a boy, *O Sperate Puer*," says the poet, "*eris alter et ipse Doletus, tuque Doletus eris, quo non facundior alter*." Then shall they pour rhetorical flowers upon his cradle, and he shall drink with his milk from the fountain of eloquence.

Symbolizing Science by the Constellation of the Goat—*Sydus Olenium*—the poet adds that "she shall press against thy lips her breasts filled with the milk with which she nourished Jove, her *gratum alumnus*." And the horn of Amaltheia—*κέρας Ἀμαλθείας*—shall offer itself to the child filled with both fruits and flowers, while the *Apes Platonis*, bearing the sweetest tokens of eloquence, will instill into its mouth their dewy honey.

When the child shall learn to read, he shall begin to study the eulogies of the heroes and the writings of his father; and "when

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, C3 r° and v°; and C4 r°.

thou shalt have embraced the career of a full-grown man," says Aneau to the son of Dolet, "thou shalt see heroes gather about thy father, and with thy parental virtues thou shalt complete the cycle of learning." Finally, addressing Dolet himself, the poet exclaims: "Such fate, *Divine Dolete*, do the wool-weaving sisters promise by their immutable law."

Ergo nouo partu mater perfuncta dolore,  
Post vbi longa nouem dederint fastidia menses,  
Gaudeat, et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.

This poem, strewn with souvenirs of classical authors—in accordance with the custom of the time—and written in the strange, but pleasing, Latin of the early Sixteenth Century, is not entirely without original inspiraion. True, it is not the inspiration of a great poet, but it is indeed more profound than that of the ordinary versifier of this period. These verses reveal, to a certain degree, the versatility and breadth of learning of this professor of rhetoric.

A friend of Aneau, Claude Bigothier, who also taught in the Collège de la Trinité, published in 1540 a very curious epic in which he discloses the source of his profound erudition. According to Bigothier, Claude de Cublize, principal of this college, and Aneau are two remarkable men. In truth, the latter is a gift of the gods—*Anulus*, he says, *alter enim linguae communis Mercurius, caelo nobis delapsus ab alto*. Aneau is, in addition, an indefatigable worker, *cujus inexhausti numquam finita laboris perdurat virtus, studiis indefessa voluptas*. He reads and composes, and *verbis hortatur et urget*. He reproves incessantly the lazy and curbs the over-ambitious—*nec sinit ignavos vigilans torpere tyrones*. He teaches constantly what is best for the youthful mind—*optima docet statim*. Under the direction of such a master, pupils do not become *asinos, sturnosve sono picasque loquaces*, but, on the contrary, *homines sermone disert*. To what does Aneau owe these exceptional powers? The answer is only too obvious, says Bigothier, it is merely because he eats turnips! We may be astonished at such an answer, but all our doubts are dispelled when Bigothier informs

us that the protector of the turnip is Apollo, the same god who protects learning.<sup>84</sup>

In 1539, Aneau published under the title *Chant natal*, a second edition of the *Mystère de la Nativité* with additional songs.<sup>85</sup> This little volume begins (v<sup>o</sup> of title) with a prelude which is addressed by B. Aneau à ses disciples. In the margin are two verses from the Psalms,<sup>86</sup> which form the motif of this introductory song. The poet commences by exhorting the children:

Louez Enfans, le seigneur, et son nom :  
 Les chants qu'a uous ie dedie, chantants  
 Chants, mais quelz chants, de Poësie? Non,  
 Mais chants Natalz, que requis ha le temps :  
 Car des enfans, et petitz allaictants  
 Dieu par leur bouche ha parfaict sa louange.  
 Et tout esprit celestial, ou ange  
 Chante auec uous de l'enfant la naissance  
 Qui faire uient de Dieu a l'homme eschange,  
 Donnant a uous, et a tous innocence.

We remark at once that Aneau has made use of some of the rhyming tricks of the old rhetorical school, from the shackles of which poetry had not yet freed itself. Even Marot did not entirely overcome the influence of his early training, while Jean Bouchet was continuing, as far as his limited powers would permit, the traditions of the school of Crétin.

<sup>84</sup> *Rapina seu Raporum encomium*, 1540, edition of Brossard, Bourg-en-Bresse, 1891, p. 116. Both of these editions are now very rare. According to Brossard, the *rapa* of Bigothier is the *Brassica rapa* (Species 931) of Linnaeus, which is the same as our turnip. Antoine du Pinet, in his curious translation of Pliny (*L'Histoire du Monde de C. Pline Second . . .* Lyons, Claude Senneton, 1562 and 1566, fol., cf. Baudrier, *Bibliogr. lyonnaise*, VII, pp. 429 and 441), states that the Greeks, "voulans faire présent de bons jardinaiges à Apollo delficque feirent le reffort d'or, la poirée d'argent et la rave de plomb," and furthermore that "Dioclès faict grant cas de la Rave et affirme à plus qu'elle rend l'homme gentil compaignon auprès les dames.

<sup>85</sup> *Chant Natal contenant sept Noels, ung chant Pastoural, et ung chant Royal, auec ung Mystere de la Natiuité, par personnages. Composes en imitation uerbale et musicale de diuerses chansons. Recueillis sur l'escripture sainte, et d'icelle illustrez. Apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni*, 1539. Small 4to of 15 unnumbered leaves and 1 leaf for the mark of Gryphe. Round letters. *Bibl. nat.*, Réserve, Ye, 782. Very rare.

<sup>86</sup> *Laudate pueri dominum, laudate nomen domini.* Psal. 112. *Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem.* Psal. 8.

The first personage who comes upon the stage is the Soul, who sings a *noel ou chant spirituel a Iesus Christ, confessant la macule et laidure de son peché: et la purgation d'icelluy en la grace de Dieu, et au sang de Iesus Christ*. This *noel* is composed, *tant en la letre que en la musique*, in imitation of Marot's, *Pourtant si ie suys Brunette*. It consists of five stanzas of which the first is as follows (fol. A2 r<sup>o</sup>) :

Pourtant si ie suys Brunette  
 Par peché noire d'esmy,  
 Dieu m'a faicte blanche, et nete,  
 Arrousant son sang sur moy.  
 L'Ange clair damné ie uoy,  
 Des blanches essences l'une,  
 Qui fussent dessus la Lune.  
 Doncq' au contre Lucifer:  
 Mieulx uault blanchir estant brune,  
 Que noircir blanche en enfer.

The second *noël* is composed *en suite de la Royalle chanson, Douce memoire, en uoix et parolle, reduisant en memoire a la pensée Chrestienne, le benefice de Dieu enuers l'homme*. The first of the five stanzas composing this song begins thus (fol. A3 r<sup>o</sup>) :

Douce memoire en plaisir consommée,  
 O siecle heureux, qui cause tel sçauoir:  
 Natiuité de Dieu tant reclamée, etc.

In the third *noel* the poet has imitated the song, *Content desir, protestant le desir de Dieu a rachapter l'homme et le contentement de l'homme esperant en la Natiuité de Iesus Christ*. This song, consisting of five stanzas of four verses each, has the following opening lines (A4 r<sup>o</sup>) :

Content desir, qui cause tout bonheur,  
 Heureux sçauoir qui tout esprit renforce:  
 O forte amour, qui rend enfer sans force,  
 Donnant secours a peine et a douleur.

Next comes a *noel* composed on the song, *C'est une dure departie, declarant diuers departements d'essence et lieux, appartenants a la Natiuité de nostre seigneur Iesus Christ. Et admonestant du*

*dernier depart de ceste uie humaine.* Of the five stanzas of this song, the last is the most characteristic:

C'est une dure departie  
De l'ame et du corps forfaicteur,  
Le corps tourne en terre amortie,  
L'ame au uouloir de son facteur:  
Mais né est le médiateur  
De Dieu et de la creature:  
Parquoy chantons au Redempteur  
Noel, pour sa bonne adventure (fol. B r°).

The fifth *noël* is also in imitation of Marot, *sur la lettre, et le chant de la chanson: l'ay le desir content, tesmoignant l'esperance des mortelz contentée, par plenitude de grace enuoyée de Dieu par son filz Iesus Christ conceu du saint esprit, et né de la Vierge.* The last of the five stanzas composing this song is as follows (B1 v° and B2 r°):

I'ay le desir content, et mon temps absolu,  
Dist le ueil Symeon de poil chanu uelu,  
En tenant Iesuschrist enfant en sa brassée:  
Ainsi nous, qui croyons sa naissance passée,  
Ayons desir content. Et tant que l'air en tonne  
Chescun de nous Noel a haulte uoix entonne.

This series of *noels*, sung each by a pupil, is followed by a *chant pastoural, en forme de Dialogue, a trois bergiers, et une bergiere, contenant l'annonciation de l'ange aux pasteurs, la departie d'iceulx pour aller ueoir l'enfant, et l'adoration.* This is composed *sur le chant, et le uerbe de: Vous perdez temps.* The first shepherd, Rogelin, scolds his comrades for wasting time in song and dance when they should be on their way to worship the Son of God (B2 r°):

Vous perdez temps, pasteurs et pastourelle,  
Corner, muser, cornemuse meschante  
Tant de plaisir n'aurez pas autour elle,  
Comme a l'oiseau du ciel qui lassus chante.  
Que le filz de Dieu naisce:  
A uostre aduis rien n'est-ce?

N'est-ce rien de sa grace  
 Laissez moy ceste garce  
 Seule dancer la belle tire lire.  
 Et me suyuez courans tous d'une tire.

The Angel appears and Raguel, the second shepherd shouts:

Voy qu'est cela? C'est ung homme qui uole,  
 Iamais oyseau n'eut tel langaige en caige.

Ruben, the third shepherd, admits:

Oncq' Perrucquet n'eut si bonne parolle,  
 Et le Phoenix n'a point si beau plumaige.

But the wise Rogelin assures them that this is the messenger of God, and says to the companions: *Allon ou il nous mande*. So they depart. But Raguel finds the night rather cold:

Ceste nuict est bien froide  
 Mais il fault courir roide  
 Pour s'eschauffer sans robe, ou hoppelande.

*Pren ton flaiol*, says Ruben to Rogelin, *et y fuble*; and thus they reach the city. Addressing the shepherdess—who is called Rachel—Raguel exclaims:

Sus doncq' bergiere habile,  
 Nous sommes a la uille.  
 Ie uoy le filz, la mere.  
 Voy la belle commere  
 Et le bon hom' tous trois en une grange.

At the command of Rogelin, they begin to worship *l'aigneau qui toult tous les pechez du monde*. Raguel then remarks that:

Il gist tout nud sans drap de soye, ou laine,  
 Le petit filz en une pource creiche.

To this Rachel replies:

L'asne et le bœuf l'eschauffent de l'aleine:  
 'Au moins s'il eust ung peu de paille fresche.

The shepherds are in doubt as to what offering they should make the child, when Rogelin closes the pastoral by saying:



Mais donnon luy nous mesme :  
 Garde n'aura nous simples esconduire :  
 Ie le uoy bien : car il s'en prend a rire.

Another *noël* is intercalated between this pastoral and the *Mystère*. This one is entitled *Noel branlant* and is composed *sur la chanson, Barptolemy mon bel amy*. In the margin is inserted the Biblical passage, *Rubeni violens filium meum*, which furnishes the theme of the song. The first of the six stanzas of this song is thus conceived (B4 r<sup>o</sup>) :

Hau Rubeny, mon bel amy,  
 Vien si tu me ueulx croire :  
 Presque a demy, suys endormy,  
 Oyant de Dieu la gloire :  
 Clarté nous esclaire, claire,  
 Clarté nous esclaire :  
 C'est l'ange messaige saige,  
 C'est l'ange messaige.

The poet probably failed to express himself clearly here, for we do not believe he intended to say that sleep is synonymous with spiritual rapture. At any rate, this is not usually the case. Another stanza contains several of the rhyming tricks of the dead rhetorical school :

O Dieu, qui *feis* ce petit *filz*  
 D'éternité profonde  
 Ie *creu si feis*, que *crucifix*  
 Il seroit pour le *monde* :  
 Sa mere fut *monde* au *monde*  
 Sa mere fut *monde*  
 Ainsi le fault *croire, uoire*,  
 Ainsi le fault *croire*.<sup>87</sup>

After the *Mystère* and the adoration of the shepherds, which we have already discussed, there is (D v<sup>o</sup>) a *chant Royal a six Roys* : *faict par huictains pour la suyte de la chanson, sur laquelle il est faict, qui est : Si mon traueil, contenant la prophetie du Roy David : la dissimulation du Roy Herodes : l'adoration et oblation des troys Roys* (who are Balthasar, Jaspar and Melchior), *et au renuoy la grace du Roy Iesuschrist*.

<sup>87</sup> Fol. B4 v<sup>o</sup> and C r<sup>o</sup>. The various cross-rhymes are intentionally italicized.

The last *noel* of the volume—entitled *Noel mystic* and composed on the song, *Le dueil yssu*—is especially interesting because of the references in it to Lyons (*le grand Lyon*), to Villiers (*uy lier*), to the author (Aigneau), and to the well-known printer, Sébastien Gryphe (Gryphon). For fear that the reader might overlook them, the poet has had these names carefully printed in the margin:

## 2

Noel, noel si hault que l'air en tonne,  
Non l'homme seul, mais tout animant dict  
Le grand Lyon son gros organ entonne,  
Noel, noel, à haulte uoix bondit,  
Vng chant plaisant fondé sur ung bon dict  
Le Rossignol uy lier par accords,  
Et ung Aigneau bailant luy respondit,  
Noel chantant, et à criz et à cors.

## 3

Le Gryphon d'or y ha planté sa gryphe  
Et maint noel engraué par escript:  
Pour demonstrier, que point n'est apocryphe,  
Tout ce qui est chanté de Iesuschrist:  
Tout animant, tout homme, tout esprit  
Donne louange à cest enfant nouuel:  
Parquoy chantons le chant que nous apprit  
L'ange du ciel noel, noel, noel.

The volume closes with a *pièce de circonstance*, a literary genre for which Aneau, as we shall show later, displayed a special aptitude. This is a *dixain de la uenue de Iesus-christ, et de Charles le quint, Empereur, uenu en France, l'an 1539*, and is as follows:

Il uiendra tost, il uient, il est uenu.  
Qui? l'Empereur, le Roy, le grand Seigneur.  
Sus: qu'on luy face (ainsi qu'on est tenu)  
Entrée, et dons, feuz de ioye, et honneur.  
Qui est celluy? est-ce point l'Empereur  
Venu en France? est-ce Charles d'Austriche?  
Nenny, nenny, c'est bien ung aultre riche.  
De beaucoup plus, et plus haulte maison:  
C'est l'aigneau doulx, simple, sans fraude ou triche.  
Charles n'en ha sinon que la toison.

It is obvious that, in his first work, Aneau is greatly indebted to his master, Clément Marot, for the form of his poems, as well as the inspiration. No more than Marot is he capable of a work *de haute envergure*. He has the same conversational style, and, as we shall see, excels in the *pièce de circonstance*. But before discussing further Aneau as a poet, let us consider for a moment the teacher.

### III

We have considered elsewhere the vicissitudes suffered by the Collège de la Trinité during the administration of its fourth principal, Claude de Cublize,<sup>38</sup> how, in particular, notwithstanding the remarkable increase in the numbers of its students, it was allowed by the Echevins of Lyons only *trois membres* of the various *granges* which formerly belonged to the *Confrérie de la Trinité*.<sup>39</sup> The foundry of the royal artillery, which had occupied these buildings since 1516,—or three years before the school of the *Confrérie* was founded,—refused persistently to surrender any part of them for the use of the growing college.<sup>40</sup> As a result, some of the professors were obliged to conduct their classes in the house *vys à vys*, belonging to François Fornier and Claude Gravier. The noise from the foundry, which occasioned considerable difficulty in maintaining discipline, had no doubt much to do with the decline and fall of the administration of Cublize. Accordingly, on account of the *mauvaise versation et train qui se tenoit et faisoit au Colliège*—a condition of affairs culminating in the murder of the regent de Bernod—Aneau was requested by the Echevins to take charge of the college and to draw up a *formullaire et institution* for its direction.<sup>41</sup>

On the fourth of May, 1540, Aneau presented to the Consulate

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Revue de la Renaissance*, loc. cit., 1908, pp. 73-94; 1909, pp. 137-157 and 204-215.

<sup>39</sup> *Vidimus de l'acquict des deux mil vingt livres tourn. deues par le roy des granges de la Sainte Trinité* (Jan. 20, 1533-4), see Guigue: *Le Livre des Confrères de la Trinité de Lyon*, Lyons, 1898, p. 44.

<sup>40</sup> The above *vidimus* shows also that the royal foundry had not paid any rent for these buildings until Dec. 11, 1533, when Francis I ordered Anthoine Gondy, *receveur ordinaire de Lyonnais*, to pay 2,020 livres to Claude Gravier, notary and secretary of the Consulate, who had petitioned for this sum in behalf of the *paovres malades de l'ospital dud. Lyon*.

<sup>41</sup> *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1909, pp. 150-3.

his formulary, which, to quote the words of the secretary, Claude Gravier, "il s'est offert entretenir selon sa forme et teneur, et pour ce faire aller expressément à Paris pour amener avec luy régentz propres et commodes à ce faire."<sup>42</sup> The Echevins, on their part,

"après avoir bien et au long débatu de la matière, ont retenu ledict M<sup>re</sup> Barthélemy Aignel pour principal dudict collège, aux actes, paches (*sic*) et conditions contenuz en ladicte institution, moyennant ce que ledict M<sup>re</sup> Barthélemy a promis observer de point en point ladicte institution, et ce tant qu'il plaira audict consullat, et qu'il fera bien."

In the first section of his formulary, Aneau treats of the attributes of the principal: he should be scholarly and impartial, able to direct his regents and to inspire his pupils with love or fear as the occasion may require.

"Soit ordonné," he says, "pardessus tous un principal, homme de bonnes meurs, ayant ung sens commun et jugement sans suyvre ses privées affections; qui soit aussi de bonnes letres pour sçavoir discerner la qualité de ses régens et le debvoir qu'ilz font vers leurs disciples. Lequel aussi estant docte sera plus révééré, crainct, et aymé, tant de ses régens que des escolliers, que s'il est inférieur à eulx ès choses susdites."

The principal must also be a man of both authority and dignity, otherwise he may be exposed to ridicule. Here no doubt Aneau is referring to the fact that the failure of his predecessors in the accomplishment of their duties was often caused by the improper interference of the Consulate. Let the principal, he continues, have authority,

"laquelle en partie luy peult estre donnée par messieurs les colateurs dudict collège qui sont messeigneurs les consulz de la ville, en partie le peult avoir de luy en composant son estat et maintien selon la dignité à luy donnée; car la dignité, adjoustée auctorité y accorde leur gravité, laquelle sans auctorité est ridicule, voire haineuse."

The next section deals with the regents. Of the first two Aneau requires broad scholarship. We see the effect of his training under

<sup>42</sup> *Archives communales de Lyon, Registres consulaires*, BB58, fol. 61. It was from Paris that Aneau brought the poet Charles Fontaine to Lyons.

Wolmar and others in his predilection for the humanities and interpretation of authors. Let us quote his words :

“Ledit principal, quant au faict de l’institution littéraire de la jeunesse à luy commise, aye quatre bons régens, tant en meurs qu’en doctrine, desquelz le premier et second soient gens éloquens et sçavantz en deux langues: grecque et latine; en dialectique, les mathématiques et autres à ce requis, interpretation des autheurs et hommes de bonne tradition et bons jugemens.”

The third regent must be, above all, an excellent teacher of secondary work, so as to give the children a good foundation.

“Le tiers,” continues our author, “soit sçavant et propre en langue latine, bon gramairien pour fonder les enfans à celle fin que les premiers fondementz soient imbuz de sincère et propre doctrine, tellement que les enfans montans de classe en autre tous les ans au jour de la Saint Remy, selon la coustume parisienne, avec l’advis du principal, jugeant du proufit et l’avancement d’iceulx par compositions et interrogatoires, soient bien préparez par leurs premiers fondateurs à monter aux édificateurs.”

But, as most of the pupils of the Collège de la Trinité were small children, Aneau lays particular stress on primary instruction. He first insists on the clear pronunciation of the primary teacher :

“Le quatriesme régent, que l’on dict icy bachelier, soit non ignorant, mais surtout bien accentuant et prononçant bien distinctement et articulément, pour la bonne lecture, accent et prononciation accoustumer dès le premier commencement qui tient à jamais la langue formable des enfans; pour laquelle chose faire plus commodément, attendu que c’est la principale partie de la bonne institution que la première forme et aussi que la plus grande partie des escoliers lionnois est de celle basse classe.”

After learning their hours and the alphabet, the children must read books in French. This is an important fact, for by urging the teaching of French, Aneau, is paving the way for the Pléiade. He foresaw without doubt that French was destined to become the language of the schools. It was only a year or two before that the edict of Villers-Cotterets was issued, ordering all documents to be written in French; but most of the schools had not yet reserved a place for the mother tongue in their curriculum. Thus, in this re-

gard, Aneau is a pioneer, as well as in his attempt to improve the methods of instruction, which the following citation shows:

“Semble bon que tous les petitz enfans fussent apprenantz en heures et abcez de mesme usaige et semblablement abcez et livres en françoys de mesme histoire; les instruisans par telle manière que point ilz ne vinssent réciter leur leçon, l'ung après l'autre, à l'oreille du bachelier comme la coustume est, ont souvant le maistre dormant, ilz sont passez par la grosse estamine, mais sans bouger de leurs places; répétant à claire et haulte voix, distincte et articulée leur leçon, tous les aultres escoutant en grand silence.”

The remainder of the class should correct the mistakes of the pupil who has recited; and in order to encourage them to do this, the teacher should award certain honors.

“Et sera permis aux aultres de la mesme leçon,” continues Aneau, “escoutant le rendant, le reprendre s'il fault; et par celle repréhension leur sera quelque petite gloire adjugée par le précepteur, de laquelle ses petitz esperitz juveniz excités, seront plus ententifs à leur leçon et mieulx cognoissant leur faulte, tousiours soubz le jugement du précepteur.” All of which is excellent pedagogy!

Each pupil is to recite his lesson during the hour; and as for the very small ones, the master should take them on his knee and gently encourage them to do the same:

“Ainsi répéteront tous l'ung après l'autre une briefve leçon mais bien entendue tant que durera une bonne heure à chacune entrée de classe. Pour lequel moien n'aura pas tant de peine le régent et les enfans, estude plus aleigre, les bien petitz qui encores ne pourront faire cella sans adresse du maistre, il les enseignera premièrement en son giron.”

Realising the benefit derived from argumentation, Aneau reserves time for debates among the pupils both in the presence of their teachers, who are to act as judges, and later on, after dinner or supper, when no member of the faculty may be at hand. In this, of course, he adheres to the old scholastic method, which, as we now understand, was not without its advantages.

“L'ordre des leçons,” he says, “sera tel que, à la généralité universele des venans et allans, sera leue ou répétée quatre foyz le jour, chacune foyz une bonne heure, sans les questions, où assiste-

ront les régentz jugeans des controverses de leurs disciples; aux portionnistes seront faictes deux réparaisons d'avantage, après disner et après soupper, sans que particulièrement leurs régentz et pédagogues seront en chambre." Once a week there are to be inter-class debates, and a prize must be awarded to winners. "Item, une foys la sepmaine, qui sera le sabmedi, seront mises conclusions et disputations faictes de classe contre classe, pris proposé aux vainqueurs."

The next two articles show especially the influence of the theories advanced by Rabelais some six or seven years before. Here, indeed, Aneau is far in advance of the spirit of his times. He points out, first, how the pupil shall use advantageously his leisure hours; and, then, how his games shall be organized for the purpose of instruction. It is interesting to note the high consideration which this teacher has for his profession, even in its minutest details, differing essentially from Peletier du Mans, who, on the contrary, was inclined to regard it with disdain.<sup>48</sup>

"Au lieu de jouer le mardy, qui seroit jeu trop fréquent, ilz composeront toute l'après disner et rendront leurs compositions qui seront émandées au lieu de leçon, et les petitz escriront exemples. Le jeudy, après disner, auront depuis la réparation jusques à la dernière leçon, l'espace de trois heures, lesquelles ilz employeront en toutes manières de jeux libéraux que leur prescripront mesmes leurs maistres et régentz, comme à jeuz de nombre, de pellotes et balles, à jeux de perciee, à chanter en musique, à certains gectz de pierres ou pièces de boys où seront entallées les lectres grecques et latines, bactaillant les uns contre les autres; et ainsi en jeux mesmes apprendront, en ostant tous villains jeux caignardiers de perte ou de dangier; et aucunes foys seront menez au champs par beau temps."

And to think these are not the theories of a Rabelais or a Montaigne, but the actual methods of an educator!

The following paragraph discloses the humanist, esteeming Greek above all, as well as the patriot who dares to protest against the obsolete methods of the scholiasts, still in vogue in the majority of the schools of France.

"Tant en jeu que hors jeu," he says, "sera non pas du chef, mais de la diverse partie, parler autre langue que grecque ou latine,

<sup>48</sup> Clément Jugé, *Jacques Peletier du Mans*, Paris, 1907, p. 41.

sinon ès bien petitz enfans, lesquelz vault mieulx qu'ilz parlent bon lionnois que de s'accoustumer à mauveys et barbare latin, qui jamais ne se fracineroit. Et est une très mauvaise chose en toutes escolles jusques à ce qu'ilz ayent aprins en escoutant les bien parlans; et mieulx vauldroit que par aucun temps ilz tinssent le silence pitagoric que se enhardir à parler latin corrompu."

However, those who are able to speak Latin or Greek should be obliged to do so.

"Aux autres qui pourront et sçauront parler latin ou grec sera ordonné reigle, non seulement de latinité ou grécisme, mais aussi de plus éloquentement parler l'un que l'autre. Et aussi des meurs comme de jugement, injure, deffault, et semblables. En laquelle reigle seront notables et comptables par censure escolastique."

In the next section, Aneau outlines the duties of the principal. According to his conception, the principal is a sort of director, resembling to a certain extent the modern college president. He is not to conduct any particular course, but must take, from time to time, the classes of his regents in order to find out if they have proper discipline and are doing satisfactory work. This is exceptional for the time, inasmuch as the principal was usually nothing more than a professor.

"Le principal," says Aneau, "pour donner ordre à son réconomie ne fera point de leçon certaine, mais tous les jours en fera une telle qu'il voudra choisir aucune foys la grande, aucune foys la moindre, aucune foys la moyenne, selon son arbitre, en envoyant esbatre le régent duquel il fera la leçon; car en ce faisant, il tiendra ses disciples en crainte révérentielle et les régentz en leur devoir, craignant que à l'improveu ilz ne soient surprins malversant en leur office. Aussi pourra faire ledict principal les jours de feste une leçon publique de quelque bon autheur de haulte gresse.

Aneau appreciated the spirit of the truism, *mens sana in corpore sano*, whether or not he was acquainted with the signification that we are now accustomed to give to the celebrated maxim. For that reason he inserts a paragraph concerning the nourishment of his pupils, which is as interesting as it is unusual.

"Quant à l'oeconomie et nourriture des enfans," he continues, "ilz seront nourriz souffisamment et plus honnestement que superfluellement, et entretenuz nectement, tant pour l'éducation que pour



la faulte. Pour laquelle chose faire n'y aura point de femmes; car c'est une poste en ung colliege; mais ung bon proviseur ou dispensateur, ung cuysinier net et rez de tout poil avec ongles; et deux marmitons à faire les lictz, servir à table, et laver la vaisselle."

Finally, with two more items—one which concerns the protection of the pupils, and the other their conduct in public—Aneau brings his interesting formulary to a close.

"Item, ung portier à garder une seule porte qui sera la porte moyenne de l'alée vers rue Neufve en droict de la court du puy, auquel lieu fauldra édifier une petite loge audict portier à la mode de Paris par les fenestres de la première classe, et aussi veoir les allans et venans. Aux actes publiques, comme allant à la messe, au sermon, en procession, mectre ledict principal si bon ordre avec ses régens que les disciples, estans exposez aux yeulx du publicq, ne causeront ny scandelle ne deshonneur." And he closes with these words: "A l'ayde de Dieu, donateur de toutes graces."

After reading this remarkable document, we can easily understand why Aneau was so highly esteemed by the Echevins of Lyons, in spite of the attacks of his implacable enemies. Only two months later, Charles de Sainte-Marthe—*Sarmatanis*—who was then a regent in the Collège de la Trinité, "est venu au présent Consulat exhiber certains articles contenans la forme de régir et gouverner ledict coliege." The Consulate ordered him "le conférer avec les articles qu'a baillés M<sup>re</sup> Barthélemy Aneau."<sup>44</sup>

For twenty-one years, with slight interruptions, Aneau remained at the head of the Collège de la Trinité and enjoyed the respect of his students and the esteem of the Consulate until his death. After that, the Echevins were careful to insert in their contract with the Jesuits, to whose care the college was then confided, many of the articles of the above formulary. Whatever may be our opinion of Aneau as a poet, we must confess our frank admiration for him as a scholar and educator. He devoted his greatest efforts to the development of the college and to the instruction of his students, who remained faithful to him until the end.

(To be continued.)

JOHN L. GERIG

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

<sup>44</sup> *Archives communales de Lyon*, BB58, fol. 88. For Sainte-Marthe, see the scholarly thesis of Dr. C. Ruutz-Rees, Columbia Univ. Press, 1910.

## MISCELLANEOUS

*DANTE: PURGATORIO XIII, 49 ff.:*

E poi che fummo un poco più avanti,  
Udi' gridar: *Maria, ora per noi,*  
Gridar: *Michele, e Pietro, e tutti i santi.*

Dante, on his way through the second circle of Purgatory, that of the envious, encounters souls who utter the words italicized above, words which form their prayer addressed to the Virgin Mary, to the Archangel Michael, to St. Peter and to all the Saints. It has generally been assumed that the words are part of the Litany of the Saints. Thus Scartazzini (Leipzig ed. of the *Purgatorio*) gives the note: "queste anime cantano le litanie de' Santi, nelle quali all' invocazione di Maria si fa succedere quella dell' Arcangelo Michele. . . . Le anime che quì piangono l'invidia, hanno in dispregio i miseri spartimenti delle eredità terrene, pensano alla celeste eredità partecipata, e non diminuita, da' figliuoli di Dio, e a tutti i possessori di quella eredità si raccomandano amorosamente colle *Litanie de' Santi*," etc. Scartazzini, following Perez (*Sette Cerchi*, p. 146), is interpreting the present passage in view of a later one, *Purgatorio* XV, 49 ff., which deals with the idea that through community of enjoyment the amount of heavenly bliss is not in any way diminished. Now, it seems just a trifle far-fetched to find any necessary connection between these two passages. Of course there is no reason why the penitent souls in this circle should not, in their prayers, call upon all the holy inhabitants of Heaven for aid; the *Litany of the Saints* is still one of the penances often enjoined in the Confessional upon penitents, and the prayer is no more out of place here than are, in other places of the *Purgatorio*, the *Misere* (V, 24), the *Salve Regina* (VII, 82), the *Te lucis ante* (VIII, 13), the *Te Deum Laudamus* (IX, 140), the Paraphrase of the *Lord's Prayer* (XI, 1), etc. But is it not a natural thing to suppose that the souls may simply be repeating here the second half of the *Confiteor*: "there-

fore I beseech the *blessed Mary* ever Virgin, the blessed *Michael* the archangel, the blessed John the Baptist, the holy apostles *Peter* and Paul, and *all the saints*, to *pray* to the Lord our God for me"? The words actually uttered by the souls form a large part of the second half of the *Confiteor*; they form a very small part of the *Litany of the Saints*. It should be said that Torraca and Casini accept the explanation given also by Scartazzini. Perhaps, however, it is not amiss to raise the question.

J. D. M. FORD.

#### NOTE ON THE FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN RUMANIAN

UNDER this title Mr. E. H. Tuttle published in *Modern Philology*, July, 1909, pp. 23-25, an article dealing with the derivation of Rumanian *sută*, the origin of the Rumanian supine, and the treatment of the group *sc*. The fact is interesting, indicating as it does that Rumanian, the Cinderella of the Romance tongues, is beginning to receive her share of attention on the part of American philologists. However, as is natural with a new subject and one which requires a preparation quite different from that of the average Romance scholar, the chances for error are numerous. Mr. Tuttle tells us, for instance, that Albanian "counts even tens as scores," whereas this is not the case, cf. Gegic *n'izet*, *Katerθet*, *gaštθet*, etc. Again, Mr. Tuttle would explain *sută* < Old Bulgarian *sŭto*, thru a form *\*sotă*, whose *o* would have changed to *u* in the same way as Latin *o* gives Rumanian *u*. The parallel is inexact, for most words showing *u* for Latin *o* are either explained by Vulgar Latin forms in *u*, or else have undergone the influence of analogy. At any rate *\*sotă*, could only have given *\*soată*, not *sută*. I do not think that *cumătru*, to which I suppose Mr. Tuttle refers when he writes "there is at least one other case when it [Slavic *ŭ*] makes *u*," is in exactly the same situation as *sută*. Its *u* may be due to the influence of Bulgarian *kumŭ*, *kuma*<sup>1</sup> (with which compare *kupetra*) and not unlikely also that of Rumanian *cuscru*, *cusurin*. Moreover, modern Rumanian knows only the accentuation *cumă'tru* while the *u* in *su'tă* is stressed.

The reason why Meyer-Lübke (as also Miklosich, Ascoli and

<sup>1</sup> Densusianu, *Hist. de la langue roumaine*, I, 275.

Gustav Meyer<sup>2</sup>) has rejected the derivation of *sută* from Old Slavonic *sŭto* is obvious: the form we should in all likelihood expect in the case of a regular phonetic development would be *stă'u* (with the loss of *ŭ*, cf. the common Slavic *sto*, and the same treatment of *o* as in Hungarian *to'* > Rumanian *tău*). Even the atonic form of the Slavic word for hundred (Bulgarian *dve'astea*, *tri'sta*, *če'tiristo-*) does not help much to explain Rumanian *sută*, as the insertion of *u* and the change of accent in the Rumanian word would still remain unexplained.

In the note on the supine Mr. Tuttle thinks that Jensen's theory of an Albanian influence is "far fetched" in spite of the fact that the so-called supine is preceded by *de*, Albanian *per*, and that these two prepositions present a most remarkable parallel. His drawing into the argument the Old Bulgarian infinitive is misleading, as the Bulgarian and Rumanian infinitives have not the same syntax. The great majority of Bulgarian participles end in *nŭ*, thus rendering, even on Mr. Tuttle's ground, more unlikely the otherwise improbable influence of the Bulgarian past passive participle. The whole question is not so much one of phonetic influence as one of comparative syntax.

It is not so certain that the change *šč* > *st* is due to Slavic influence, though this is possible. This change affects the inherited Latin, but on the other hand we do not find it so generally followed in Rumanian formations like *cășcioară*.<sup>3</sup> Meyer-Lübke regards the preservation of *šč* besides *št* as dialectal. If the change of *šč* to *št* were due to Slavic influence, we should expect for it the same prevalence as, for instance, of the change of initial *e* to *ie*. *Adhuc sub iudice lis est*.

FELICIU VEXLER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

<sup>2</sup> G. Meyer, *Alban. Studien*, II, 12; Ascoli in *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, Suppt. II (1895), 132. Ascoli's contention that the form *insutŭt*, with *t*, proves *sută* of Ante-Roman origin does not bear examination, as *t* is preserved also in *inșeptŭt*, cf. *inșesit*.

<sup>3</sup> Tiktin in Gröber's *Grundriss*<sup>4</sup> I, no. 98, p. 447; no. 115, p. 448.

## MANTUA = MADRID

IN Juan Nicasio Gallego's ode, *El dos de Mayo*, the third stanza reads as follows:

¡ Ay, que cual débil planta  
Que agota en su furor horrible viento,  
De víctimas sin cuento  
Lloró la destrucción Mantua afligida!  
Yo ví, yo ví su juventud florida  
Correr inerme al huésped ominoso.  
¿ Mas qué su generoso  
Esfuerzo pudo? El pérfido caudillo  
En quien su honor y su defensa fía,  
La condenó al cuchillo.  
¿ Quién ¡ay! la alevosía,  
La horrible asolación habrá que cuente,  
Que, hollando de amistad los santos fueros,  
Hizo furioso en la indefensa gente  
Ese tropel de tigres carniceros?

A recent editor comments on Mantua (1.4) in these words: "The Italian town of this name was taken by Napoleon in 1797, after a famous siege." True, but why should Gallego devote the greater part of his poem to the harrowing details of an Italian siege (granted that his words could possibly apply to a siege) when he is supposed to be writing about a well-known insurrection in Madrid? Mantua is, of course, the poetical name of the Spanish Capital. In the Romantic period there was a journal published at Madrid called *El Mantuano Guerrero*, and in our own times we have a worthy successor of *Figaro* who is pleased to style himself *El Bachiller Mantuano* (Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín). Mira de Amescua, in *La hija de Carlos Quinto* (Act II), explains the origin of such an appellation as follows—those who prefer sober prose may turn to a discussion of the matter in Mesonero Romanos' *El antiguo Madrid* (pp. iii-iv):

Esta opinión desde Grecia  
entre otros hizo venir

en Babilonios de leños (*sic*),  
 del mal errante pensil,  
 á vno, hijo de Tiberio,  
 Rey de los Latinos, y  
 de la celebrada Monta, (Manto)  
 por quien se vino á dezir  
 Mantua, nombre que mudaron  
 los Bárbaros en Madrid . . .

As a bibliographical curiosity (in my possession), attention may be called here to an English version of *El dos de Mayo: The second of May. An elegy. Translated from the Spanish of Don J. N. Gallego. Into English verse. By William Casey, Philomath. Land-Surveyor, late Professor of English at the College of Mahon. . . . Dedicated to his scholar El Señor Don Juan Evangelista de Erro. Barcelona: By John Pferrer, Royal Printer. 1819 (8 pp.)*. As an example of the work produced by the pedestrian muse of this land-surveyor and professor of English, I quote his translation of the stanza printed above:

As tender plants parch'd by an Artic breeze,  
 Which in its fury quivers rocks and trees,  
 Such *Mantua* in her num'rous offspring sees.  
 I saw, I did, her florid youth assail  
 Th'ominous Guest; but what did it avail?  
 Unarm'd they ran to work the gen'rous deed:  
 The guilty leader them condemn'd to bleed.  
 His word of honour and defence they nurs'd,  
 He tender'd all; then how could they but trust?  
 Who can depict, what pen can ever trace  
 The direful havoc which that bloody race  
 Made in defenceless people, who behold  
 The hungry wolf amid the timid fold?

MILTON A. BUCHANAN

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*The Decameron: its Sources and Analogues.* By A. C. LEE. London, David Nutt, 1909. 8vo, pp. xvi + 363.

*Boccaccio and his Imitators in German, English, French, Spanish, and Italian Literature: "The Decameron."* By FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE JONES, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Illinois. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Quarto, pp. iv, 46.

When so much has been done in recent years in the collecting, sifting, and categorizing of folk-tales, a tempting task for the student of comparative literature is to devote a book to the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio, in which each story could be taken as the kernel of an investigation of the particular theme to which it belongs. This would afford an opportunity to show at once Boccaccio's artistic treatment of his material, and the influence of his work as a source of literary inspiration. Such a study would imply a wide first-hand acquaintance with the literature of folk-lore; an equally wide acquaintance with Occidental literature, medieval and modern; and a familiarity with the results of the investigation of a variety of literary problems, to which scholars, in fields as widely removed as Romance, Germanic, Semitic and Slavonic philology have contributed their share.

Not one of these requirements seems to be possessed by the author of *The Decameron; Its Sources and Analogues*. His "List of Principal Works Referred To" contains nothing but a few of the obvious standard works, collections or investigations, devoted to storiology, in which the names of Köhler, Cosquin, Rajna and Vesselofsky are noticeable by their absence. To note the sins of omission in the body of the work would call for a book in itself; while a correction of the sins of commission would demand another supplementary volume. Effective use could have been made of the works, known to Mr. Lee, but what the reader of the book finds is nothing but the indiscriminate contents of a commonplace-book, in which discredited authorities are cited at second hand, antiquated editions quoted, and analogues referred to, which have nothing to do with the story under discussion; in short, a collection of unconnected notes, more confusing than informing. A very few samples will show Mr. Lee's small acquaintance with either the methods or results of modern scholarship. He knows nothing further about Benvenuto da Imola's commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, than the passages cited in Manni's *Istoria del Decamerone*, and the translation of Tambrini, i. e., Tamburini (3, 23, 179), being quite ignorant of the worthlessness of the Italian translation, and of Lacaita's edition of the Latin text. The *Gesta Romanorum*, probably compiled in England about the year 1300 is "a work ascribed to Petrus Berchorius, a Benedictine prior who died at Paris 1362" (7). The author of the Latin *Dolopathos* is known as Jean de Haute-Seille, and not as an indefinite "monk of the Abbey of Haute-Selve," and the French translator's name was Herbert not "Hebers" (67). The

translation by Laurent de Premierfait, "Laurens du Premierfait," of the *Decamerone* was not made in 1521 (109) but a century and more earlier. When a writer refers to the possibility that the source of Boccaccio's version of the "Purgatory of Cruel Beauties" (G. V, N. 8) is to be sought in the *Vers de la Mort* of Helinant (166); when he writes "Odo of Shirton" (112), instead of "Sheriton"; when he distinguishes "the 'Liber de donis' of Étienne de Bourbonne," from "the work of Stephen of Bourbon" or "Etienne de Bourbon," "called 'The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit'" (cf. 233, 4, 6, 209, 306); when he only knows the works of Marie de France in Roquefort's edition (161, 244, 278, 279, 313, 354), the *Ruodlieb* in Grimm and Schmeller's *Lateinische Gedichte* (303), and Enikel's *Chronik* in the few extracts given in v. Hagen's *Gesammtabentauer* (11, 278, 292); and when he shows his ignorance of medieval literature by a thousand similar errors, his book which treats largely of just that period of literary history can scarcely be considered seriously. The contribution of English scholarship to Romance studies, with a few brilliant exceptions, has been of a negative quality, and works like the book under criticism do not aid in the improvement of the situation. It is a pity that the head of the publishing house issuing the volume, whose activities in the cause of Romance and comparative literature are so commendable, has been so badly advised as to publish this uncritical compilation.

Miss Jones's work is less ambitious than Mr. Lee's; as it is only a list of the imitations of the stories of the *Decamerone*, and of the dramas, poems, operas, and even paintings inspired by the work of Boccaccio. Although there are omissions in these different categories, too numerous to note, the book has the merit of allowing the reader to see at a glance the results of the investigations of various scholars, known to Miss Jones, who has, moreover, given an independent value to her work by marking with a star the imitations that she has been able to read herself. For this reason one understands why she does not star versions of stories, found in collections of popular folk-tales, which did not have their source in Boccaccio's versions, as is at once evident to one who has the opportunity to read them. In both her introduction and list the author has been unfortunate in going counter to the unanimous opinion of Chaucerian scholars, in her assurance that the English poet was indebted to the *Decamerone* for six of the stories and the frame-work of the *Canterbury Tales*. What is more surprising is to find the *Heptaméron* not mentioned a single time, although its professed model was the *Decamerone*, even if it was only indebted to it for two of its stories (Cf. *Dec.* VII, 6; VIII, 4; *Hept.* I, 6 & 8). An Old-French miracle, an analogue, and not an imitation of *Dec.* II, 9 is properly known as *Le miracle d'Oton, roi d'Espagne* and not as *Le Miracle de Notre Dame*, "Comment le roi d'Espagne perdit sa terre" and its date is c. 1380, and not 1498. The volume of Lami's *Novelle letterarie* (XVII) containing "La Pianella" was published in 1756, not 1755, and the story, printed from a fourteenth century manuscript, was probably derived from the same source as Boccaccio's version. Miss Jones may well question whether Uhland's *Die Todten von Lustnau* was an imitation of *Dec.* X, 4; Liebrecht's study on the cycle, of which both stories are a version, settles that difficulty (*Zur Volkskunde*, 54 ff.).

G. L. H.



*Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par JOSEPH VIANEY. Travaux et Mémoires de Montpellier, série littéraire III. Montpellier, Coulet, 1909.

It is forbidden to the Gallic *savant* to be uninteresting even when most erudite. This work, accordingly, which is occupied with the technical task of establishing the parallel between French and Italian Petrarchism, and determining the precise limits of French indebtedness, becomes a thoroughly readable chapter in the history of French literature. M. Vianey has no patriotic bias, and allows the fact to transpire on every page that if we look to ideas, then the French poets of the sixteenth century can make little or no claim to originality. From Marot, who fell in love with Serafino dell' Aquila at Ferrara, to Desportes, whose *livres de chevet* were the *Rime* of Pamphilo Sasso and of Tebaldeo, one and all were on the alert to catch the latest breath of literary fashion that might blow northward across the Alps. Out of the 115 sonnets of *l'Olive*, for example, barely 40 are not imitations; and that only 100 out of 430 sonnets of Desportes should be direct translations, comes to seem to M. Vianey very moderate.

M. Vianey makes it clear that the Italian Petrarchists, and not Petrarch, were the admired models; and he divides the history of French Petrarchism into three periods (which make the first three of the five chapters in his book) according to the Italian masters followed in each. During the first of them, which extends up to the publication of *l'Olive* in 1549, Serafino and Tebaldeo were the arbiters; and the pages devoted to summarizing their fantastic extravagances and conceits, which constituted the fund on which the French poets drew, are the most delightful in the book. Bembo rules the second period, which produced *l'Olive*, and the *Amours* of Ronsard, of Baïf, and of Magny (and also Du Bellay's ode *Contre les Pétrarquistes*, which was itself, however, but the reflection of a passing Italian mood), and his influence was salutary, especially as to perfection of form. But it did not endure, and the third epoch, of which Desportes was king and which saw appear the exquisite *Sonnets pour Hélène*, expressed a reaction towards preciosity, as exemplified by the Serafino of the hour, Angelo di Costanzo.

The concluding chapters are entitled respectively: *Le lyrisme chrétien chez les pétrarquistes français du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, and *La méditation historique et la satire chez les pétrarquistes français du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, and reveal the fact that in these forms of expression, likewise, French poetry was abreast of the newest Italian mode. The *Muse chrestienne*, which was a Catholic counterblast to the Huguenot poetry of du Bartas and d'Aubigné,—and which apparently had to include a number of quite secular sonnets, so they only made complaint against gold or woman!—had its prototype in many an Italian volume of *Rime spirituali*. And even Du Bellay, the most original spirit of the *Pléiade*, though indeed the first Frenchman to sing

L'antique honneur du peuple à longue robbe,

was by no means the first man; while the subjective melancholy, the freedom of personal confession enfranchized from convention, which we hail in *les Regrets*, are foreshadowed in the *Cento Sonetti di M. Alisandro Piccolomini*, published at Rome in 1549.

But M. Vianey's conclusion is, though he confesses to having passed through a period of disillusionment at the results of his investigations, that the master-

pieces of French Petrarchism generously redeem its plagiarisms. Moreover, French Petrarchism had its own originality,—an independence in the matter of poetic forms. These it never took without modification. Maurice Scève borrowed the Italian *strambotto*, but expanded its eight lines into ten; the sonnet was undergoing continual reshaping. Indeed, by picking out and assembling the statements scattered through the pages of this book, we get a complete history of the development of the sonnet-form in France. From the first, the Italian rigidity of sestet was defied, Marot actually using the particular grouping always forbidden to the Italians (CC DEED or CDDC EE, either of which transforms the sonnet from an octave plus two tercets into three quatrains plus a couplet); and we trace its development thence in the hands of various craftsmen, until Ronsard fixed the form with *Francine* (1555) into something which M. Vianey suggests is perhaps not strictly a sonnet at all,—i. e., fourteen lines of Alexandrine verse, with invariable alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes, and the use of the forbidden “Marotic” sestet.

M. Vianey makes a great point of the considerable rôle played in the history of French Petrarchism by the Italian anthologies which were continually appearing; and his appendix contains a list of the most important of them arranged in the chronological order of their publication. A chronological list of the chief works published by the French and Italian Petrarchists between the years 1499 and 1600, completes the matter of the appendix. There is also an alphabetical index.

There are a few misprints, such as *lontemps* on page 88 and *pétrasquisme* on page 294, and one other (page 284) so happy as to deserve quotation in its context, especially as it occurs in a sentence which in some sort sums up M. Vianey's attitude toward this whole question of French originality:

“Disons enfin que si certains de nos pétrarquistes ont pris leur bien chez les Italiens avec un *sang gêne* qui dépasse toutes les bornes permises, beaucoup ont eu plus de discrétion qu'on ne le soutient en général, et plusieurs ont réussi à se créer une manière vraiment personnelle.”

RUTH SHEPARD PHELPS

*Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume V.* By CLARENCE W. ALVORD. Springfield, Illinois, 1909. 1 + 681 pp.

This volume offers a large number of original documents, whose bearing on the early relations between the French of Illinois and the British government on the one hand and the revolutionists on the other, is of great importance. The French spelling in these documents offers material for dialect study. The picture drawn of the gradual intrusion of the “Americans,” of the justice and consideration with which they were treated by the French, of their aggressions, of their seizure of power and of the long succession of crimes committed by them against the French, is one which cannot easily be forgotten. We see here the trickery, duplicity and baseness of such “American pioneers” as Thomas Bentley, John Todd, John Dodge, while George Rogers Clark (who has recently been nominated for the Hall of Fame!) appears in something like his true colors. It is difficult for a citizen of the Republic to read these pages and not blush with shame and anger at the crimes of his ancestors.

R. W.

*Estienne Forcadel, un juriste, historien et poète vers 1550.* By CHARLES OULMONT. Toulouse, 1907. 8vo, pp. 39.

The fame of Estienne Forcadel rests mainly on the fact that he was preferred for a professorship of law by the faculty of Toulouse to the great Cujas. He has been well characterised as a *mauvais jurisconsulte, mais pire poète*. Patriotic Toulousans have long protested against this reproach cast upon their university, and many have attempted to prove that it is unjust.<sup>1</sup> It is needless to add that M. Oulmont, influenced by civic patriotism, maintains that this celebrated dispute "n'est qu'une légende." He advances as proof for this statement that towards the end of 1554—the year when the controversy is supposed to have taken place—Cujas was already at Bourges, and that it was two years later, the 7th of September, 1556, when Forcadel was elected unanimously to this professorship. Notwithstanding this argument, documents in the archives of the Parliament of Toulouse<sup>2</sup> show that Cujas was a candidate for the place. The Parliament of Toulouse was regarded by all humanists as more conservative than that of Paris. We can easily pardon the Faculty of Law for this earlier error of judgment in view of the invitation later extended to Cujas, and the esteem in which it held the great jurists, François Roaldès and Guillaume Maran.

M. Oulmont's study is very well presented. His style is elegant and persuasive, but unfortunately his bibliography must be consulted with caution. In the first place, he is apparently unaware of the fact that a serious study on Forcadel was published in the *Revue des Pyrénées* in 1894 by M. Fontès—the same review in which his own article first appeared. Furthermore, though we have little information on the life of Forcadel, M. Oulmont fails to note two important documents communicated by M. Soucaille to the *Revue des Sociétés savantes* (Series VII, Vol. I, 1880, pp. 123-6). In a prefatory note to these documents, M. A. Longnon expresses the opinion that they prove conclusively that La Croix du Maine and other biographers of Forcadel are wrong in stating that the poet died in 1573. One of these documents consists of an ordinance of Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, dated July 12, 1585, and directed against the three brothers, François Estienne, and Pierre Forcadel. According to M. Longnon, this Estienne Forcadel is our poet, and Pierre is his brother, the celebrated professor of mathematics of the Collège Royal of Paris. But the *Lettres patentes*, published by M. Lefranc in his *Histoire du Collège de France* (p. 349), prove that Pierre Forcadel died before February 16, 1574. Furthermore, the *Prometheus, sive de raptu animorum dialogus*—of which the printing was finished on the 24th of July, 1578—was dedicated by Pierre Forcadel to his late father. Inasmuch as Gérard d'Imbert addresses Estienne Forcadel a sonnet in 1578 (cf. his *Sonets exotiques* no. 78), we are forced to agree with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially the article of Bénéch on *Cujas et Toulouse* in the *Mélanges de Droit* (Paris, 1857, pp. 3-179), where the learned author, in a reply to the contention of Berriat Saint-Prix, attempts to prove that Cujas "n'a jamais échoué dans la dispute d'une régence de droit civil à l'université de Toulouse, que s'il ne s'est pas arrêté dans sa ville natale en 1554, c'est à cause du peu d'émoluments attachés aux régences de l'Université de Toulouse" (p. 39).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. those of the 17th of Feb. and the 5th of April, 1554, folios 247 and 360; and also folios 676-7-8 concerning Cujas and Rossel (Aug. 23, 1555, and March 14, 1556).

M. Oulmont that he must have died in 1578, probably in the early part of the year.

It becomes obvious then that the Pierre Forcadel of the document of 1585 is the above-mentioned son of Estienne, and is perhaps the one who died, according to M. Oulmont (p. 4), before 1595. His brother, François, "docteur en droictz et advocat au siège de Béziers," was killed in a riot in Béziers on the 14th of June, 1604 (cf. *Rev. des Soc. sav.*, *ibid.*). Of the third brother, Estienne, we learn from another document published by M. Soucaille (*Recherches sur les anciennes pestes à Béziers*, 1884, p. 81) that he took part in a meeting of the city council of Béziers on November 26, 1591, and that he was still *conseiller au Présidial* of that city in 1607, as M. Oulmont shows.<sup>5</sup>

In the part devoted to the work of Forcadel, M. Oulmont makes first a brief and judicious review of his legal studies. He is, however, wrong in considering the 1550 edition of the *Penus juris civilis* as the first edition of this work. There is in the Library of Bordeaux (Jur. 702a, 10201), an edition published in 1542, entitled *Stephani Forcatuli Penus iuris civilis ad rem alimentariam*, Lugduni, M. Parmenterius, 1542, 4to.

Arnauld du Ferrier, to whom the prefatory letter of this work is addressed, was professor of law at Toulouse in 1536<sup>4</sup> and had the honor of being the teacher of both Cujas and Forcadel. Other legal works of Forcadel unknown to M. Oulmont are the following: *Oratio Stephani Forcatuli, publici in Academia Tolosana legum professoris. Ex offic. Jac. Colomerii, acad. Tolosana typ.* 1556, which is his inaugural address; *Lectiones aliquot juris*,<sup>5</sup> delivered at Toulouse from 1561 to 1563; and the *Ad Legem fructus percipiendo de usu*, 1575, Carpentras, MS. 227.

In discussing the historical works of Forcadel, M. Oulmont cites no earlier edition of the *De Gallorum imperio* than that of 1595, whereas there were at least two previous editions, one, according to the catalogue Potier, published in 1579 in Paris by Guill. Chaudière (4to), and the other, according to the catalogue Claudin (December, 1882), in 1580 by the same printer (Cf. Bibl. Sunderlandiana, No. 4656). Finally, the *Chant des Seraines*, of which M. Oulmont mentions only the edition of Gilles Corrozet (Paris, 1548), was published simultaneously by Jean de Tournes (Lyons, 1548, 8vo, pp. 120) and by Arnoul l'Angelier (Paris, 1548, 16mo).<sup>6</sup> He fails, also, to note the words, *avec plusieurs compositions nouvelles*, in the title of this work, which prove that there must have been an edition before 1548. The 1574 edition of the *Montmorency Gaulois* is not the first edition of this work, for there is in the Library of Berne (W, 5, 7<sup>o</sup> pièce) a copy published by Jean de Tournes in 1571 (4to of 29 pages).

M. Oulmont calls Emile Perrot *sénateur* (p. 17) and speaks of the *Sénat*

<sup>5</sup> P. 5. M. Oulmont is not aware of his relationship with our poet.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Buche, *Lettres de Jean de Boyssonné*, *Revue des Langues romanes*, 1895, p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> Carpentras, ms. 204. Cf. also Lambert, I, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> For these two editions, see Picot, *Catalogue de la Bibl. Rothschild*, IV., and the catalogue Techener, 1889. The latter catalogue contains the following note "Forcadel a ajouté à ses poésies l'Extraict d'un petit traité (en vers) sur le fait de la réformation de la superfluité des habits des dames de Paris, par Alphonse de Beser, jadis, abbé de Livry, qu'il dit avoir trouvé dans un vieux ms. en la librairie de Vauluysant."

*de Toulouse* (p. 18). This is merely a mistranslation of the Latin, for there were no *sénateurs* or *sénats* at this time, but *conseillers* and *parlements*. Jean Bertrand mentioned on page 9, is without doubt Jean Bertrandi, first president of the Parliament of Paris, who administered the oath of office to the *conseillers* of Toulouse.<sup>1</sup>

J. L. G.

*Das Handschriftenverhältnis des Covenant Vivian.* By WILLY SCHULZ. Halle, 1908.

This volume includes a discussion and classification of the nine manuscripts available of the *Covenant Vivien* (the author's spelling *Vivian* is an affectation. The better title, as Mr. A. Terracher has shown, is *Chevalerie Vivien*)<sup>1</sup>. In the course of his argument, the author has to cite many passages from the MSS. It is noted with regret that these citations are full of errors. He was evidently set to copying the MSS. without due previous training in paleography. If this supposition be correct, he is less to be blamed than those who allowed him to undertake such difficult work.

The following corrections of the author's readings are offered. On p. 16 and elsewhere, the reading should be *molt* (with a rare possibility at times of *mout*), instead of *moult*. The suggestion of: *Il li fera* is in every manner impossible. On p. 17, l. *Aerofles* for MSS. A and B. Under line 581, why is *gresles* given? One should read *grailles* and *ij grailles*. Line 476: from this text one could never tell the reading of the MSS. P. 18: A has *getes* in l. 1179. P. 20: second l. from the bottom: *il*, instead of *ils*; last l.: instead of *et son frere Laisnez*, read: *l'aisnez*; in same l., MS. D<sup>1</sup> has: *nez*. In the last l. of the note, the MS. has *jour*. P. 21: l. 483: *Enfondit* should be written *En fandit*, as in the MS.; similarly, here and wherever it occurs, *par mi*. In l. 484: *anfes*; 487: *mora* and *nes*. Under l. 475, *Malsoræ* is followed in the MS. by a period, indicating that the name is abbreviated. This should be shown. The full name was undoubtedly meant to be trisyllabic. In l. 615, MS. A has *perse*, not *perce*. P. 22: several of the readings of the MSS. for lines 464 ss. are erroneous. For example: l. 464: MS. A has *halt*, and in l. 468, *mora*; B, in this same l. has *corones* and not *couronnes*; E has in l. 465 the abbreviation for *Jhesu*, not *Jehus*, and has *vous*; in l. 469, this MS. bears *asis*, not *assis*; MSS. d have, in l. 468: *leur . . . escrie*, and the first l. quoted from D<sup>1</sup> has *vous*. P. 23: often one cannot tell from what MS. the text is given, as here for l. 1045 ss. It is safe to say, however, that, in the first verse cited one should read *Guillaumes*, and, in the last, *cuens*. P. 24: under ll. 1595, 1596, if the author is going to read *enfressi* for B, he should read *entreci* for D<sup>1</sup>; the reading for D<sup>2</sup> is: *Tout le porfent*, and for B, *detrenche*; in the last l. but one on the page, the words should be *ainssi, vous*. P. 25: the discussion of *i uoit* (or *voit*) and the nominative case is due to a mistaken reading by the author, who took *iuoit* (*juoit*) for *i uoit*, thus seeing difficulties that are not in the text. MS. D<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the documents of 1549 and April 15, 1551, in Bibl. Nat. Mss. fr., 4402, pp. 55 and 90, and also Buche, *ibid.*, 1894, p. 328. For Pierre Forcadel, see the article of Dr. R. L. Hawkins of Harvard in the *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, 1905, pp. 663-5.

<sup>2</sup> The author, however, has recently made a careful defense of the title as he gives it: vid. *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXXV (1910), pp. 171-178.

bears: *Jooit Bertrans et ses oncles Guillelme*, and not: *I uoit Bertran*, etc., and B has: *Li quens Guillelmes* (or *Guillaumes*) *juoit a Peschekier*, and not *L. j. G. i uoit* (or *voit*), etc. P. 33: the word *mes* has been omitted (perhaps by the printer?) from the line cited under 314<sup>a</sup>; two lines further, instead of *frans* the two MSS. mentioned have *serjanz* and *serjant* (*i* being of course transcribed *j*). P. 35: in the three lines from MS. E, *teste* is to be corrected to *tieste*, and *Guiborc* to *Guibors*. P. 36: in the third l., read: *chite*. P. 38: in the third l. of poetry cited, the author has corrected *del* to *des* without indicating the fact. P. 39, in the first l. quoted one should read *adire* as a single word, similarly on p. 44. P. 42: under l. 1877, A has *cel*, not *del*, and E has *rirai . . . capler*, not *irai . . . chapler*. P. 43: under ll. 539-41, *parmi* and *enmi*, as elsewhere, might better be written *par mi* and *en mi*; the hyphen in *Inde Superior* is contrary to the genius of the language, and is doubly objectionable in Old French; in the last l. cited, the MS. bears *missaudor*. P. 44: under l. 590, it is preferable to read *consuit* (similarly in the second l. on the page), and *del*, instead of *de le*; the MS., it is true, contains an error, the scribe having apparently taken the initial *t* of *tranchant* for a *c*, but in no case can one read: *de le*; the reading of E is *aprese*, and not as given. Under ll. 690, 691, A has: *cant il meurt . . . regreteis*; the spelling *honme* near the middle of this page calls for some comment. The author has repeatedly assimilated a nasal in the abbreviation to the following consonant. He should adopt a consistent practice, whatever it is. In the reading from B near the bottom of the page, the MS. has *Voir*, not *Voire*. P. 45: the reading for l. 395 is given thus: B(E: . . . *el vrai roi Jehu Crist*, which is neither the reading for B nor for E. The first of these MSS. has: *le vrai roi Jhesu Crist*, and the second: *el crois Jhesu Cris*. In the middle of this page is found the form *Arverne*; from what MS.? I do not know any MS. with this form; even if there be one, why go so far afield to seek such an untypical form? Is it because the more barbarous the spelling, the more learned it is supposed to be? Under 654<sup>a</sup>, *une* should of course be *une*, and is probably an error of the printer. A little farther on, under the reading of E, the MS. bears *sanglent*, and the fourth l. from the bottom of the page should have *estei* (reading of A), or *este* (that of C). P. 46, l. 699: if the reading here is from A, the last word in the l. should be *prei*. C, to be sure, has *pre*. The reading of B as given here should bear *Franchois*. P. 47: in the fourth l. on the page, the text of B has *verites*. In the following l., one should read *poons*, and in the l. below that, *dou ge* is preferable to *douge*. Under l. 1014, the abbreviation indicates *quest*, that is: *qu'est*. P. 49: instead of: *elme a la coife doree*, the MS. mentioned bears: *hiame, tante coife doree*. P. 50: ll. 459, 460: B has *arives*, not *armes*. P. 51: in the second l. the word should be *tenrement*. In the reading given for l. 665, E has *gieron*; the words *la tente*, under l. 856, should be *sa tente*, according to C. The argument concerning the verb in l. 1087 (cf. p. 65) is absolutely valueless. Besides, the MSS. cited under the rubric Ex have all the nominative case for the past participle. P. 52: under B, the text bears: *He Gerars*, and this l. is followed by one which the author omits for some reason: *Vos me devies le secors amener*. The omission should have been indicated. P. 53: the fifth l. on the page reads in the MS.: *A tant e vos lor*. The fact that the line is unintelligible is hardly a reason

for not giving it as it stands. Under E, at the middle of the page, the second l. has in the MS. *reprendons*, and the l. following, *bons brans*; the last l. of this citation has a very serious blunder: instead of: *vos ert si grans*, the MS. bears: *u est la grans*. Under l. 1668, read: *Hui mais*. P. 54, l. 94 reads in A: *Et dus et princes, demoinés et chases*. P. 55: l. 513 has: *bran . . . turs*; E has, as the last word in this l., *maris*, not *marsis*; the l. following has *viers*, and the word *paiens* printed by the author in the next l. is entirely lacking in the MS.; in the last l. here cited from this MS., *Paien* should be *Paiens*. The variants of B also include errors: the MS. has in the second l. *achier*, and in the third, *Paien*. Under l. 962, the order of words for MS. B is incorrect; it should be: *En la v. e.* P. 56: the last l. quoted from B in the middle of the page should have *esporon*; at the bottom of the page, the reading of A is: *qui li prist a torner*, and that of B has *glachant*. P. 58, first l.: read *deuommes*; under 1254<sup>a</sup>, E has *ceval*; l. 1351, MS. E: the word is written *grefegne*. P. 59: last two lines: here and everywhere the abbreviation for *Jhesu* has been misread. P. 61: in the second l., the reading should be: *qu'est*; l. 792 ss.: the reading is not *James*, but *Ja mes*, as the syntax shows; *lignages* should be corrected to *linages*. P. 62: in the first l., the MS. bears *Guichars*. P. 63: under l. 1622 ss.: *bran d'acier*. P. 65: l. 1017: instead of *mes*, the word should be *nies*; in l. 1080, MS. E: read *onnore* or *ounore*. P. 69: from what MS. is the form *morrez* taken? Under 1165, E, the MS. has *biaus nies*. P. 72: l. 440: the MS. has *Biax* (or, of course, *Biaus*) *nies Gerart*; l. 390: the MS. bears *Viviens*, and does not have at all the words *se vos*. L. 626: the MS. has: *Viviens l'ot mais sa dolor*, and similarly the next l. includes errors, for MS. B has *suist*: *Viviens l'ot, dolor en ot a chertes*. In the following l., one should read *suist*, and in l. 630, *Fiert lou . . . ensin se desraisme*; in l. 632, the MS. reads *fait*.

What shall be said of these many errors, whose number could easily be increast? Are they in part due to pure carelessness? It is not difficult to become confused among so many manuscripts, so much so, that I may have committed blunders in some of my readings given above. The author may excuse some of his omissions on the ground that it is impossible to offer all the variants, and this is of course perfectly correct. None the less, this much is certain: that the author's volume is, paleographically speaking, full of blunders. In many cases, these errors appear due to his inability to read the manuscripts; in others, however, he seems to have altered at will the real readings, which are so clear that he can not have mistaken them: for example, if l. 1877, cited on p. 42, reads in MS. E: *Et je rirai pries del estor capler*, why state that it reads: *Et je irai pries del estor chapler*?

The author bases a classification of the manuscripts of the *Chevalerie Vivien* on such readings as he offers. Are his conclusions vitiated by the careless and defectiv treatment of the manuscripts? Can one build a firm structure on such insecure foundations? Unfortunately for the scientific standing of our studies, it is possible to erect a fairly strong building on such a foundation, but

<sup>2</sup> Professor H. Suchier says (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIII, p. 49, note 2) that he possesses at Halle copies of all MSS. of our poem, except that at Cheltenham. One wonders if the citations given in the present volume are samples of the MSS. in his possession.

it must be done by avoiding too much weight on minute points. The author occasionally lays too much stress on such points, and his conclusions in these cases must be set aside, at least until they can be verified. In general, however, he draws his conclusions from broader data, and he shows no small skill in this sort of argument.

I agree with the author's statement that Gaudin le brun in *Aliscans* is a relatively late introduction,—a statement advanced by me years ago.<sup>8</sup>

Some valuable remarks concerning the *petit vers* are to be found on p. 14. . . . The force of the argument concerning the Saracen who brings news (p. 33) may well be doubted. . . . The author misunderstands (p. 46) the reasons why the hero's men decline to leave him? . . . The statement about the messenger (pp. 65, 66) is quite unwarranted, as also, in my opinion, the mention of Renoart in connection with the dream (p. 66). . . . The author's general conclusion concerning the text of the *Chevalerie* appears sound (p. 66), and the same may be said of his remarks about MS. A (pp. 67, 68). . . . In conclusion, let it be said that I am far from wishing to discourage Mr. Schulz from continuing his studies in the old epic. His defects are due to carelessness, and to lack of specific knowledge in certain lines. These are matters which time can cure, and we may yet see from his pen work that commands unqualified approval.

R. W.

---

<sup>8</sup> P. 13, note.



# BRIEF REPORT ON AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ROMANCE SCHOLARSHIP IN 1909 (*continued*)

## GENERAL

*The Phonology of Gallic Clerical Latin after the Sixth Century*, by C. C. Rice. Harvard thesis. An introductory historical study based chiefly on Merovingian and Carolingian spelling, and on the forms of Old French loan-words. *Pseudo-Karaibisches*, by L. Wiener, *Zeits. für romanische Philologie*, XXXIII, 5.

## FRENCH

*Les Œuvres de Simund de Freine, publiées d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, by J. E. Matzke, *Soc. des Anciens Textes Français*, LXXXVIII + 187 pp. *Études sur Aliscans* by R. Weeks, *Romania*, XXXVIII (1909), pp. 1-43. *Some Remarks on a Berne Ms. of the Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne*, by H. A. Smith, *same*, pp. 120-8. *The Reconstruction of the original Chanson de Roland*, by F. B. Luquiens, *Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XV (1909), pp. III + 36. *Use of pome in the Old French references of the forbidden fruit*, by O. M. Johnston, *Zeits. für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, XXXV (1909), pp. 56-9. *Pome* is used because *poma* or *pomum* existed already in Latin references to the myth of Tantalus. *The Aesopic Fables in the Miroir Historial of Jehan de Vignay*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Bibliography, by G. E. Snively, Baltimore, J. H. Furst & Co., 8vo, 47 pp. (Johns Hopkins Dissertation). *Chievre-foi*, by Gertrude Schoepperle, *Romania*, XXXVIII, pp. 196-218. *Middle English and French Glosses from ms. Stowe 57*, by R. M. Garrett, *Arch. der neueren Sprachen*, XVII, p. 121. *Analogue of Pierre Pathelin*, by R. Weeks, *Maître Phonétique*, 1909, pp. 67-68. A version of the story in Bengali. *Wyatt and the French Sonneteers*, by J. M. Berdan, *Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, pp. 240-9. Attempts to prove that Saint-Gelais translated a sonnet from Wyatt, and that others of his sonnets show influence of the English author. Prof. Kastner, however, contends, in the same issue, that the two sonnets of Saint-Gelais and Wyatt are modelled on a sonnet of Sannazaro (pp. 249-53). *Notes sur Raulin Séguier, humaniste narbonnais du seizième siècle, et sur Antoine Arlier, de Nîmes*, by J. L. Gerig, *Les Annales du Midi*, XXI (1909), pp. 483-95. *Le Collège de la Trinité à Lyon avant 1540 avec une notice sur Jean Raynier d'Angiers*, by J. L. Gerig, *Revue de la Renaissance*, X (1909), pp. 137-57; 204-15. *Notes sur le vocabulaire de Maupassant et de Mérimée*, by A. Schinz, *Revue des Langues romanes*, LII, pp. 504-31. *Autour d'un accent: Genève et Genevois*, by A. Schinz, *Revue de Philologie française et de Littérature*, XXII, p. 4. *Charles-Augustin de Sainte-Beuve*, by G. M. Harper, *French Men of Letters Series*, Philadelphia, 1909. *The Claims of French Poetry*, by J. C. Bailey, Kennerly, New York, 313 pp., 8vo. Nine studies on Ronsard, Marot, La Fontaine, André Chénier, Hugo, Leconte de Lisle, de Heredia, etc.

## ITALIAN

*Pampinea and Abrotonia*, by E. H. Wilkins, reviewed in *Giornale storico*, LIII, 1. *Was Dante acquainted with Aristoteles' Poetics?*, by W. H. Rogers, *Giornale Dantesco*, XVI, pp. 5-6. A Livingston: *some Italian satiric predicates of the eighteenth century*, reviewed in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* XXIV, p. 4.

## SPANISH

*The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega*, by H. A. Rennert, *Hispanic Society*, New York, XV + 635 pp., 8vo. *El Dómine Lucas of Lope de Vega and some related plays*, by G. T. Northup, *Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, pp. 462-73. Thorough discussion of plays showing a marked resemblance to the one in question. *Short Stories and Anecdotes in Spanish Plays*, by M. A. Buchanan, *Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, pp. 178-84. A careful list of a large number of such stories in the plays of Calderón, Lope de Vega, and contemporaries. *Studies in New Mexican Spanish, I: Phonology*, by A. M. Espinosa, *Revue de Dialectologie romane*, II, pp. 1-116. *Lord Byron's Experiences in the Spanish Peninsula in 1809*, by P. H. Churchman, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1909. *Byron and Espronceda*, by P. H. Churchman, *Revue Hispanique*, XX, pp. 5-210. Influence of Byron on José de Espronceda (1808-1842), 1, in the intellectual domain (ably presented, but not always convincing): 2, in literary matters (Is possibly the influence of French Romanticism greater than the author suspects?); 3, and, finally, concrete borrowings, a chapter that is carefully worked out. According to the Profesor Churchman, Espronceda read Byron in English. Reviews of the recent volumes of the new *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, by H. A. Rennert, *Mod. Language Review*, IV (1909), pp. 422-5. *Review of Le Lyrisme et la Préciosité cultistes en Espagne*, par L. P. Thomas, by M. A. Buchanan, *same*, pp. 551-2. Additional facts. *Review of Chrestomathia archaica*, por J. J. Nunes, by H. R. Lang, *Revista lusitana*, VIII, and cf. *Zeits. für romanische philologie*, XXXIII, 3.

## NOTES AND NEWS

An important change with regard to French and German has been established at Harvard. For many years, French A and German A have been required of all candidates for the A.B. degree. In addition to this, there is now to be a special oral examination in the two languages mentioned, the said examination to precede admission to the Junior class. This new test will make doubly sure that all the students can use French and German freely in literary and scientific courses before the beginning of the studies of the Junior year. A reading, and not a speaking, knowledge is what is to be insisted upon.

All who are interested in discovering the truth concerning the French occupation of territory within the limits of the present United States should read the volume by C. W. Alvord: *Kaskaskia Records*, which is briefly mentioned among our reviews.

Dr. Rudolph Schevill, assistant professor of Spanish at Yale University, has accepted the professorship in Spanish at the University of California.

One of the important appointments of the season is that of Mr. Adolphe Louis Terracher, of the University of Upsala, to be acting-associate professor of French literature at Johns Hopkins. Professor Terracher was one of the most brilliant students of the École Normale, Paris, of the École des Hautes Etudes, and of the Collège de France. His edition of the *Chevalerie Vivien* was noticed in our last number.

Mr. Herbert D. Austin, A.B., A.M., of Princeton, has been appointed instructor in Romance languages at Johns Hopkins.

Mr. Barry Cerf and Mr. C. D. Zdanowicz, instructors in Romance languages at the University of Wisconsin, have been promoted to assistant professorships.

A new series of volumes, to be called the *Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, has been established under the guidance of Professor W. H. Schofield. The first volume is expected to appear in June.

Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa has accepted the call to Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Mr. Homer A. Harvey, of the University of Illinois, has been appointed instructor in Romance languages at Syracuse University.

Those who are interested in Experimental Phonetics will be glad to know the new address of one of the most skilful constructors of fonetic instruments, R. Montalbetti, 141 Boulevard Saint Michel, Paris.

A department of Comparative Literature has been established at Bryn Mawr. It has been placed under the charge of Professor Alfred H. Upham, who has been called from Miami University.

Many will be interested to learn that some time ago the following three societies in England: the Modern Language Association, the Classical Association and the Association of Assistant Masters, passed resolutions that French should be the second language studied by English boys.

Professor John M. Burnam, of Cincinnati University, will spend next year in Europe, where he will continue work on his forthcoming treatise on Iberian Paleography, a treatise which will be of the greatest value to Romance scholars.

The death of Professor Adolf Tobler at Berlin was announced on the eighteenth of March, 1910. The first of April had been selected as the date of his retirement from his long service, and Professor Heinrich Morf had been appointed his successor at the University of Berlin.

Mr. Louis Imbert, of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed instructor in the Extension teaching of French and Spanish at Columbia University. He will pass the summer in France.

Professor C. H. Grandgent recently occupied Boccaccio's chair for a public lecture at Florence. He is the first American to deliver a lecture in this historic series. He spoke concerning Dante scholarship in America. In recognition of his work in Italian literature, the Italian Dante Society presented him a gold medal. An account of Professor Grandgent's lecture will be found in *Il Marzocco* of April 17, 1910, and the lecture is expected to appear in the May number of the *Giornale Dantesco*.

It is reported that the class of 1890 at Princeton has completed its fund of \$10,000 for the endowment of the special library in Romance languages. The class now proposes to raise an additional sum of \$10,000 for the same purpose.

Mr. D. S. Blondheim, A.B., 1906, Johns Hopkins, Ph.D. of the same university, has been appointed instructor in Romance languages at the University of Illinois.

Miss Ruth Shepard Phelps, a graduate student at Columbia University, has been appointed instructor in Italian at the University of Minnesota.

An important fonetic conference was held in New York City, at the Waldorf-Astoria, on April 6th last. The object of the conference was to consider certain slight modifications of the fonetic alphabet recently adopted for English, modifications which would perhaps lead publishers of dictionaries and text books to adopt a more scientific alphabet. It is believed that the object of the conference will be attained. The Modern Language Association was represented in the conference by Professors E. S. Sheldon, Calvin Thomas, Raymond Weeks; the American Philological Association, by Dr. C. P. G. Scott (Professors G. L. Kittredge and George Hempl not being in attendance); the National Educational Association by Mr. E. O. Vaile, Dr. Melvil Dewey, Professor T. M. Balliet, President H. H. Seerley and Superintendent W. H. Maxwell.

It has been announced that professor Henry R. Lang has been made a corresponding member of the Royal Spanish Academy of Galicia, a member of the Royal Geographical Society of Lisbon, and has received from the Spanish Government a silver medal commemorating the siege of Zaragoza. He is preparing a critical edition, with English version and literary comment, of the so-called *Prohemio* of Marqués de Santillana (1449), the first history of the artistic poetry of Italy, France, and Spain down to that time. Prof. Lang will soon publish also a study of the lyric poetry of Spain in the middle ages.

Adjunct professor E. P. Dargan, of the University of Virginia, has resigned to accept a professorship in French at the University of California. Professor Dargan graduated at Bethel College, Ky., and later received his doctorate at Johns Hopkins, in 1906. He is the author of a number of articles, mostly in the field of modern French literature.

President Finley, of the College of the City of New York, has been selected

as the Hyde lecturer at the Sorbonne for next year. His subject will be: "The regions in America in which the French were pioneers." He will be glad to receive information of rare documents concerning this subject.

It is announced that the forthcoming edition of the *Chanson de Guillaume* by Professor H. Suchier has been delayed. A cheap edition of this poem, under the title of *L'Archanz*, is said to have been published by G. Ragoczy, at Freiburg im-Bresgau.

Professor Louis H. Dow, of Dartmouth, will spend next year in Europe, mostly in France.

Since 1881 the Johns Hopkins University has conferred the degree of doctor of philosophy on forty-nine students in the department of Romance languages, which has been from its organization continuously under the direction of Prof. A. Marshall Elliott. Of the graduates of this department twenty-one are now heads of departments or full professors in universities or colleges, including the Universities of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Pittsburgh, Stanford, Yale, Alabama, Indiana, Ohio, Virginia and Washington, and Amherst, Bryn Mawr, Gallaudet, Goucher, Oberlin, and Randolph-Macon Colleges. Sixteen others are associate or assistant professors. In addition nine, now dead or engaged in other occupations, were formerly full professors in institutions of similar rank.

It is announced that Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, recently discovered a fragment of about 1200 lines of *Guy of Warwick*, in the library of York Minster.

Two prizes have been offered at Harvard for French and Spanish compositions.

Professor Francis B. Gummere, of Haverford, has been appointed Harris lecturer at Northwestern University for next year. He will treat "The history and development of the early art of poetry, its relation to myth and ritual, the problems of its differentiations, its present state and future prospects."

The department of Romance languages of Bryn Mawr has enjoyed the unusual honor of seeing two of its students obtain European fellowships for next year. They are Miss Eunice Morgan Schenck and Miss Helen Maxwell King, the latter an A.B. of Olivet College.

Professor Asa H. Morton, head of the department of Romance languages at Williams College, has been transferred to the Barclay Jermain professorship of natural theology, and will spend the year 1910-11 in Europe.

Dr. W. G. Howard, of Harvard, the treasurer and acting-secretary of the Modern Language Association, has been made assistant professor of German.

Bulletin No. 2 for 1909 of the Société des anciens textes français is out. It is especially valuable for a statement of the approved methods of editing early texts. All who expect to edit ancient texts should read with care this bulletin.

Professor B. L. Bowen, of Ohio State University, intends to pass next year in Europe.

Dr. H. M. Evers, who is spending the present year at Madrid, has been appointed instructor in Romance languages at the Woman's College, Western Reserve University.

The title of the work on Petrarch to be competed for under the foundation

of the late Willard Fiske is: *Francesco Petrarca e la Toscana*. The amount of the prize will be 3000 lire. The latest date for sending in manuscripts is the 31 of December, 1912, and they are to be delivered at the R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. They must be written in Italian. The members of the committee in charge are: Guido Biagi, Guido Mazzoni, Pio Rajna. For further particulars, address the editors of this *Review*.

Professor Thomas E. Oliver, of the University of Illinois, will spend next year in Europe.

Mr. George S. Chapin, a graduate of Bowdoin in 1893, has received an appointment in Romance languages at Ohio State University. He will spend the summer in France and Spain.

Dr. John L. Gerig and Mr. C. Fontaine have been appointed assistant professors of Romance languages at Columbia University.

Professor George L. Kittredge, of Harvard, has been elected an Honorary Foreign Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom.

Mr. D. N. Inglis, who received his degree of master of arts at the University of Wisconsin two years ago, and has since been assistant in the French department there, has received an appointment as professor of Romance languages at Milton College, Wisconsin.

Dr. B. Franzen-Suedelius, a graduate student at Columbia University, has accepted a position as lecturer in French at McMaster University, Toronto.

Professor Charles B. Newcomer, of Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., has accepted the chair in Romance languages at Drake University, Des Moines, Ia. He expects to pass the summer in France and Spain.

Mr. Edward J. Fortier, of the University of Illinois, has been elected instructor in Romance languages at Columbia University.

It is reported that Professor Konrad Schiffmann, of Linz, Austria, has discovered a sheet of a magnificent manuscript (XIIIth century) of a translation into German of the *Chanson de Roland*. The fragment is said to contain 140 lines.

Dr. Herbert H. Vaughan, of Trinity College, Durham, N. C., has accepted an instructorship in Romance Languages at Dartmouth College.

Mr. Arthur L. Owen, of the University of Illinois, has been elected to an assistant professorship in Romance languages at the University of Kansas. He will spend the summer at Paris.

The prospectus has been received of the fourth year of the Summer University of Florence, which is modeled on the similar *cours de vacance* so well established in various parts of France, Switzerland and Germany. From August 1 to September 15, 1910, courses will be given in Italian language and literature by Professors Giulio Caprin and Giuseppe Gargano, in Italian history by Professor Aldo Sorani, and in the history of art by Professors Nello Tarchiani and Guido Traversari. The fee of forty lire covers all courses, and in addition gives admission to the museums of Florence and the right to take part in excursions. Information may be obtained by addressing "Segretario della Università Estiva, 4 via Tornabuoni, Florence.

The minister of public instruction in France has made his report, and it contains some interesting facts concerning the attendance at French universities. The total is given as more than 40,000 for the school year. Of these, 17,512

are accredited to the University of Paris, and 1442 to the new University of Alger. The number of women is given as 3830. It is interesting and significant to note the large number of foreign students in residence,—more than 5,000, of whom 122 are from the United States. The rapid increase in foreign students is apparent if one compare the statistics of twenty years ago: 457; and of ten years ago: 1174. The number of foreign students five years ago was 1633. The favorite study of the foreigners is literature.

The printing of the *Loa de la Comedia* as prose, and not as verse, on page 41 of our first number, and the form *Ilorasco* for *Horosco* in the following line on the page, were not the author's fault, but were due to the haste incident to the preparation of the initial number of the *Review*.

Professor Kenneth McKenzie desires to state that until after the appearance, in No 1 of *The Romanic Review*, of his article *The Problem of the "Lonsa," with an Unpublished Text*, he had not seen an article by Jules Camus in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. LIII, pp. 1-40, entitled *La "Lonsa" de Dante et les "léopards" de Pétrarque, de l'Arioste, etc.*, in which a portion (but not the whole) of the *lonsa* chapter in the Paris Ms. is printed. He hopes to publish in a later number of the *Review* some supplementary notes on the subject. It is expected that the complete text of the Italian bestiary, edited by Professor McKenzie and Dr. Garver of Yale University, will be published shortly by the Società Filologica Romana.

In selecting a title for our *Review*, the editors hesitated between *Romanic Review* and *Romance Review*. The former name was tentatively adopted, altho it was found later, when all of the editors had expressed their opinion, that a majority seemed to favor the latter name. The opinions of some of the editors appear below. Additional opinions of editors and contributors will be published in our third and fourth numbers. Brief expressions of preference in this important matter will be welcomed.

"I shall probably continue to use *Romance*, unless the other word becomes so preponderant that persistence would spell only obstinacy, but I have no objection to *Romanic Review* as the title of the new journal, nor even any such serious objection to the substitution in general of *Romanic* for *Romance* that I should be inclined to oppose it. The term is hardly even comparatively novel, since in this country it has, for a number of years, in one institution at least, figured in the official titles of departments." E. C. A.

"In regard to the advisability of the use of the term *Romanic* in the title of the new review, let me say that I see no objection to it. It is perhaps less open to misinterpretation by the general public than the more usual term *Romance*." H. R. L.

"The word *Romance*, as a designation for the languages derived from the language of Rome, is open to objection on the score of its many other meanings in modern English, meanings which, even in the minds of the fairly well-educated, have lost most, if not indeed all, of their relation to Rome.

"So far as I recall, no other language has an exact mate for the form *Romance*, as a designation for these languages, even French, from which we took the form, having felt the necessity of reborrowing the Latin adjective *Romanus-a-um*. Nor, for that matter, do I recall in English a mate for the form *Romance* as a designation for any other language.

"The form *Romanic* is open to none of these objections. It has no multipli-

**WILLIAM R. JENKINS CO.**  
851 and 853 Sixth Ave., N. W. Cor. 48 St., New York  
Publish the **BERCY, DU CROQUET, SAUVEUR**, and other  
standard methods for teaching

## **FRENCH, GERMAN, AND OTHER FOREIGN LANGUAGES**

The French and German methods are used in many of the most progressive schools and colleges throughout the country. The general stock of imported books is very large, for we supply not only our own publications but those of all publishers at home and abroad. Our *Romans Choisis*, *Contes Choisis*, and other series, tastefully printed and low priced, contain masterpieces of French, Spanish and Italian authors. They are used extensively for class reading, many having notes in English. A complete catalogue of all publications, also of imported books, will be sent when requested.

### **JUST PUBLISHED**

## **Common Difficulties in Reading French**

**CHARLES C. CLARKE, Jr.**

Professor of French in the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University.

12mo, cloth, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ , iv + 147 pages

**Price, \$1.00**

This book offers answers to most of the questions which present themselves to second and third year students while trying to get at the exact meaning of a modern French text. It is prepared with a view toward supplying something convenient for solving questions that are constantly recurring to college students, readers of French and even to the teachers. None but common difficulties such as experience has shown to be inevitable has been included in the choice of words and subjects treated upon. The book is not intended to take the place of either the grammar or the dictionary, but to be supplementary to both. Subjects are arranged in alphabetical order, and at the back of the book notes on syntax have been added, together with a reference table of irregular verbs. The book will be found a general aid, invaluable to all persons reading French or translating it into English.

**WILLIAM R. JENKINS CO., Publishers,**  
851 and 853 Sixth Ave., N. W. Cor. 48 St., - - - **NEW YORK**

# **FUNK AND WAGNALLS STANDARD DICTIONARY**

always was and is now, the best, because made on *original* plans, aiming to *overcome all the defects of other existing dictionaries*, it is kept **REVISED TO DATE**.

**MARK TWAIN** said: "I have found that one can do without principles but not without the Standard Dictionary."

**THE STANDARD'S VOCABULARY.**—The most satisfying, the most comprehensive and the easiest to consult because the common meaning of the word is given first, and the vocabulary is not broken up into two or more divisions on the same page, thus causing confusion. The Standard includes every *living* word—every word liable to be sought by any considerable number of people. The Standard Dictionary contains **317,000** terms and *rejected* as useless over 200,000. As much discrimination was used in *excluding* terms as in *including* terms. It does not swell its vocabulary bulk by giving such useless, obsolete misspellings of pre-dictionary days as, for *ale*—aale, alle, ail, yal, yil; for *bliss*—blis, blisse, blissen, etc., etc.—thus saving consultant's time.

**SCORES OF OTHER EXCLUSIVE FEATURES** make the Funk & Wagnalls Standard pre-eminently the best dictionary ever made in any language. It is not the work of a small group of men; over 250 of the world's greatest specialists joined in its making, stamping every department with authority. It is magnificently illustrated with color plates.

**FREE** Do not buy a dictionary until you investigate the Funk & Wagnalls Standard. Send for descriptive circulars and easy terms of purchase. If you will include 5 cents to pay cost of wrapping and postage, we will also send the valuable cloth-bound Booklet "Noted Names—Who's Who in History"—a hand-book packed with useful information.

**FUNK & WAGNALLS CO., Publishers**  
44-60 East 23d St. Dept. R. **NEW YORK**



## RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

### THE MEANING OF TRUTH : A Sequel to "Pragmatism."

By WILLIAM JAMES, LL.D. 8vo. pp. xxiv+298. \$1.25 *net*; by mail, \$1.38.  
 "Perhaps the most eminent living American philosopher and psychologist, Prof. James is certainly the most original and suggestive."—N. Y. TIMES.

### THE INDIVIDUAL AND REALITY : An Essay Touching the First Principles of Metaphysics.

By EDWARD DOUGLAS FAWCETT. Medium 8vo. pp. xxiv+449. \$4.25 *net*.  
 "I hail your book as a great and powerful agency in the spreading of truth."—  
 Professor WILLIAM JAMES.

### HABIT-FORMATION AND THE SCIENCE OF TEACHING.

By STUART H. ROWE, Ph.D., Head of the Department of Psychology and Principles of Education, Brooklyn Training School for Teachers; Lecturer on Educational Psychology, Adelphi College, Brooklyn. Author of "The Lighting of School-Rooms," "The Physical Nature of the Child and How Study It." Crown 8vo. pp. xviii+308. \$1.50 *net*; by mail, \$1.64.

### THE LAST YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE, 1656-1658.

By CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. With 3 Plans. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xx+342. Vol. II. pp. xii+346, \$7.00 *net*.

These volumes are intended to be a continuation of the "History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate" which Dr. S. R. Gardiner left unfinished, the work being undertaken by Professor Firth in accordance with Dr. Gardiner's wishes.

### VIRGINIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SLAVERY AND SECESSION

By BEVERLEY B. MUNFORD. Small 8vo. pp. xlii+329. \$2.00 *net*; by mail, \$2.16.

"Mr. Munford has studied his subject carefully, he has used many unpublished sources, he puts his statements clearly and forcibly, and settles one disputed matter in history authoritatively."—N. Y. SUN.

### A MEMOIR OF THE RT. HON. WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY, M.P., O.M., LL.D., D.C.L., Litt.D., Member of the French Institute and of the British Academy.

By HIS WIFE. With Photogravure and 4 other Portraits. pp. xvii+432. Large Crown 8vo. Cloth, gilt top, \$2.50 *net*; by mail \$2.65.

"She has packed it tight with good things, and anyone who fails to read it misses some very interesting and illuminating reading."—CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

### BEASTS AND MEN. Carl Hagenbeck's Experiences for Half a Century Among Wild Animals.

An abridged translation by HUGH S. R. ELLIOT and A. G. THACKER, A.R.C.S., with an Introduction by P. CHALMERS MITCHELL, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., Secretary of the Zoological Society of London, and Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park; with Photogravure Portrait of the author and 99 other Illustrations. 8vo. pp. xiv+299. \$3.50 *net*.

### TO BE PUBLISHED SHORTLY

#### THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY from 1870 to 1890.

By FRANK HUGH O'DONNELL. With numerous Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo.

Mr. F. Hugh O'Donnell was a member of Parliament in Mr. Butt's party, and afterwards co-operated with, and shortly differed from, Parnell and Parnellites. The book relates the origins of the Home Rule movement, the rise and authorship of the Active Policy, commonly known as Obstruction, the intervention of the American Irish, which produced the Land League, the rise, progress and fall of Mr. Parnell and his relations both with English parties and with American organizations. New and strange light, illustrated by much documentary evidence, will be thrown upon the Land League and the Invincible Conspiracy.

An important portion of the book deals with the relations between the Active Irish Policy and questions of grave imperial interest in South Africa, India and elsewhere.

#### GOVERNMENT BY INFLUENCE and Other Addresses.

By ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN, Commissioner of Education of the United States. Crown 8vo. \$1.35 *net*.

Addresses delivered on various occasions during the first three years of the author's service in the Bureau of Education.

**LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., Publishers,** FOURTH AVE. and 30TH STREET, NEW YORK

# H. CHAMPION

Editeur, 5, quai Malaquais, 5, PARIS.

Livres neufs et anciens

- ROMANIA Tome XXXIX.** Recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures romanes, fondé en 1872, par MM. P. MEYER et G. PARIS, publié par P. MEYER, membre de l'Institut.—Paris, 20 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 22 fr. Collection complète 1,100 fr. (1909 y comp.)
- REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE FRANCAISE ET DE LITTERATURE Tome XXIV.** Recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et patois de France, publié par L. CLÉDAT, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon. Publie les *Etudes de géographie linguistique* de M. J. GILLIÉRON, Paris, 15 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 16 fr. Collection complète 365 fr.
- MEMOIRES DE LA SOCIETE DE LINGUISTIQUE DE PARIS Tome XVI** en cours.—6 fr. le fascicule. Collection complète 300 fr.
- REVUE DES BIBLIOTHEQUES.** 20<sup>e</sup> année. Recueil mensuel dirigé par MM. CHATELAIN, membre de l'Institut, bibliothécaire en chef de l'Université de Paris, et L. DOREZ, de la Bibliothèque Nationale. — Paris, 15 fr. — Départements et Union postale, 17 fr. Collection complète 295 fr.
- RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX RELATIFS A LA PHILOLOGIE ET A L'ARCHEOLOGIE EGYPTIENNES ET ASSYRIENNES.** Sous la direction de G. MASPERO, membre de l'Institut, Abonnement au volume complet.—Tome XXXII.—Paris, 30 fr.—Départements et Etranger, 32 fr. Collection complète 1,250 fr.
- LE MOYEN AGE.** Recueil paraissant tous les deux mois, dirigé par MM. A. MARIIGNAN, M. PROU et M. WILMOTTE.—2<sup>e</sup> série, tome XIV (tome XXIII de la collection). Abonnement annuel : Paris, 15 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 17 fr. Collection complète 280 fr.
- REVUE DES ETUDES RABELAISIANNES.** Publication trimestrielle, dirigée par Abel LEFRANC, professeur au Collège de France, consacrée à Rabelais et à l'histoire de son temps. Tome VIII. Abonnement annuel, 10 fr. Collection complète 150 fr.
- REVUE CELTIQUE.** Fondée par H. GAIDOUZ, publiée sous la direction de M. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, membre de l'Institut, avec le concours de MM. J. LOTH, doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes ; E. ERNAULT, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers, et G. DOTTIN, professeur à l'Université de Rennes, Paraît tous les trois mois. Tome XXXI. Paris, 20 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 22 fr. Collection complète 585 fr.

## Bulletin mensuel des recentes publications francaises

(BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE).—Tome XXIX. New "série méthodique," with double table constituting the **only complete bibliography** of the new books (works deposited by legal requirement, gifts and acquisitions).

Contains the accession numbers at the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is to be noted that contemporary bibliographers have agreed always to append the accession number to any citations from works recently published. Paris, 10 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 12 fr.—Edition sur papier pelure destinée à être collée sur fiches : 15 fr.

**VIENT DE PARAÎTRE.** Année 1909, complète. Four volume in-8 de 1,200 pages : 15 fr.

**ATLAS LINGUISTIQUE DE LA FRANCE** par J. GILLIÉRON et EDMONT. Prochainement—35<sup>e</sup> et DERNIÈRE livraison. Complet : 875 fr. (Facilités de paiement). The price of this important work will be advanced on completion. CARTES MUETTES : Petit format : 0 fr. 15. Grand format : 0 fr. 30.

**GODEFROY.** Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. 10 vol. in 4. Presque épuisé. 505 fr.

**Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes-Etudes.** (*Sciences historiques et philologiques*). 187 fascicules parus.—*Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 13 volumes parus.—*Bibliothèque de la Renaissance*. 15 volumes parus.—*Collection Linguistique* p. p. la Société Linguistique de Paris. 3 volumes parus. *Prospectus spéciaux sur demande.*

**G. PARIS.** *Mélanges linguistiques.* Complete 25 fr.—FARAL. *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age* 7 fr. 50.—J. BÉDIER. *Les légendes épiques* t. 1 et 2 : chaque 8 fr.

**ABEL LEFRANC.** MAURICE DE GUÉRIN. in-12 5 fr.—FRÉDÉRIC MISTRAL. *La Genesi.* Traduction en provençal, 5 fr. PAUL MEYER. *Documents linguistiques du Midi de la France* in 8 : 25 fr.

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. I — JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1910 — No. 3

---

## PETRARCH'S CONFESSIONS

THE art of self-revelation is no easy one to acquire and when acquired it must be practiced with circumspection. It is however possible to talk of oneself with good grace and to get others to listen. Indeed a man's opinion of himself—if only we can come at it—is rarely indifferent to us. We have an almost morbid anxiety to know what others think of themselves, if only they can and will tell us. We all like to take our turn behind the grating of the confessional. Artistic confessing is essentially a very modern accomplishment. While the nineteenth century furnishes us many charming examples, the instances of satisfactory self-exposure before Rousseau's unblushing success are really rare. Probably Augustine is the first name that will occur to us. Job's case and that of the far more ancient Egyptian who has left his weary reflection on life are hardly in point. The Greek and Roman writers have left us plenty of comments on the inner life, but no one tells us his own individual intimate story, unless it be Marcus Aurelius. In the Middle Ages Peter Damianus, Abelard and Heloise, and others shed abundant tears over their evil thoughts, without however giving us any complete pictures of their varied emotions and ambitions. Nor does Dante succeed in doing this; although he may be dimly seen through a mist of allegory. While none of us may pretend to be familiar with all the literature which antedates the fourteenth century, I am at present inclined to guess that Petrarch's *Secret* is the earliest unmistakable example of cool, fair, honest and comprehensive self-analysis that we possess.

So far as I am aware this extraordinary little work can only be read in the cumbrous and rather uncommon editions of Petrarch's

*Opera* published at Basle and Venice in the last years of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It is, I suspect, very rarely read even by scholars and is practically unknown to the intelligent public. Its importance and its inaccessibility may be regarded as a sufficient justification for the combined analysis and running commentary which follows. To those who know only Petrarch's Italian verses the *Secretum* comes as a revelation. Even one familiar with his numerous letters will find that it greatly deepens and enlarges our notion of this remarkable man.

Among men of letters, few have played so important a rôle in the advancement of culture as Petrarch, and few have suffered more keenly than he from a troublesome form of self-consciousness. He was ever concerned with his conduct, ever fearful lest his high pursuits were vain, if not unequivocally wicked. He was half ashamed of his noblest sentiments; even his popularity disturbed him.

. . . . . onde sovente  
Di me medesimo meco mi vergogno.

His love for Laura long tormented his conscience: he even doubted whether his craving for literary fame were not a fatal propensity which might endanger his eternal welfare.

Petrarch was confronted by no simple problem, for the old and the new were contending for the supremacy in his breast. His struggle was the struggle, as we shall see, between the Mediaeval and the Modern spirit. Life was to him no longer merely a period of probation for the real life to come, in which each actor humbly plays

<sup>1</sup> Maittaire, *Annales typographici*, reports the earliest edition of Petrarch's *Opera Omnia* as published at Deventer in 1494. Editions published at Basle by Johannes de Amerbach were issued under the dates 1495, 1496, 1497. Thanks to my good friend Professor V. Gr. Simkhovitch I have that of 1496. It may be suspected that the sheets struck off in 1495 were merely supplied with new colophons in the two following years as there could hardly have been a demand to justify reprinting three times in three successive years. An edition appeared from a Venetian press in 1501, which is in the Columbia Library; another in 1503. In 1541, 1554 and 1581 the works were reprinted in Basle. This last clumsy and inaccurate edition of 1581 (also in the Columbia library) is not uncommonly met with in catalogues and is oftenest cited. Cf. Fracassetti, *Fr. Petrarcae Epistolae de Rebus familiaribus* (1859), I, vii, sqq. There is need of a new edition of the *Secret* based on a careful collation of the MSS. In my analysis from the original Latin, use has been made of the editions of 1496, 1501 and 1581. I have discovered no important variations affecting the sense.

his obscure rôle in the particular group or association to which Providence has assigned him. Petrarch realized to the full the preciousness of life's opportunity. Life was, he knew, a preparation for Heaven,—but was it not something more? Was there no place for high secular ambition? Might not he raise himself above the common herd and like the ancients whom he so much admired erect a monument more enduring than bronze? Petrarch was too mediaeval to accept the new gospel unhesitatingly. He did not fully realize the change which he felt within himself. He groped tremblingly toward a new ideal of our earthly existence, and never fully enfranchised himself from the ascetic theory of life which had so long been taught by thoughtful men. It was in order to put clearly before himself all the questions which were continually harassing him that he prepared an imaginary dialogue after the models offered by Cicero and Boëthius. In this way it was possible for him to do full justice to the claims of each and all of his conflicting desires and emotions.

One day, he tells us, as he was meditating upon the confused mysteries of life, appeared before him a wondrous Lady, whom, after his eyes had recovered from the dazzling light about her, he recognized as Truth. With her came a venerable person of profoundly religious mien, in whom immediately Petrarch discovered his favorite ghostly comforter, Saint Augustine. The Lady, having perceived the straits in which the poet was, had taken pity on him in his moral illness and had brought with her her cherished devotee, to whom she now commends him.

Having all retired to a secluded spot, they join in a consultation which was prolonged during three days. Much was said of the evils of the age and of mortal perversity in general, but the discussion of his own sins made the deepest impression upon Petrarch. "And lest this friendly conference should fade from my mind," he says, "I resolved to write it down and have filled this little book with it. Not that I would wish it to be reckoned with my other works, nor do I write it for fame's sake (I am now dealing with higher matters), but solely in order that I may revive at will the delight which I then derived from our converse. Therefore, little book, thou wilt avoid the intercourse of men and wilt contentedly abide

with me, not forgetful of thy name: for thou art 'My Secret' and so thou shalt be called."

The Confessions are, as their author tells us, not very voluminous—less than 30,000 words. They consist of the three dialogues that took place upon the three successive days; the conversation is spirited and natural throughout and infinitely superior to the pseudo-dialogues of the better known *Remedies for both Good and Evil Fortune* by the same author. We have no means of determining exactly when the Confessions were written. As Petrarch was accustomed to revise his work over and over again, it is probable that several years elapsed after the plan was once conceived before the little book received the finishing touches. There is, however, sufficient internal and external evidence to indicate that the work was written between the years 1342 and 1353; that is, at a time when its author's literary powers may be assumed to have been at their height. He must have been about thirty-eight years old when he began it, and had perhaps reached his fiftieth birthday before he laid it aside in the form that it has come down to us. In the printed editions the Confessions are called *De Contemptu Mundi*, a title that is at once misleading and unsupported by Petrarch's own authority. A much more pertinent heading is found in most of the manuscripts, namely, *De secreto Conflictu curarum suarum*,—the inward struggle between the monastic and secular ideals of life.

It would be a grave misapprehension to suppose that the dialogue does not reflect a very real contradiction in the soul of the writer. No careful reader can fail to see in it the bitterness of a spirit at odds with itself. Indeed its whole significance lies in the sturdy and heartfelt defense of the intrinsic virtue of the more noble temporal ambitions, especially those of a man of letters, against the deadening suggestions of monasticism. The dialogues were written after Petrarch had outgrown his youthful unquestioning exuberance and before he had reached the philosophic calm of his later years. Even if he gives way, often reluctantly indeed and doubtfully, before Augustine's reasoning, his habitual conduct and his attitude of mind in old age prove that he was not vanquished. In the long run, the modern, or, if you will, the classical spirit was destined to prevail, as we shall later see.

In this three-days conference the first two days are devoted to the nature and cause of man's earthly misery, and its cure. "You remember," Augustine inquires, "that you are mortal?" Francesco replies that he not only remembers it but that the thought never fails to fill him with a certain horror. "If this be so it is well," his confessor rejoins, "it will much lighten my duties; for it is certainly true that nothing is so efficacious against the seductions of this life and so potent to strengthen the soul amid the tempests of the world as the recollection of our own misery and the meditation upon death; but this thought should produce no light and fleeting impression; it must sink into our very bones and marrow. I very much fear that in this respect as in many other ways that I have observed, you deceive yourself." Francesco replies that he does not think the remedy for human misery so simple as that suggested by Augustine, but admits that he does not altogether understand his reasoning. "I thought you had a better-developed mind," Augustine sharply rejoins; "it had not occurred to me that we should have to go back to first principles. Had you committed to memory the truths and salutary injunctions of the philosophers which you have often encountered in my works, and (if you will permit me to say it) had you labored for yourself rather than for others and made the result of so much reading the rule of your life instead of an idle boast to gain the empty plaudits of the common herd, you would not be guilty of such crude and silly utterances."

No one is unhappy or can become so except voluntarily, Augustine continues. Cicero and the other philosophers amply prove that only that which is opposed to virtue can make us truly unhappy. "I remember," Francesco replies, "that these are the doctrines of the Stoics, but they are opposed to popular belief, and are better in theory than in practice (*veritati propinquiora quam usui*)."

All vice begins voluntarily, he admits, yet he has seen many a man, himself included, who would gladly throw off the yoke of sin but who tries to do so in vain. In spite of the Stoics' cold comfort they remain the miserable victims of evil their lives long. He does not deceive himself as to the serious nature of his condition; on the contrary, he sheds many a bitter tear but finds no relief. Augustine replies that he himself experienced the same trials at the time of his own conversion, his account of which is doubtless familiar to Petrarch. The fundamental difficulty lies in our indifference to spiritual liberty. We do not, as Petrarch readily agrees, really desire to be free from our sins. "No one can be dominated absolutely by this desire unless he puts an end to all other desires; for you well know how many and various are the objects of our wishes in life, all of which must come to be reckoned of no value if one would rise

to the true yearning for the highest happiness. . . . Who is there indeed who could succeed in extinguishing all his desires,—it would be a long task even to enumerate them, to say nothing of conquering them,—in order that he might some day hope to guide his soul by the reins of reason, and dare to say ‘I have nothing in common with the body; all that once seemed pleasing has become vile in my sight: I aspire to higher things.’” Such an one is rare enough, Francesco concedes. “But what in your opinion,” he asks, “must we do in order that we may cast off our earthly shackles and rise to heaven?”

The problem has now been enunciated. Let us see what the solution is which the “First Modern” accepts in the heyday of his life and success. He admits the inefficacy of Cicero’s admonitions. Of the Bible he says little or nothing. Virgil’s words, not David’s or Paul’s, come to his mind in the depths of his perplexity. The dialogue continues as follows:

*Augustine.* We have now reached the point toward which I have been guiding you. It is that form of meditation (on Death) that we mentioned at the beginning, coupled with an ever present consciousness of our mortality, which produces the desired result.

*Francesco.* Unless I am again misled, no one has oftener been preoccupied by these thoughts than I.

*Augustine.* Alas, here is a new task for me.

*Francesco.* What? I am not lying?

*Augustine.* I prefer to express myself more politely.

*Francesco.* But that is your meaning.

*Augustine.* Assuredly.

*Francesco.* Then I do not think of death?

*Augustine.* Very rarely, and then so indolently that the thought cannot penetrate into the depths of your perversity.

*Francesco.* I had thought otherwise.

*Augustine.* You should look not to what you thought but to what you should have thought.

The Confessor explains that he does not refer to the general recognition of the possibility of death as a distant contingency or even of its imminence as illustrated by the death of those who fall about us. We can hope for no advantage except we vividly reproduce its physical and spiritual horrors. He then enters upon a concise description of the physical accompaniments of dissolution in its most distressing forms, with the painful minuteness which we might



expect in a treatise upon epilepsy. He dwells upon the advantage of exposing the bodies of the dead to the view of those earnestly struggling toward spiritual enfranchisement, and upon the salutary and permanent impressions that come from witnessing the preparation of the corpse for burial. In this way the trite idea of our mortality may become vivid and life-giving.

Francesco readily assents to Augustine's reasoning, for he recognizes in it much that he habitually turns over in his own mind. He asks, however, for some sure sign by which he can determine whether his ascetic meditations are doing their work or whether he is deceiving himself by false appearances instead of walking in the path of virtue. Augustine explains accordingly that so long as we do not become literally pale and rigid with the very thought of death our labors are vain.

"The soul must leave the members and stand before the judgment seat of eternity about to render an exact account of the words and deeds of its whole past life. It places no hope in bodily beauty or the applause of the world, in eloquence, riches, or power; the judge can not be corrupted or deceived. Death may not be placated, nor is it the end of torments but only a step toward worse things." Let the soul sink to Hell itself, *inter mille suppliciorum, mille tororum genera, et stridor et gemitus averni et sulphurei amnes et tenebrae et ultrices furiae*. "If you can bring all these before your eyes at once, not as mere imaginings, but as necessary, inevitable, nay as already upon you, and yet not yield to despair but abide strong in the faith that God can reach out his hand to snatch you from these horrors, you show yourself curable. Anxious to rise and tenacious of purpose you will go forth with confidence and may know that you have not meditated in vain."

This spiritual exercise appears to have been an habitual one with Petrarch, but, as is not unnatural, he was disappointed in its results.

"When I dispose my body like that of a dying person," he says, "and bring vividly before me the hour of death and all the attendant terrors that the mind can conjure up, so that I seem to be in the very agony of dissolution, I sometimes behold Tartarus and all the terrors you depict and am so afflicted by the vision that I arise terrified and trembling, and to the horror of those about me I break forth in the words, 'Alas how shall I escape these sufferings? What is to be the end of my woes? Jesus, help me!'"

Eripe me invicte his malis,  
 Da dextram misero, et tecum me tolle per undas,  
 Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.'

I rave like a madman and talk to myself, as my distracted and terrified intellect is driven this way and that. I address my friends, and my own tears force tears from them. Yet I return to my old ways when my burst of weeping is once past. What holds me back in spite of these experiences? What hidden impediment has rendered these meditations up to the present only a source of pain and terror? I am still exactly what I was before, and what those are to whom nothing of this kind perhaps ever happened in their life. I am indeed more miserable than they in one respect, for whatever may be the outcome, they at least rejoice in the pleasure of the present while I, uncertain of the end, experience no joy that is not embittered by the reflections of which I have spoken." Against such a sentiment Augustine naturally protests, but somewhat weakly; and Petrarch firmly maintains that the worldly man is the better off.

At the close of this first dialogue Petrarch gives a brief analysis of his character that displays his profound self-knowledge. Augustine declares that Francesco's spiritual welfare is threatened by his want of concentration and by the multitude and variety of conflicting purposes which oppress his weak mind. He has not the strength or time to accomplish half of what he lightly undertakes. "So it comes to pass," Augustine continues, "that, as many things brought into a narrow space are sure to interfere with one another, so your mind is too choked up for any thing useful to take root or grow. You have no settled plan, but are turned hither and thither in an amazing whirl; your energies are never concentrated: you are never wholly yourself."

Petrarch speaks elsewhere of this same failing. At the end of his life, in his *Letter to Posterity*, he writes: "My mind, like my body, was characterized by a certain versatility and alertness rather than by strength, so that many tasks that were easy of conception were given up by reason of the difficulty of their execution." As Gaspari has well said, Petrarch was a master in one respect at least, he understood how to picture himself.

The dialogue on the second day opens with a critical examination by Augustine of the main sources of Francesco's pride and self-complacency. This is, at bottom, as we shall see, a confession of

Petrarch's own misgivings that his literary ambitions were vain and hopeless. Augustine declares that Francesco is distracted by the phantoms and idle anxieties of ambition, which are especially likely to drag down the more noble spirits to their ruin; and that it is high time to endeavor to save him from such a fate. It is easy to prove how trivial are the advantages that have aroused his pride.

"You trust to your intellectual powers and your reading of many books; you glory in the beauty of your language and take delight in the comeliness of your mortal frame. But do you not perceive in how many respects your powers have disappointed you, in how many ways your skill does not equal that of the obscurest of mankind, not to speak of weak and lowly animals whose works no effort on your part could possibly imitate? Exult then if you can in your abilities! And your reading, what does it profit you? From the mass that you have read how much sticks in your mind, how much takes root and brings forth fruit in its season? Examine your mind carefully and you will find that all you know, if compared with your ignorance, would bear to it the same relation as that borne to the ocean by a tiny brook shrunk by the summer heats."

Man may know much of heaven and earth, of the courses of the stars, the virtues of herbs and stones and the secrets of nature, and still be ignorant of himself. He may be familiar with all the deeds of illustrious men in the past, but not heed his own conduct.

"What shall I say of your eloquence," Augustine continues, "except what you yourself confess? Has not your reliance on it often proved vain? Your hearers may perhaps have applauded what you said, but what advantage is that, if you yourself condemn your words? Although the applause of the auditors seems the natural fruit of eloquence, not to be despised, yet if the inward applause of the orator himself be wanting, how little gratification can the cheers of the crowd afford!"

Then follows a very interesting digression upon the poverty of language. Words are often wanting worthily to express the commonest of our daily experiences. How many things about us have no names at all! How many that have names can never be adequately described by human speech! "How often have I heard you bitterly complain and seen you silent and dejected, because thoughts that were perfectly clear and easily understood in the mind, could not be fully expressed by tongue or pen." This leads to a

discussion of the asserted superiority of Greek over Latin in respect to the richness of its vocabulary, and of the opinions of Cicero and Seneca. Augustine concludes with his own conviction that both languages are poor.

Petrarch was far too gifted a scholar not to recognize the limitations of language. In the little guide-book that he once prepared for a friend who was planning to visit the Holy Land, he speaks again of his inability to describe the beauties of nature. He felt the same discouragements that the conscientious student feels today, although his field of knowledge seems to us hopefully limited and well-defined.

Francesco refutes Augustine's accusations with some warmth:

"You say that I rely upon my abilities, although I certainly discover no indication of genius in myself unless it be the fact that I place no faith in possessing it. My reading of books moreover is not a source of pride, since it has brought me little knowledge and new causes of anxiety. I strive, you say, to gain fame by my style, and yet, as you yourself mentioned, nothing so vexes me as that my words are inadequate to reproduce my conceptions. You know, unless you are merely aiming to try me, that I have always been conscious of my insignificance, and if I have sometimes thought otherwise, it was due to a consideration of the ignorance of others. It has happened to me, as I am accustomed often to repeat, that according to the well-known saying of Cicero, we shine rather by the obscurity of others than by our own brightness."

Augustine sees in this the most noxious kind of pride, and says that he would prefer that Francesco should frankly overrate himself rather than that he should assume a haughty humility through despising everyone else.

Augustine charges Petrarch with worldliness and avarice, which will be sure to grow stronger as he gets older. He once delighted in the country and its simplicity, but the life in the city had made him sordid and grasping. Francesco admits that he dreads the thought of poverty during his declining years. His demands are modest and legitimate; his daily bread and a book or two are all he asks. Like Horace, his only object is *nec turpem senectam degere, nec cythera carentem*. Augustine acquits Francesco at least of any tendency to over-indulgence in food and drink, and approves of his

friends, who, he has observed, are both sober and dignified in their deportment.

Purity is then spoken of. Francesco admits that he has sometimes wished himself a senseless stone. He has made a desperate struggle to free himself from the bonds of sensuality, but he has not been wholly successful.

Augustine now startles Francesco by the abrupt statement that the worst is still to come. The most serious spiritual disease has not yet been mentioned.

*Augustine.* You suffer from a certain dismal malady of the mind that the moderns call *acedia* and which the ancients termed *aegritudo*.

*Francesco.* The very name of the disease fills me with horror.

*Augustine.* No wonder, for you have long been grievously vexed by it.

*Francesco.* I admit it; and it is because there is after all a certain admixture of sweetness, however false, in almost all the other things that torment me. When I am in this sad state everything is bitter, wretched, terrible, the road to desperation opens before me and I behold all those things which may drive an unhappy soul to destruction. The attacks of my other passions, if frequent, are short and fleeting, but this plague sometimes holds me with such persistence that it binds and tortures me for days and nights together. Light and life are blotted out and I seem plunged in Tartarean gloom and the bitterness of death. But nevertheless, as the culmination of my miseries, I feast upon the very pangs and throes of my anguish with a certain confined pleasure, so that I am reluctant to be torn from them.

*Augustine.* You seem to know your disease well; we will now look to the cause. Say on; what is it that so saddens you—some adversity in your worldly affairs, bodily pain, or some stroke of ill fortune?

*Francesco.* Not any one of these. If I were engaged in single combat I should certainly hold my own. But as it is I am overwhelmed by an army."

Affliction after affliction has attacked him in rapid succession. He has finally been forced to take refuge in the stronghold of reason. There his ills lay siege to him and receiving constant reinforcements they set up their battering-rams and mine the walls. The turrets tremble and the scaling ladders are in place, and he sees the glittering swords and the threatening visages of his enemies appear-

ing above the wall. "Who would not be filled with terror and bewail his fate, even if the enemy withdrew for the moment? Liberty is gone, the saddest of losses to the stout-hearted." Augustine finds this figurative language a little vague and confused but thinks that he understands Petrarch's case. He accuses him of mourning over misfortunes long past. "No," Francesco exclaims; "on the contrary, none of my wounds are old enough to be forgotten, those that afflict me are all recent, and lest perchance any one of them might be healed by time, Fortune takes care to strike me often in the same spot, so that the gaping wound may never cicatrize. Add to these troubles a hate and contempt for the human estate itself and I can not be otherwise than sad and dejected when oppressed by all these woes. I by no means exaggerate this *acedia*, or *ægritudo*, or whatever you choose to call it; my description exactly corresponds to the facts."

We must not allow ourselves to be misled by Petrarch's use of the word *acedia*, which is really quite inapplicable to his trouble. The term is a common one among mediaeval writers and appears in the catalogue of the seven mortal sins. It is sometimes inadequately rendered as "sloth," but it appears to have been loosely applied to all varieties of depression and inertia, whether physical or moral. In the case of monks it might take the form of a natural reaction which followed the first enthusiasm of leaving the world and beginning a religious life; even the most earnest, Saint Jerome says, were sometimes plunged into melancholy by the dampness of their cells, the loneliness and excessive fasts that made up their lives. For such troubles, he dryly adds, the fomentations of Hippocrates would be more in place than our admonitions. A twelfth century theologian says, "*Acedia* fears to undertake any thing great, and soon wearies of what it once begins. Everything seems a burden and an obstacle to it, and nothing is light or easy." Dante found those guilty of *acedia* fixed in the slime of the sixth circle of hell, and they said to him: "Sullen were we in the sweet air that by the sun is gladdened, bearing within ourselves the sluggish fume."

But this surely was not Petrarch's trouble. No one was ever more prone to conceive new and noble enterprises, or more patient

and conscientious in their execution. He was as far removed from such intellectual apathy as from the vulgar physical laziness which the monkish chroniclers sometimes comprehend under the name *acedia*, and which took the form of a notable reluctance to leave a warm bed for the chilly morning service. We may then assume that Petrarch uses the word in the very general sense of depression, discouragement and spiritual misgiving, without any reference to its usage among theologians and monks.<sup>2</sup>

The Confessor pronounces the case to be one demanding radical treatment. "What," he asks, "seems to you the worst of all these troubles?"

*Francesco.* What I happen first to see, hear or think of.

*Augustine.* There is then almost nothing which gives you any satisfaction?

*Francesco.* Little or nothing.

*Augustine.* Would that you enjoyed at least the more salutary things of life. But what displeases you most? Tell me, I beg of you.

*Francesco.* I've already answered you.

*Augustine.* This *acedia* then, as I call it, affects everything; everything connected with yourself disgusts you?

*Francesco.* And not less everything that has to do with others.

Fortune has not been simply niggardly in her treatment of him but bitterly unjust, disdainful and cruel. He rejects any comfort which might come from considering the destitution that he sees among the still less fortunate. He claims that he is not unreasonable in his demands.

"I take it hard," he says, "that no one with whom I am acquainted among my contemporaries has been more modest in his claims than I and yet no one has found it more difficult to reach

<sup>2</sup> The classical term *aegritudo* is scarcely more to the point than the mediaeval expression. It is often used by Cicero in one of his Tusculan Disputations, but it is not the bitterness of spirit with which Petrarch suffered. Seneca's little work upon "Peace of Mind" may, as Voigt has suggested, have influenced this portion of the Confessions. But while Petrarch resembled Seneca in more than one respect and was drawn to his writings by an obvious spiritual affinity, his personal experiences were far too genuine and spontaneous to require the example of another to bring them to light. No one can compare the Roman's treatise with the Confessions without quickly absolving Petrarch from any attempt consciously or unconsciously to imitate Seneca. Our conception of the nature of the poet's mental disquiet must be sought in the dialogue itself.

his end. I never have longed for the highest place. I call to witness Him who knows my thoughts as He knows all things else, that I have never supposed that the peace and tranquillity of mind which I believe are to be esteemed above all other things, were to be found in acme of fortune. Hence, as I have always abhorred a life filled with care and anxiety, a middle station has, in my sober judgment, ever seemed the best . . . and yet, to my sorrow, I have never been able to gratify so moderate a desire. I am always in doubt as to the future, always in suspense. I find no pleasure in the favors of fortune, for, as you see, up to the present I live dependent on others, which is the worst of all. God grant that it may come about, even in the extreme of old age, that one who has all his life been tossed about on a stormy sea, shall at least die in port."

Petrarch has often been criticised for his subserviency to the princes of his time, upon whom he seems to have depended for support so far as his revenue from several minor preferments in the church failed to satisfy his needs. He loved independence however, and the concessions that were necessary in order to maintain the favor of his patrons evidently galled him, as is shown by the passage just cited. Augustine comforts him with the assurance that it is given to very few indeed to be absolutely independent. Philosophical resignation can alone bring freedom and true wealth.

In answer to Augustine's question whether he suffered from bodily weakness, Francesco admits that his body, if a bit troublesome at times, is very tractable as compared with many of those he sees about him. He refuses with propriety to enumerate his physical disabilities. Elsewhere<sup>3</sup> he says, "In my prime I was blessed with a quick and active body although not exceptionally strong, and while I do not lay claim to remarkable personal beauty, I was comely enough in my best days. I was possessed of a clear complexion, between light and dark, lively eyes, and for long years a keen vision, which, however, deserted me, contrary to my hopes, after I reached my sixtieth birthday, and forced me reluctantly to resort to glasses. Although I had previously enjoyed good health, old age brought with it the usual array of discomforts."

The life in a city was a constant source of irritation to the sensitive man of letters. "Who could adequately express my weariness of life," he exclaims, "and the daily loathing for this sad distracted

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. ad Posteror.*



world and for the low, degraded dregs of humanity, given over to all manner of uncleanness, that fill it! Who can find words to describe the sickening disgust aroused by the stinking alleys full of howling curs and filthy hogs, the din of the passing wheels which shake the very walls, the crooked ways blocked by carts, the confused mass of passers-by, the revolting crowd of beggars and cut-purses!" "Add to these distractions," Petrarch characteristically continues, "the conflicting aims, the bewildering variety of occupation, the confused clamor of voices and the bitter rivalry of interests among the people; these combine to wear out a spirit accustomed to happier surroundings, destroy the peace of generous minds and prevent attention to higher things."

His Confessor reminds him, however, that he has chosen of his own free will to live in town and may easily retire to the country if he wishes. On the other hand he may so accustom himself in time to the sounds of the city that, far from distracting him, they may become as grateful to his ears as the roar of a waterfall. "If," Augustine continues, "you could but succeed in quieting the inward tumult of your mind, the uproar about you might indeed strike your senses, but could not affect the soul."

He farther recommends the careful perusal of Seneca, and especially of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*:

*"Francesco.* You should be aware that I have already read these carefully.

*Augustine.* And have they not profited you?

*Francesco.* Nay, when one reads a great deal, no sooner is a book laid down than its effect ceases.

*Augustine.* The common fate of readers, which produces those accursed monstrosities, able to read indeed, but forming a disgraceful, unstable band who dispute much in the schools on the art of living but put few of their principles to the test."

Petrarch was urged to make notes, as was indeed his invariable habit, at those passages in his reading which were likely to prove most useful for moral support and stimulus. These notes served as hooks by which the memory might cling to thoughts that would otherwise escape it. With such reinforcement he might face with complacency all his ills, even the heaviness of heart that he describes.

Petrarch, it may be added, believed that he derived a double benefit from the classical authors, upon whom he depended for moral strength and solace. There were, of course, the numerous precepts to be found in the writings of Cicero, Horace and Seneca, which might be taken quite literally. In Virgil however, as is well known, he espied a deeper, allegorical, meaning below the surface. In the famous description of a storm in the first book of the Aeneid he sees in Aeolus, for example, reason controlling the unruly passions that are ready to carry away heaven and earth if their master relaxes his vigilance. Petrarch was however a scholar of too great insight not to suspect that Virgil perhaps had no such moral end in view. Augustine, in a passage that ought to be considered in any discussion of Petrarch's view of allegory, says: "I commend these secrets of poetical narration in which I see you abound, whether Virgil himself thought of them when he wrote, or whether, far removed from such considerations, he simply intended in these verses to describe a storm at sea and nothing more."

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

*(To be continued)*

---

## HONOR IN THE SPANISH DRAMA

THE origin of the ideal of honor which makes its appearance in the plays of Lope de Vega and Calderón has not been discovered. Ticknor says in discussing the point of honor found in Calderón:

Here, therefore, we find pressed upon us the question, What was the origin of these extravagant ideas of domestic honor and domestic rights, which are found in the old Spanish drama from the beginning of the full length plays of Torres Naharro, and which are thus exhibited in all their excess in the plays of Calderón? The question is certainly difficult to answer, as are all like it that depend on the origin and traditions of national character.

He then proceeds to show that the rigorous laws which permitted a swift vengeance on an erring woman were in vogue from Gothic times; and he sets aside as groundless the assertion that the Spanish ideals of domestic authority might be derived from the Arabs. It is pointed out that "everything relating to domestic honor was left by these laws, as it is in Calderón, to domestic authority." While these were not legally in force in Calderón's time according to Ticknor, still "the tradition of their power . . . was not yet lost on the popular character, and poetry was permitted to preserve their fearful principles long after their enactments had ceased to be acknowledged anywhere else." This explanation of the origin of the point of honor contains a part of the truth, but only a part.<sup>1</sup>

Fitzmaurice-Kelly gives his view of the question as follows:

The point of honor—the vengeance wrought by husbands, fathers, and brothers in the cases of women found in dubious circumstances—is harder to explain, or, at least, to justify; yet even this was a perverted outcome of chivalresque ideals very acceptable to men who esteemed life more cheaply than their neighbors.<sup>2</sup>

Three possible sources are thus suggested: first, Arabic or Moorish influence; second, the Gothic laws; third, the chivalresque

<sup>1</sup> Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. II, p. 402.

<sup>2</sup> Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 325.

ideals. If we regard, however, the question as merely that of the vengeance taken by her relations on an indiscreet woman, we shall soon be confronted by many possible sources. The Calderonian point of honor is much more subtle than the mere idea of vengeance. Indeed it is often characterized by the absence of the desire for vengeance. Before we attempt to trace the growth of the ideal of honor we must inquire very carefully into the sometimes rather elusive elements of this ideal. The knight, the courtier, the gallant and the gentleman have all given a different meaning to the word. What, then, does it mean when used by Calderón?

With Calderón the susceptibility of honor is almost incredible. The one thought of his heroes is: "What will they say?"<sup>3</sup> An imaginary wrong had to be avenged and the punishment had to fit the crime. The reparation was often bloody and, if possible, was kept absolutely secret. The offended person was the only judge and he was not made to account for his actions. This was especially true in regard to an offense against marital honor, which always had to be avenged with blood. It is when a man's honor has suffered a stain by the real or suspected wrongdoing of a woman closely connected with him that he is most punctilious. Thus in *El Médico de su Honra* the husband reaches the height of cruelty when he causes his innocent wife to be bled to death, because he suspects her infidelity. The father, in the plays of Calderón, also guards his daughter jealously, and demands absolute obedience. He does not allow anyone to visit her except in his presence. If he finds she has received a man during his absence, marriage is the remedy; but if this be impossible, blood must be shed. The brother must also defend the honor of his sister, and the lover that of his lady.

The principal characteristics, therefore, by which we shall attempt to trace the ideal of honor are that honor is a pure crystal belonging to man and woman; it is not acquired, but is conferred upon them at birth; the slightest breath of scandal dims it; any stain upon it must be kept hidden at all cost; if the stain becomes visible it must be washed out with blood; a woman's transgression, or merely suspected transgression, is enough to wound the honor

<sup>3</sup>For a full discussion of these points see Rubio y Lluch, *El Sentimiento del honor en el teatro de Calderón*: Barcelona, 1882.

of a man connected with her by blood or by marriage. The cruelty of the law of honor is realized and bemoaned. *Dura lex, sed lex.*

These principles of honor exist not only in Calderón but in earlier Spanish drama. For instance, in the *Estrella de Sevilla* by Lope, the king has come to see the young girl, but her brother says to him:

. . . . . Dirán,  
Puesto que al contrario sea,  
Que viniste á mi casa  
Por ver á mi hermana; y puesta  
En buena opinion su fama,  
Está á pique de pederla;  
Que el honor es cristal puro,  
Que con un soplo se quiebra.

'Act i; sc. 11.

In the second act, when the brother finds the king in his house, he cannot believe that this person is really the king, for, as he says:

Es el Rey él que da honor;  
Tú buscas mi deshonor.

'Act ii; sc. 5.

We have here the idea that a mere visitor to a sister could harm her reputation, and that by her dishonor would come the dishonor of a brother. A strong statement in regard to the importance of honor is made by the brother when he exclaims:

Solo mi honor reina en mí.

'Act ii; sc. 5.

The same cruelty which appears in Calderón's *Médico de su Honra* is found in the source of this play, which is Lope's drama of the same title. Honor is the mainspring of the action. When Don Jacinto, the husband, finds the tell-tale dagger he exclaims:

La guerra está declarada  
Y mi honra está perdida.

'Act ii.

He calls upon Honor to advise him and constantly personifies it. When the incriminating letter is discovered he says:

Aquesto ha de ser así:  
 Que me mate á mí el dolor,  
 Y el acero del honor  
 Mayor, que te mate á ti.

Act iii.

He brings the surgeon-barber and says:

Mal haya, amen, el primero  
 Que este género de honor  
 Impuso contal rigor  
 Tan bruto, bárbaro y fiero.

Act iii.

In spite of this, however, the barber reports Don Jacinto as saying to him:

. . . . . Mi honor adolece,  
 Y así, yo soy de mi honra  
 Médico, y para curarla,  
 Importa que hagas agora  
 Á esa enferma una sangría.

Act iii.

Not only in Lope's plays but also in those of his contemporaries is the question of honor brought into the foreground; as, for example, in Guillén de Castro's *Cid* and in *La Enemiga Favorable* by Tárrega. In the latter drama—published in 1615—Polidoro tries to kill his sister Laura, who loves and is loved by the king, because she will not recognize Belisardo as her husband, whom Polidoro has promised she shall marry. Her brother tells her that his honor and her honor force her to do his bidding. The queen strikes Laura; and when the king and Belisardo find this out, they both claim they must kill the queen as a point of honor: the king, because she has insulted his palace; Belisardo, because she has insulted his wife. Laura says to Belisardo: "*Hazme honrada, Belisardo.*" She appears clad in black: *Soy de mi honor monumento*. She tells the king she thought he would wash the stain of the blow with blood. The significant question is asked:

Tú no ves que es, bien mirado,  
 Sangre del alma el honor?

Act iii.

Thus it is not difficult to see the sources from which Calderón derived his ideas of honor, for plots of plays revolving about the point of honor are common enough before he began to write.

To return to the question of the source of this special kind of honor, we find that Ticknor has rejected the possibility of Moorish influence in this matter. From such investigations as I have been able to make through translations of the literature of the Moors and histories of their laws and customs, I have found no reason to depart from Ticknor's verdict. It is true that the Oriental woman is guarded by a jealous husband, and the custom of keeping the Spanish woman rather secluded from men's society may be the result of this influence. Yet the ideal of honor as conceived by the Spaniard of the seventeenth century does not seem to exist in Moorish life and literature even in an embryonic state.

The second of the sources suggested—that of the attitude of the laws toward domestic problems—is one which must be carefully considered. The Germanic laws are very significant on this point.<sup>4</sup> According to Tacitus the Germans believed that woman possessed something of the divine. He reports that adultery was rare among the Germans and that the punishment was intrusted to the husband in the presence of the relatives. The unfortunate woman was deprived of her hair, disrobed, expelled from the house and flogged through the village. The Spanish laws embodied in the *Fuero Juzgo* declared the father innocent who killed his daughter found in compromising circumstances. If he did not wish to kill her, she and her lover were in his power. The same right was given to the husband to kill his wife. Even if the husband merely suspected the wife and proved her guilt by only circumstantial evidence, the wife and her lover were delivered into his hands.

The ideal of honor is reflected in laws from Gothic times down to the seventeenth century; but that does not solve the question why the Spanish dramatists suddenly begin to make the action of their plays revolve about the *pundonor*. Literary currents gather strength for a long time before they reach their greatest power. The laws and customs are the background. In the present case, we can

<sup>4</sup> Rullkoetter, *The Legal Protection of Woman among the Ancient Germans*, Chicago, 1900, gives a full discussion of the question.

explain by them why such subjects as those of Lope and Calderón could be treated, and would be acceptable to the audience; but the whole question cannot be referred back to these laws.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly correctly points out that the honor in Spanish drama is a transformation of chivalresque ideals. Since the Calderonian ideal is so wrapped up with woman one naturally turns to the Provençal courts to find the possible source of this later conception.<sup>5</sup> But the honor of the Provençal courts is far removed from that of the Castilian courts. In the former, honor was won in war and the tourney, in generosity, in defending the land from the enemy. The poet served and honored his lady. His greatest honor was to be accepted as a lover. There was honor to be gained in serving God.

The *Amadís* contains the ideals of chivalresque honor which are common to the romances of chivalry. Honor depends upon performing great deeds, by keeping one's word, by not remaining inactive, by being loyal to one's king and lady. It is to be noticed that honor is here considered as something to be gained, not something that, as in the Spanish drama, is inborn and to be kept spotless. In *Amadís* when Perion finds a ring under suspicious circumstances he suspects his wife as quickly as a Calderonian hero would have done; but the question of his honor is not brought into the foreground. It is also true that Amadís feared the least stain on the honor of his lady far more than his own death, but this is in connection with nothing tragic; it is merely a challenge to uphold her beauty. The protection of woman, though guilty, is exemplified; and honor is held dearer than all else. These are both elements in Calderonian honor; but since they are conceptions common to all ages in which honor has been an ideal, they cannot be pointed out in this case as striking parallels between the earlier and later ideals.

If these elements of chivalresque honor be compared with the elements of honor in Spanish drama, it is easily seen that the two conceptions are far apart. There are too many qualities lacking in the former to permit of its being regarded as the direct source of the latter. Calderon and Lope did not draw their ideas of honor at first hand from romances of chivalry.

<sup>5</sup> Settegast, *Die Ehre in den Liedern der Troubadours*, 1887.



In the middle of the sixteenth century the Italians began to discuss in lengthy treatises the ideal of honor; and since the intimate relations between Italy and Spain at that time caused a free interchange of customs and ideas, these codes of honor are important to the present question.

Possevini, in his *Dialogo dell' honore*, speaks of honor as a reward, as something to be acquired by means of *virtù*.

L'honore adunque per lo mezzo delle virtù si consegue, essendo solo l'huomo da bene degno d'honore . . . tutti coloro, che peccano estremamente contra qualche virtù morale (perche ciascun peccato è contra l'una della virtù) como contra la fortezza, la temperanza, la giustitia, la liberalità e altre virtù, ò contra le cose congiunte alle virtù morali; come l'amicitia, tutti perdono l'honor loro.<sup>6</sup>

ed è l'co: m'u  
l'omista

This statement is typical of the Italian treatises in which honor is dependent on *virtù* and is closely allied to love of fame. In regard to domestic relations Possevini differs widely from the Spanish ideal. He says that the man who knows his wife is false to him and tolerates it, loses honor to such a degree that he cannot have recourse to the duel or to the law to regain it; but if after having taken the necessary precautions—and he must do this—his wife is false to him and he does not know it, he is not dishonored. Suppose he catches her in the crime, what shall he do? Kill her? No.

L'ammazar le moglie è costume da Barbari: ne è cosa honesta, come già dissi, ne honorevole l'adoperar le forze contra ad una femmina, ne contra ad alcuna altra persona debile.

He goes on to say that the ancients renounced their wives, but this being no longer possible the offended husband should have the law deprive his wife of her dowry and send her back to her parents. Should the husband put her to death, he himself would lose all honor. He should challenge the lover, but if the latter confesses that he has done wrong because of love, some compassion should be shown him. If such a disgrace falls upon a son through a father or mother and becomes public, he may not kill them, but he must show that he disapproves.<sup>7</sup> The rest of the treatise is taken up with a defense of the duel.

<sup>6</sup> *Dialogo dell' honore* di Gio. Possevini, Vinegia, 1553, pp. 44-45.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 143 ff.

Susio published a refutation of Possevini's ideas, entitled *Della Ingiustitia del Duello*, in which he agrees with Possevini that honor is acquired by living in accordance with the law and *virtù*; but he claims that the duel cannot restore honor, and since the punishment of an erring wife by law is sufficient for the husband's honor, so the lover, who has offended him less, should not be challenged but should be punished also by the magistrate.<sup>8</sup> Thus Susio is even farther from the idea of Spanish honor than Possevini.

Muzio follows the same line of thought in *Il Gentiluomo*. The sentiment *La virtù è il fondamento della nobiltà*<sup>9</sup> recalls the eighth satire of Juvenal, in which he says: *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus*. In his book on *Il Duello* he states that in the case of adultery the husband should challenge the offender not so much to vindicate himself as to avenge the marriage bond.<sup>10</sup>

The *Dialogo de vero honore* by Urrea<sup>11</sup> proves that honor depends on *virtù*, and since no one can deprive another of *virtù* so no one need fear dishonor except by throwing away *virtù*. One is honored when he is *virtuoso, giusto, ben creato, verace, liberale, honesto, modesto, forte*. . . . In regard to woman he says she can honor her husband by loving him, serving him, keeping her faith and promises to him, and she can dishonor him by doing the contrary.<sup>12</sup> The greatest shame a man can undergo is the adultery of his wife, for the wife dishonors herself and him at the same time. He should not kill her, for she is defenceless, and because in doing so in a rage he might be mistaken. He should send her to her father, or, if she has no father, to a nunnery. It will redound more to his honor if he controls his anger and does not kill her paramour, but gives him up to justice.

Camerata<sup>13</sup> departs even more widely from the idea of an intangible honor and defines it as *un segno della virtù fatto del conoscitor d'essa per manifestarla*. This sign can be made with

<sup>8</sup> Susio, *Della Ingiustitia del Duello*, Vinegia, 1555.

<sup>9</sup> Muzio, *Il Gentiluomo*, Venezia, 1569, p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> Muzio, *Il Duello*, Venezia, 1576, p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> Urrea, *Dialogo de vero honore*, 1569. This is a translation by Ulloa of the *Dialogo de la verdadera honra*. . . . published at Venice in 1566. The latter book is entirely Italian in spirit, although written in Spanish.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>13</sup> Camerata, *Trattato dell' Honore*, 1558.

voice, as in orations, titles, salutations; with actions, as rising to one's feet, bowing etc.; with works, as poems, books, crowns! In fact any form of praise brings honor.

A still more curious book setting forth the views of the Italian philosophers is Modio's *Il Convito: Dove ragionando si conchiude che non può la Donna dishonesta far vergogna à l'Huomo* (1554). The proof of this interesting thesis rests upon the assertion that honor and dishonor depend on the will, and while the unchaste woman may be the cause of her own great shame, yet, since the woman used her free will, no blame falls upon the male relatives. Modio also insists that it is worse to shed blood and break the laws in punishing her, than to have an unchaste wife. J. F. de la...  
de...

It is significant that when the same question is discussed by a Spanish contemporary the opposite conclusion is reached. Torquemada, in his *Colloquios Satíricos*<sup>14</sup> (1553), shows a knowledge of the Italian view-point as set forth in the treatises when he says of honor: *Según el filósofo, no es otra cosa sino premio de la virtud*. All interlocutors admit that one should have more obligation to faith than to honor, and that humility is the foundation of faith, hence honor is a *vana et soberbia presuncion*. In regard to the treatment of a fallen woman, a new argument is put forth as to why she ought not to be judged too harshly. Solo se ha ena fals  
de...

Absolvió Christo a la mujer adúltera, y parece que por este enxemplo ninguno pueda justamente condenarla, pero los maridos que hallan sus mujeres en adulterio, y muchas veces por sola sospecha, no les perdonan la vida.

Such an argument did not occur to the Italian philosophers, soaked with pseudo-Aristotelian learning and reasoning. The passage contains another proof that wives merely suspected of wrongdoing were put to death. When the question is raised why the laws permit this, Antonio, the chief speaker, explains that the laws permit the husband to do what he wishes. If he desires to kill his wife, he may do it without harm to himself; but in so doing he sins mortally. Yet this is permitted in order to prevent the crime becoming more common. Thus even Antonio almost admits the right of the husband. The dialogue continues, after this one passage, to set mar...

<sup>14</sup> Published by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, vol. 2; pp. 531-548; *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, vol. 7.

forth ideals of honor which have a strong Italian stamp. True honor is said to be gained by good and virtuous works; but the honor which is really sought is that gained by depravity and money. In the final speech of the first part, however, Antonio admits that his ideas are not those which are in vogue.

Although the philosophers conclude that it is dishonorable to put a woman to death for such reasons, yet this mode of punishment existed not only in Spain but in Italy in the sixteenth century, perhaps through the influence of the Spanish.<sup>15</sup> Bandello gives evidence that this was the case in his ninth *novella*.

E quantunque i padri, i fratelli e i mariti molte di loro (per levarsi dagli occhi il manifesto vituperio che rende loro la malvagia vita della figliuole, sorelle e moglie) con veleno, con ferro e con altri mezzi facciano morire; non veda per questo che molte di loro, sprezzata la vita che naturalmente a tutti è così cara, e sprezzato l'onore che tanto si dovrebbe stimare, non si lascino dagli sfrenati appetiti trasportare in qualche fallo.

Also in his twenty-sixth *novella* he says one hears that *il tale ha morta la moglie, perchè dubitava che non lo facesse vicario di Corneto*. That such events were taking place is also proved by the history of the times. Official reports of murders read: *Per omicidio d'una sorella per causa d'onore*.<sup>16</sup> The wife of the Duke of Bracciano, having been suspected of adultery, was killed by her husband in 1576. The deed had the entire approval of her brothers.<sup>17</sup>

The jealous and suspicious character of the Italian was recognized by Geffraie Fenton as early as 1567. He says in comparing the Frenchman to the Italian, that the former is not "so suspicious and cruell, and apte to synister conceits without juste cause, and who can not breake the instinct whiche nature hath given him, not only to doubt the honestie of his wife be she ever so virtuous, but also to keep her so short with straight imprisonment that she shall neyther be suffered to visit her frendes abroade nor admitt any accesse at home."<sup>18</sup> It is striking that these characteristics, applied

<sup>15</sup> See Burkhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, London, 1898, p. 444.

<sup>16</sup> Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, vol. VI, p. 241.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279. See also p. 295.

<sup>18</sup> Certain Tragical Discourses of Bandello, translated into English by Geffraie Fenton, 1567, no. 11.

to the Italian in 1567, fit exactly so many of Lope's and Calderón's heroes whose ideas of honor and domestic relations we are studying.

Thus there are two ideals of honor in Italy during the latter half of the sixteenth century. One is discoursed upon by the philosophers. It is a mingling of the desire for praise, fame and public distinction with the reputation for *virtù*—the word to conjure by in Italy. This honor is *acquired*. But there is also in real life an honor which resembles the Calderonian honor in all its suspicion and cruelty. Where, however, does this latter ideal exist in Italian literature? Were its problems set forth in Italy before the Spanish dramatists recognized in it a wonderful source of dramatic material? Naturally, one turns to the Italian novelists, from whom the writers of plays both in England and Spain drew so much of their inspiration; but an examination of these works does not reveal any elements of honor which may be branded as strictly Calderonian. Honor is generally laughed at. The marriage vow is not taken seriously. If the unfaithful wife is killed, the husband does the deed in a spirit of vengeance and rage. On the other hand, calmness in washing out the stain on one's honor is one of the striking characteristics of the Spanish husband, at least in the drama. He does not fly into an ungovernable passion, but laments the inexorable law. He reasons out his course of action.<sup>19</sup>

merda

Estarnieu's

<sup>19</sup> Another bit of evidence that such ideas of honor existed in Italy and were being disseminated from that country before the Spanish drama brings them to light, is found in Regnier's sixth satire, which has for its source two *capitoli* of Mauro entitled: *In Dishonore dell' honore* and *Del Dishonore*. These lines were published in 1608.

Je bannirois l'honneur, ce monstre abominable,  
Qui nous trouble l'esprit, et nous charme si bien, . . .  
Que sans luy les humains icy ne voyent rien;  
Qui trahit la nature, et qui rend imparfaite  
Toute chose qu'au goust les délices ont faite.

. . . . .

Qui veut faire entendre en ses vaines chimères,  
Que pour ce qu'il nous touche, il se perd, si nos mères,  
Nos femmes, et nos soeurs, font leurs maris jaloux:  
Comme si leurs désirs dépendissent de nous.

Even earlier than this satire is Garnier's *Bradamante*, the plot of which turns on the point of honor and is drawn from an Italian source. I hope to take up in the near future the question of the influence of Italy in this regard on both French and English drama, and to publish some data on the subject.

Before attempting to give the final solution of the problem, let us trace as accurately as possible the treatment of the honor ideal in Spanish drama from the *Celestina* onward. In this so-called comedy honor is mentioned as the best of worldly goods and as the *premio e galardón de la virtud*.<sup>20</sup> The idea of the honor of the father depending on that of his daughter is shown by Melibea, when she says

. . . perder y destruyr la casa y honrra de mi padre . . .<sup>21</sup>

As for her own honor Melibea exclaims . . . nombrarme esse tu cavallero que conmigo se atrevió á hablar, e tambien en pedirme palabra sin mas causa, que no se podia sospechar sino daño para mi honrra.<sup>22</sup>

Calisto is none the less tragic over the fact that his dishonor is likely to become public through the killing of his servants.

O amenguado Calisto! deshonrrado quedras para toda tu vida. . . . Pues yo bien siento mi honrra. Pluguiera a Dios que fuera yo ellos, e perdiera la vida e no la honrra . . . O mi triste nombre y fama, como andas al tablero de boca en boca.<sup>23</sup>

It is true that the conception of honor as set forth in this play cannot be considered as chivalresque; but the scheme of Spanish honor as set forth by Lope and Calderón cannot be derived from this one play, although the *Celestina* had a wide influence in Italy and Spain in regard to the central character. Yet Ticknor claims that this comedy "produced little or no immediate effect on the rude beginnings of Spanish drama."<sup>24</sup>

DONALD CLIVE STUART

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

(To be continued)

<sup>20</sup> *Comedia de Calisto e Melibea*, published by Foulché-Delbosc, Madrid. 1900, Act ii.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Act iv.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Act iv.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Act xiii.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 245.

## THE SOURCES OF THE SECRET DES SECRETS OF JOFROI DE WATREFORD

A French version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, made in the second half of the thirteenth century by the Dominican Jofroi de Watreford, assisted in some way by Servale Copale,<sup>1</sup> has attracted more attention than it would have otherwise done owing to a statement of the principal author in the dedicatory introduction. The passage containing the statement is as follows:

Et por ce moi priastes que cel liure, ki fu translatei de griu en arabic, et derechief de arabic en latin, vos translataisse de latin en franchois. Et ie, a vous prieres, al translater ai mise ma cure, et auoiques le plus grant trauail, k'en autres hautes et parfondes estudes sui enbesoingniés. D'autre part, sauoir devez ke les Arabiens trop ont de paroles en corte ueritei, et les Grigois ont obscure maniere de parler; et il me conuient de l'un et de l'autre langage translater: et por chou le trop de l'un escourcirai, et l'oscuritei de l'autre esclarcirai, solonc ce ke la matire puet soffrir; car lur entente sieurai, ne mies lur paroles. Saichiés derechief que souent i metterai autres bones paroles, les ques tot ne soient mis en cel liure, al mains sunt en autres liures d'autoritei, et ne sunt pas mains profitables ke celles ki en cel liure sunt escrites; et quanque ie i metterai, a la matire acordant sera. A la parfin saichiés que les liures ki de arabic en latin furent translatei furent fausement translatei; et por ce lairai ie pluisors choses ki ne sunt ueritez ne profitables, et prendrai la meule et la ueritei cortement.<sup>2</sup>

This general statement upon the sources of the work has been misunderstood, and has called forth unnecessary explanations, because more specific statements in other parts of the work have not been noted. The passage cited above was probably the only authority on which the historian of the Dominican order<sup>3</sup> based his assertion that Jofroi knew both Arabic and Greek, and Knust<sup>4</sup> believed it sufficient evidence for the existence of a Greek *Secretum Secretorum*.

Steinschneider<sup>5</sup> discredited the existence of a Greek text, and suggested that the "autres liures d'autoritei" were other works

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Meyer, *Romania*, XV, 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXI, 218.

<sup>3</sup> Echard, *Scriptores ordin. Praedicator.*, I, 467.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, X, 160-1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, XII, 367. For new arguments for an original Greek text cf. Gaster, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, 1076 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *La littérature française au moyen-âge*, 3d ed., 159-160.

translated from the Greek. Gaston Paris<sup>6</sup> summarises Jofroi's statement with "il dit rédiger d'après l'arabe et le grec." An examination of this passage in the light of others, published and unpublished, will show that Jofroi neither made a new translation of the Arabic text of the *Secretum*, nor laid claim to having made use of a Greek version.

Up to the present the version of Jofroi has been noted only in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 1822.<sup>7</sup> It has never been published; only brief notices of it have been written by Echard,<sup>8</sup> Lebeuf<sup>9</sup> and de la Rue;<sup>10</sup> and Le Clerc's analysis and extracts in an article in the twenty-first volume of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*<sup>11</sup> are not extensive, any more than are the extracts printed by Gidel.<sup>12</sup> Fortunately for the present purpose this lack is supplied by the publication of an English translation of this version, which was made in the English Pale of Ireland, probably at Waterford,<sup>13</sup> by James Yonge in 1422.<sup>14</sup> There are two manuscripts of this work, one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Rawlinson B. 490,<sup>15</sup> and the other in the Library of Lambeth Palace, MS. Carew 596,<sup>16</sup> although only the first of these was known to the editor of the translation. Although the English translator

<sup>6</sup> References to other manuscripts made by R. Reinsch (*Herrig's Archiv*, LXVIII, 9) and R. Förster (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, VI, 62, n. 63) are due to misunderstandings of various kinds. Cf. Gröber, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II, 1, 1023, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> L. c., 467-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* (XVII, 736 (1751)).

<sup>9</sup> *Essais sur les bardes*, III, 211 (1834).

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 217-225.

<sup>11</sup> *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 303 ff.; reprinted in *Nouvelles études sur la littérature grecque moderne* (1878), 351 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Orpen, *Song of Dermot and the Earl* (1892), xxv, xxxi.

<sup>13</sup> *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. R. Steele, 1898 (E. E. T. Soc. Publ., Extra Ser. LXXIV), 119-248. Referred to in this article as T. P. V.

<sup>14</sup> First noted by Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748), 787; then by J. Holmes in a MS. (B. M. Add. 20772) "Bibliographical Notes on the Secretum Secretorum" (Förster, *op. cit.*, 3, n.) to whom Steele was indebted for his acquaintance with this manuscript (*Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of old Philisoffres*, p. xiii); then by J. T. Gilbert, *Nat. MSS. of Ireland*, III, p. xiv; Pl. xxxvi, and *App.* Orpen was the first to note its French source (*l. c.*, xxxi, n.).

<sup>15</sup> Tanner (*l. c.*) was the first to note this copy. It is mentioned merely as "James Yonge's Essay" by Brewer, in his *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 296. Cf. Orpen, *op. cit.*, xxv, xxxi; Förster, *l. c.*, 70.



at times rearranged his original text, and introduced material and moralizations consonant with the events of his own time and the lesson he wished to teach, he made a translation which was closely literal of substantial portions of his original. This translation and a few extracts from the French text, found in Le Clerc's article, or noted by myself, will be enough to prove all the points I wish to make.

That the translation of the *Secretum Secretorum* made by Philip of Tripoli was the basis of Jofroi's version is at once evident from a comparison of a few phrases in the two texts:

Et qui habet grossam vocem et sonoram, est belliocosus et eloquens. cuius vox est mediocris in subtilitate et grossitie, est sapiens, providus, verax et iustus, qui vero est velox in verbis et praecipue si habet gracilem vocem, est improbus, stolidus, importunus et mendax, si vero vox sua fuerit grossa, erit iracundus et praecipitans, malae naturae.

elevatio vero humerorum signum est asperitatis naturae et infidelitatis. Quando vero brachia protenduntur in tantum, quod manus proveniant ad genua, significat audaciam et probitatem cum largitate, quando vero decurtantur brachia, signum est amantis discordiam et ignorantis.<sup>17</sup>

Who-so hath the Voyce grete and Plesaunt and wel hardyn, he is chyualerous plesaunt, and eloquente. Who-so hath the voice meene between grete and smale, he is wise, Purueyaunt, veritable, and ryghtfull. Whoso hath the worde hasty, yf he haue a smale voyce, he is angri, fole, Enuyous, and a liere: And yf his voice be grete, he is angri and hasty.

Whan the shuldres bene moche vprerid, thei tokenyth orribill kynde and vntrouthe; whan the armys bene longe and rechyng to the kneis whan thay ben straght, tokenyth hardynesse, proesse, and fraunchise. and whan the armes bene ful shorte thay tokenyth lowe of dyscorde, and vncunynge.<sup>18</sup>

Yet he dissents from "les liures ki de arabic en latin furent fausement translatei"; he omits certain parts, not consonant, according to his opinion, with the scientific reputation of Aristotle:<sup>19</sup> "entendons nos que quant qu'est bien dit et solonc raison en cest liure, Aristotles dit ou escrit, mais quant qu'est faus ou desordeneement dit, fu la coupe des translatoirs."<sup>20</sup> He only used one Latin version of the Arabic work, even if he refers to several books and translators in the passages cited.

<sup>17</sup> *Scriptores physiognomonicis*, ed. R. Förster, II (1893), 208-9, 213-214. Förster has printed on the same pages in parallel columns a Latin translation of the Arabic original, and of the Epitome of the work, neither of which could have been the source of Jofroi's text; cf. Förster, I, clxxviii ff. On the possibility of another complete translation of the *Secretum* cf. M. Steinschneider, *Sitzungsber. der Wien. Ak. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, CXLIX, Part IV, 42; CLI, P. I, 6, 79.

<sup>18</sup> T. P. V., 234, 28-33, 235, 18-22.

<sup>19</sup> *Hist. litt.*, XXI, 221; Gidel, *Nouv. études*, 359.

<sup>20</sup> The plural "translatoirs" could refer to those by whom the *Secretum* "fu translatei de griu en arabic, et derechief de arabic en latin."

According to his own statement, he translated a Latin translation of a Greek work on physiognomy, as well as the treatise on the subject which formed a part of the *Secretum*:

"Cest la prueue Aristotle al comencement de sa phisonomie translatei de grieu en latin, a prouer que la science de phisonome est posible et neccessaire. Ore nos volons sieure cest propre liure translatei de grieu en latin, et non pas celui qui fu translatei d'arabic en latin."<sup>21</sup>

"La phisonomie Aristotle solonc la translation de griu en latin, avons en romans translatee, solonc les exemplaires de Paris. Mais por ce que le livre qui est apellez secrez de secrez Aristotle à Alexandre empreismes a translater, si comme nos deismes al comencement de cest liure, et cest liures fait une brieuve phisonomie a sa fin chi la metteons nos, que chascuns qui cest liure list, puisse l'un et l'autre lire et du quel que plus li plaist eslire."<sup>22</sup>

That this Latin translation from the Greek text of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomica* was that of Bartholomew of Messina, made by order of Manfred, king of Sicily, 1258-1266, is quite evident from another comparison of the English text of Jofroi's work and of Bartholomew's translation:

Qui magna vociferantur graviter iniuriosi, referuntur ad asinos. Quicunque autem vocant a gravi incipientes et finiunt in acutum, iracundi, planctivi, referuntur ad boves et ad decentiam vocis. Quicunque autem vocibus acutis et molibus ruptis loquuntur, cinedi, referuntur ad mulieres et ad decentiam.

Tho that haue a grete voice and orible and not ful hey, done gladly wronges, and bene likenyd to assis. Tho that haue the voice atte the begynnyng of the word grete and lowe, and aftyr that endyth hit al smale and hey, as kynde of oxen bene wrothy. And tho that haue the voyce hei, smale and and swete and plesaunt, bene neshe, and haue lytill of manhode, and i-likenyd to women.

Quibuscunque musculi eminentes et spatulae, fortes sunt secundum animam, referuntur ad masculinum. Quibuscunque musculi inbecilles inarticulati, molles sunt secundum animam, referuntur ad femininum. Haec dico quae dixi de coxis. Quibuscunque spatulae bene solutae sunt, liberales sunt secundum animam, referuntur ab apparenti formae liberalitas; quibus vero difficulter solubiles convulsae, illiberales, referuntur ad apparentem convenientiam.<sup>23</sup>

Tho men which haue shuldres heygh vpperid, the synnowes and braones aperperynge, they bene stronge and hardy aftyr the propyrteis of the male; And tho that haue the contrary bene aftyr the Propyrteys of women. And thay that haue the shuldres hangynge downward and welle tailed, bene fre and lyberall; And they whyche haue the contrary, bene harde and hungry.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Ms. B. N., f. fr. 1822, fol. 137, recto, col. 1. Only translated in part in T. P. V., 219, 22-4.

<sup>22</sup> *Ib.*, fol. 142, recto, coll. 1-2; only translated in part in T. P. V., 232, 16-20. For suggestions in reading a difficult phrase in the manuscript "a sa fin . . . metteons" I am indebted to my friend, Professor Raymond Weeks. Le Clerc (H. L., XXI, 224) cites "les exemplaires de Paris" without noting that Jofroi was speaking of the Latin translation of the Greek. Gidel (263) although noting this statement, accepts the statement of the introduction, and ranks Jofroi among the medieval translators from Greek, and he is followed in this error by Sandys (*A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 565).

<sup>23</sup> *Script. physiogn.*, I, 85, 63; cf. l-lxv.

<sup>24</sup> T. P. V., 231, 4-10, 227, 17-23.

With the close relations between the court of France and the kingdom of Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century it is not surprising to find at Paris, perhaps in the library of the great Dominican convent, one copy—to reduce the number used by Jofroi once more—of the work of Bartholomew, who is known as the translator into Latin of other works from Greek.<sup>25</sup> Jofroi's difficulties of translation were not in curtailing the original Arabic text, and in clarifying the Greek text, but in editing according to his own ideas Philip's translation of the *Secretum* by omitting certain sections, and abbreviating Bartholomew's translation, when he did not understand bits of technical Latin. At the same time his reference to the prolixity of the Arabic language, and the obscurity of Greek may be a consecrated phrase, as Vitellion in his work on perspective refers to the "taedium verbositatis arabicae, implicationis graecae."<sup>26</sup>

It is not necessary to suppose that "les autres liures d'autoritei" were Greek, although Jofroi does cite Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galien,<sup>27</sup> any more than to suppose that the part of the work "translatez des Liures Issac qui sunt appelez Dietes universelles et particulieres"<sup>28</sup> was translated from the Arabic original by him. Comment must be made on another passage of the French work which refers to its sources: "Pluisors bonnes choses avons entees d'istories antives et de philosophie, et notre garant avons amenei fors pris de lus (*sic*)."<sup>29</sup> If some of these authorities are cited at first hand, as Eutropius, for a translation of which Jofroi and his assistant were responsible,<sup>30</sup> many are taken with the stories from a collection of *exempla*. Such, for instance, are his references to Vegetius as an authority for the answer—properly attributed to

<sup>25</sup> *Script. physiogn.*, I, lix, n.; A. Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions d'Aristote*, 2d ed., 71, 181, 440; O. Hartwig, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III, 184, 224; Sandys (*op. cit.*, 547) includes Bartholomew among translators from the Arabic. Cf. Steinschneider, *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, CXLIX, Part IV, p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> *Hist. litt.*, XXI, 144.

<sup>27</sup> *Hist. litt.*, XXI, 220; cf. T. P. V., 195, 35. On Hippocrates and Galien as the favorite authors of the medical school of Salerno, and later of Paris, cf. C. Vieillard, *Gilles de Corbeil*, 165-6, 181-2, 194.

<sup>28</sup> *Hist. litt.*, l. c.; Gidel, *op. cit.*, 356. On the Latin translation of Constantinus cf. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 11; on its use, Vieillard, *op. cit.*, 48, 182-3, 194.

<sup>29</sup> Gidel, l. c., H. L., XXI, 218.

<sup>30</sup> H. L., XXI, 217, 225.

Manlius Curtius Dentatus—of Fabricius to the ambassadors of an enemy of Rome, offering him gold;<sup>81</sup> and for the story of Alexander returning a beautiful captive to her husband with the proffered ransom.<sup>82</sup> The use of the *Secretum* in the Spanish *Castigos é Documentos*,<sup>83</sup> wrongly attributed to King Sancho,<sup>84</sup> has been noted; that its nameless author incorporated into his work liberal portions of a translation of the *De regimine principum* of Gilles de Rome made in 1345 by a certain “frey Johan Garcia de Castrogeriz,” has been also pointed out,<sup>85</sup> including the whole of the two chapters (lviii–lix)<sup>86</sup> in which the indebtedness to the *Secretum* is most apparent. There can be no possibility that Castrogeriz, in his additions to the Latin original<sup>87</sup> of Gilles, made use of Jofroi’s French version of the *Secretum*, as far as it was a translation of the Latin text.<sup>88</sup> But for a number of his illustrative stories he was indebted, if not to Jofroi, to perhaps the same collection of *exempla* that was used by the French translator. Elsewhere I hope to show at length that the English poet Gower was also greatly indebted to the Old French version of the *Secretum*, of which I have tried to point out the various sources.<sup>89</sup>

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

<sup>81</sup> T. P. V., 173, 26; cf. 177, 16; *Tractatus de diversis historiis Romanorum, et quibusdam aliis*, No. 4; cf. p. 37.

<sup>82</sup> T. P. V., 190, 24; *Libro de los Enxemplos*, 12; *Dialogus Creaturarum*, 121.

<sup>83</sup> Knust, *op. cit.*, 155; W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 168.

<sup>84</sup> P. Groussac, *Revue hispanique*, XV, 211 ff.; R. Foulché-Delbosc, *ib.*, 340 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Groussac, *op. cit.*, 321 ff.; Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, 357 ff.

<sup>86</sup> Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, 360.

<sup>87</sup> That he was not translating from the abridged French translation of Henri de Gauchi is at once apparent on comparing *Castigos*, ch. lvii, as far as *Mas aquí* with *Li Livres du Gouvernement des Rois*, ed. Molenaer, 92, 11–94, 28.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. *Castigos*, ch. lviii; *Mas aquí* to end; ch. lix, *Mas aquí* to end: T. P. V., 127, 34–128, 12; 130, 37–132, 10; 136, 5–12; 137, 28–34; 138, 5–9; 139, 9–140, 26; 138, 18–28; 140, 36–143, 22. Jofroi did not omit the poison maiden story (195, 15–26) even if it is not noted by Le Clerc (H. L., XXI, 216 ff.; Hertz, *op. cit.*, 164), but it was not the source of the detail found in the *Castigos*, “cuando le mandaste un home judgado á muerte, é ella mordióle, é luego morió á golpe,” analogues for which are found in other versions of the story (Hertz, 172 ff.).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. T. P. V., 150, 7–19; 173, 14–32; 175, 37–176, 3; 177, 1–8; 190, 161–191, 3: *Castigos (Escritores en Prosa Anteriores al Siglo XV)*, ed. Gayangos, pp. 153a; 110a; and 140a; 154b; 156b; 140a. Elsewhere in the *Castigos*, where an indebtedness to the translation of the *De regimine* has not been pointed out, that work was probably the source of a number of stories which are also found in Jofroi’s work (T. P. V., 128, 15–30; 130, 1–10; 174, 19–28; *Castigos*, 105b–106a; 116a).

## ARTHURIAN LITERATURE—II

(Continued from page 139)

MENTION has already been made of the rapid decrease in the number of writers and versions in the seventeenth century—the period, indeed, in which the lowest point of Arthurian production was reached. This sudden decline in interest is amazing, and there is no direct testimony as to the cause. The suggestion has been made, that the intellectual struggles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are accountable for this state of affairs. Possibly there were other reasons, which do not appear. The attention of the literary world was strongly drawn toward the drama during this century, and the whole subject of the construction of stage productions was fought out with a vehemence that left nothing to the imagination. As a result of this interest in the stage we find that Arthurian subjects appear for the first time in dramatic form, but in a very small number of cases. The first piece was that of John Dryden, *King 'Arthur, or The British Worthy*,<sup>22</sup> which was acted and published ; then Desmarres wrote *La Dragonne, ou Merlin Dragon*.<sup>23</sup> Francis Bacon wrote *The Misfortunes of 'Arthur*, a drama based on Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.<sup>24</sup> There were redactions and alterations in the following century, and these probably gave the impulse for dramatic handling of the various subjects of the Arthurian tradition. The three types of literature—the lyric, the novel, and the drama—are now represented. It is strange that Tristan, at least, did not appeal to writers before, or during, this century as a subject for the stage. It contained the elements

<sup>22</sup> A dramatic opera in five acts, in prose. London: Jacob Tonson, 1691; republished 1736, 1770, 1781. According to H. B. Wheatley (*Merlin, or the Early History of King Arthur*, edited, with the assistance of W. E. Mead, D. W. Nash, J. S. S. Glennie, London, Early English Text Society, 1865-1899; p. lxxvi), this is largely an original creation showing slight influence of the romances dealing with Arthur and Merlin.

<sup>23</sup> A comedy in one act in prose. La Haye, 1696.

<sup>24</sup> The catalog of the British Museum states this to be based on Dryden.

for such treatment, and would have lent itself admirably to one of the forms of the drama, as was perceived at a later date.

There are but seventeen authors to be recorded in this period, with two additional ones who planned works relating to the subject; twenty titles, not including eight supplementary ones: six on *Arthur*, one on *Gawain*, and one on *Tristan*. There are thirty-eight versions distributed among seven languages: English, twenty; German, six; Icelandic, five; Welsh, Italian, and French, two each; and Danish, one. Only in the Scandinavian countries was there an increase of interest. In Icelandic there are two manuscripts on *Percevals saga*, written from the *Conte del Graal* of Chrestien de Troyes; two entitled *Möttels saga*, and one entitled *Skijju rimur*, all treating of the *Mantel Mautailé*; a *Breta Sögur*; a translation of the *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth; one *Ivén(t)s saga*, a copy of the translation of Chrestien's *Chevalier au lion*, ordered by King Hakon; and an *Ereks saga*, a translation, also, of Chrestien. In Danish we have a *Vingoleis*, a translation of the German version.

The names of authors and scribes are: Francis Bacon, Sir Richard Blackmore, Thomas Blount, Jacob Bloome, Robert Chrestre, T. Deloney, Desmarres, John Dryden, Fhinn Duanaire, Jon Erlendsson, Thomas Heywood, Lhuyd, Martin Parker, William Rowley, Jon Thordarsson, Johann C. Wagenseil, Joseph Witzenhause. John Milton planned an Arthurian epic, but was drawn away from his plan by the religious disturbances of the times; and John Dryden and Henry Purcell also planned an Arthurian epic.<sup>25</sup> Shakespeare is said to have assisted William Rowley in the composition of his *Birth of Merlin*,<sup>26</sup> but, in the absence of direct proof, there is reason for doubt regarding this collaboration.

The subjects treated were: *Arthur*, with six supplementary versions; *Carle of Carlyle*; *Cor*; *Boy and Mantel*, an imitation of Robert Biket's *Corn* and the *Mantel mautailé*; *Erec*; *Gawain*, with one supplementary version; *Giglain*; the *Green Knight*; *Iwein*; *Libeaus desconnus*; *Lancelot*; *Lanval*; *Mantel mautailé*; *Meliadus*; *Merlin*; *Perceval*; *Tristan*, with an additional ballad entitled *Acanthus*, a *Complainte*; *The Turke and Gowin*; *Wigoleis*.

<sup>25</sup> *Fraser's Magazine*, XLV, 1852, 196-200.

<sup>26</sup> Wheatley *et al.*, p. lxxvi. For title, see note 22.

The places of publication were: England, London: William Stansby, *Arthur*; Jacob Tonson, *Arthur*; (no printer has been identified with the publications on *Merlin*;) and several additional versions of *Arthur*; Italy, Venice: Imberti Domenica, *Gawain*, a continuation of Agostini's *Tristan*; France, Troyes: *Meliadus* (no printer's name); Lyons: Gilles and Jacques Hugueton, *Giglain*; Germany, Erfurt: J. Singer, *Tristan*; Nuremberg (no printer's name) *Wigoleis*; M. and J. Endter, *Tristan*; Königsberg: *Arthur*, *Wigoleis* (no printer's name); Frankfort: *Merlin* (no printer's name); Hamburg: Lorenz Schneider, *Wigoleis*; Denmark, Copenhagen: *Vingoleis* (no printer's name). No mention has been found of any manuscripts or printed books in Spanish during this period.

The writers of the previous centuries who are represented are: Agostini, Robert Biket, Chrestien de Troyes, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Malory, Renauld de Beaujeu, Rusticien de Pise.

The story of the eighteenth century, like that of the seventeenth, is quickly told. Interest in the subject was still low, as is demonstrated by the small number of names and versions. Particulars for the century are: twenty-six names, twenty-two titles (not including twelve supplementary ones, of which six are on the subject of Arthur, and six on Merlin), and forty-one versions, divided among eight languages: English has seventeen; French, ten; Welsh and Icelandic, each four; Italian and German, each two; Latin and Portuguese, each one.

Names are: Purcel Arne, Alexander Bicknell, Erik J. Björner, Johann J. Bodmer, S. Boulard, Henry Fielding, David Garrick, W. Giffard, Aaron Hill, Richard Hole, Gunnlaug Leifsson, Pierre J. B. Legrand d'Aussy, Maurice McGorman, Melissa (pseudonym), J. W. Reed, Jon Sigurdsson, Ada Silva, John Thelwell, Aaron Thom(p)son, Louis-Elisabeth de la Vergne (Comte de Tressan), Jacques Vergier, Warton, Christoph Martin Wieland. In addition to what he actually wrote, Wieland planned a *Tristan*. Besides these persons, who should be credited with original compositions, or adaptations, of previous versions, a few scholars appear who are interested in the subject from a critical standpoint. In 1758 R. Manessen published at Zurich an edition of Wolfram von Eschenbach.<sup>27</sup> This is the first attempt at editing a writer of any com-

<sup>27</sup> *Her Wolfram von Eschenbach. Sammlung von Minnesingern* durch R. Manessen herausgegeben. Zyrich, 1758-9.

position dealing with the Arthurian tradition, that has come to the knowledge of the present writer. In 1779, Legrand d'Aussy issued his *Fabliaux ou Contes, fables et romances du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, published at Paris, a collection of mediaeval tales, retold and brought together. Jean-Baptiste de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye copied a fourteenth-century manuscript of Wace's *Brut*, possibly for the purpose of critical treatment. We have here probably the beginnings, altho slight, of scholarly consideration of the monuments of the cycle.

Only a few writers of previous centuries seem to have received attention at this time: Alemanni's *Girone* was reprinted; Chrestien's *Yvain* was abridged in an English translation; Dryden was altered, or rehandled, three times; Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Merlin* appeared in Icelandic, and his *Historia* was translated into English; Thomas Hughes' *Misfortunes of Arthur* was reprinted; *Tristan*, by Rusticien de Pise, was put into modern French; as was also Robert de Borron's *Merlin*; *Prince Arthur* appeared, an adaptation from Spencer; Wolfram von Eschenbach was imitated in a work entitled *Parcival*, in German; and Wace's *Brut* was copied.

The places of publication were: England, London, Oxford; Ireland, Dublin; France, Paris; Germany, Jena; Italy, Bergamo; Switzerland, Zurich; Sweden, Stockholm; Denmark, Copenhagen. A surprisingly large number (thirty per cent.) of the extant versions are in manuscript form.

The subjects on which compositions exist are as follows: *Arthur*, with six supplementary versions; *Brut*; *Crop-eared Boy*; *Chevalier à l'épée*; *Eagle-Boy*; *Erec*; *Gawain*; *Giron*; *Lancelot*; *Lanval*; *Mantel mautailé*; *Merlin*; *Mule sans frein*; *Perceval*; *Samson the Fair*; *Tristan*; *Wigoleis*; *Yvain*.

The nineteenth century began with the translation of Legrand d'Aussy's *Fabliaux* by Way; a copy of the Auchinleck manuscript, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and an incomplete poem on *Tristan*, by Carl W. F. von Schlegel; all in 1800. The last-named production, that of Schlegel, was a portion of a larger work planned on the *Round Table*, and was founded on the version of Gottfried von Strassburg. During the first quarter of the century only twenty-one names and anonymous versions have been found,



and in the second quarter, but thirty-two. The third and fourth quarters are about equally divided in this connection. The first edited work of the century was that of F. Glökle and J. Görres, a reproduction of *Lohengrin*, Heidelberg, 1813. This was followed by *The History of the renowned Prince Arthur*, edited by Joseph Haslewood, London, 1816, a correct reprint of Stansby's 1634 edition of Malory's *Morte d'Arthure*. Then came Robert Southey's reprint of Malory, 1817, furnished with an introduction and critical notes. It was reserved for the second half of the century to produce any number of really scholarly editions of the monuments. It is not in the plan of this article to enumerate, or consider, critical editions. These will be left for inclusion in the bibliography already announced. In the summary which follows are included original treatments, rehandlings, and translations. (Incidentally a certain number of illustrations are indicated in brackets.)

The preponderance of productions in English is startling. This interest was due largely to the works of Tennyson, and to the growing attraction for the version of Malory, which has been, and is still being reprinted, rehandled, modernized, extracted from, retold, and edited for pedagogical purposes. Later than these, Wagner's dramas have been of great influence. Next to the interest in England and America is to be noted that in Germany, due to the excellent works of Schlegel, Immermann, Simrock, Wagner, and Hertz, to mention only the most important. France, standing third, has definitely lost the supremacy, and other countries, with Italy leading, have fallen far behind.

The subjects most frequently treated are: *'Arthur*, predominating, with a number of original productions which are variations from the common themes, then *Tristan*, which is followed by *Merlin*, *Perceval*, and *Lancelot*. With *'Arthur* should be grouped the versions on the *Grail* and the *Round Table*, for these three run into each other in such a fashion as to make separation difficult, if not impossible, in many instances. *'Arthur* and the *Round Table* are treated in English by Thomas Bulfinch, *The Age of Chivalry*, 1863, in which he retells the stories of chivalry; [Aubrey Beardsley, illustrations to Malory's *Morte d'Arthure*, 1893;] [Gustave Doré, illustrations to Tennyson's *Idylls*, 1867, 1868, 1878;] Comyns Carr,

*King 'Arthur, a drama*, 1895; Beatrice Clay, *Morte d'Arthur, Stories for Children* (date not found); E. Conybeare, *La Morte d'Arthur*, an abridgment of Malory, 1868; G. R. Emerson, *Doré's Legends of King 'Arthur*, from chronicles and poets, 1867-78; Sebastian Evans, *'Arthur's Knighting*, an original poem, 1875, *The Eve of Morte 'Arthur*, poem, 1875, and *The High History of the Holy Grail*, translated from the French, 1898; Edgar Fawcett, *The New King 'Arthur*, a poem, 1885; John H. Frere, *Monks and Giants*, 1818; John S. Glennie, *King 'Arthur, or the Drama of the Revolution*, dealing with the contemporary conflict of political and religious ideas, 1867; *Quest for Merlin*, 1870, and *Youth of 'Arthur*, 1880; Edward Hamley, *Sir Tray*, a parody on Arthurian material, 1873; Robert S. Hawker, *King 'Arthur's Waes-Hael*, 1860, and *Quest of the Sangrael*, incomplete, 1864; George W. Cox and Eustace H. Jones, *Popular Romances of the Middle 'Ages*, containing *'Arthur*, *Merlin*, and *Tristan*, 1871, based on various sources; J. T. K(nowles), *The Story of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table*, an abridgment of Malory, 1862; Sidney Lanier, *The Boy's King Arthur*, Malory retold and edited [with illustrations by A. Kappes], 1880; E. Bulwer Lytton, *King Arthur*, and *The Fairy Bride*, 1849; M. W. MacDowall and W. S. W. Anson, *Epics and Romances of the Middle Ages*, adapted from the work of Dr. W. Wagner, 1883, contains *Lohengrin* and other legends of *King Arthur*, the *Holy Grail*, *Titurel*, *Perceval*, and *Tristan*; C. Morris, *King 'Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table*, a modernization of Malory, 1892; William Morris, *King 'Arthur's Tomb*, 1858 [and various scenes painted illustrating the legend]; R. W. Morgan, *The Duke's Daughter*, 1867, in which Arthur appears as a character, but there is only slight connection with the legend; D. M. Mulock, *King 'Arthur*, 1886; Mrs. G. F. S. Menteath, *'Avalon* (no date); W. W. Newell, *King 'Arthur and the Table Round*, chiefly from Chrestien de Troyes, 1897; B. M. Ranking, *La Mort d'Arthur*, abridged from Malory, 1871; John Rhys and F. J. Simmons, *The Birth, Life, and Acts of King 'Arthur*, Malory's *'Arthur* modernized in spelling and edited [with illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley], 1893; [Dante G. Rosetti painted scenes from the legend about 1857;] Robert Southey, *The Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of Kyng*

*Arthur*, a reprint, with notes, of Malory, 1817; Sir E. Strachey, *Morte d'Arthur*, Malory revised, 1868; Tom Taylor, *Ballads and Songs of Brittany*, poems on *Arthur*, *Tristan*, *Merlin*, *Taliesen*, 1865; Alfred, Lord Tennyson, beginning in 1832, published poems on the legends:<sup>28</sup> *Lady of Shalott*, 1832, and, at the same time, he issued two poems over the pseudonym "Merlin"; *Morte d'Arthur*, and *Galahad*, 1842; *Enid*, 1856; *Enid and Nimuë*, 1857; *Guinevere*, 1858; *Idylls of the King: Enid, Vivien, Elaine, Guinevere*, 1859, which were published later with additions: *Lancelot and Elaine*, *Geraint and Enid*, *Merlin and Vivien*, *Coming of Arthur*, *Holy Grail*, *Pelleas and Ettarre*, *Passing of Arthur*, *Marriage of Geraint*, *Balin and Balan*, *Last Tournament*; *Holy Grail*, 1869; *Gareth and Lynette*, 1872; *Merlin and the Gleam*, 1889; Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens), *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court*, a satire, 1889; two anonymous versions: *Young Arthur, or The Child of Mystery*, 1819, and *Arthur's Knights, an Adventure from the Sangrales*, 1858. William and Robert Whislecraft planned an epic on *King Arthur and the Round Table*, 1817. *Arthur* was handled in French by Ulric Guttinguer, *Arthur*, 1836; F. M. Luzel and l'Abbé Henry, *Sainte Tryphine et le Roi Arthur*, 1863; Creuzé de Lesser, *La Table ronde*, 1829; and Paulin Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, modernizations of *Joseph d'Arimathie*, *le Saint Graal*, *Merlin*, *Artus*, *Lancelot*, 1868; in Italian by Tomaso V. Mathias, *Il Cavaliere della Croce*, 1826, in which *Arthur* and *Merlin* rescue an imprisoned hero; in Bohemian by W. Hanka, *Stolowanie Krále Artuše*, 1817; in Portuguese by Teophilo Braga, *Os Doze de Inglaterra*, 1899. *The Grail* is found in the English productions of Edwin A. Abbey [frescoes in the Boston Public Library, 1895-1902]; Sebastian Evans, *The High History of the Holy Grail*, translated from the French, 1898; J. O. Halliwell, *The Nursery Rhymes of England*, 1842, where is a jingle on *Arthur*; Robert S. Hawker, *Quest of the Sangrael*, 1864; Reginald Heber, *Epic on Arthur*, in his *Works*, 1841; M. W. MacDowall and W. S. W. Anson, 1883 (the title is given above under *Arthur*); W. W. Newell, 1897 (title above under *Arthur*); and Tennyson, 1870; in French, by Paulin Paris, 1868 (title under *Arthur*); and in an anonymous Irish ver-

<sup>28</sup> The dates for Tennyson are taken, as far as possible, from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. London, 1885.

sion. *Lancelot* appears in English by C. Bruce, *The Story of Queen Guinivere and Sir Lancelot of the Lake*, after the German of W. Hertz, 1865; Gordon, *Rhyme of Joyous Garde*, 1868; Edmund Gosse, a poem on the love of *Lancelot and Guinevere*, 1873, in the volume entitled *On Viol and Flute* (the poem was omitted from later editions on account of the ridicule of the critics); Richard Henry, *Lancelot the Lovely*, 1889; William Morris, *A Good Knight in Prison*, 1858; W. W. Newell, 1897 (title under *Arthur*), and Tennyson (title under *Arthur*); in French by F. Beau and Louis Gallet, *Lancelot*, 1899, with music by Victorien Jonnières; A. Delvau, in the *Bibliothèque Bleue*, 1860, retelling of the story; in Italian by Giulio Ferrario, *Libro di Novelle e di bel Parlar*, etc., 1804, containing narrations about *Lancelot*, *Meliadus*, *Tristan*, *Lady of Shalot*; M[arc] A. P[arenti], *Scelta di Prose e di Poesie*, etc., 1826, same as Ferrario; in German by Franz Bittong, *Lancelot*, a libretto (no date); Adolf Böttger, *Lancelot*, a libretto, 1861; Wilhelm Hertz, *Lancelot und Ginevra*, 1860; in Spanish by Agustin Duran, *Romancero general*, 1859, containing tales of *Galvan*, *Lanzarote*, *Tristan*. *Merlin* appears in English by George Bidder, *Merlin's Youth*, 1899; J. Croskey, *Merlin, a Piratical Love Story*, 1896; Ralph W. Emerson, *Merlin*, 1883, a poem containing an address to the bard; John S. Glennie, *Quest for Merlin*, 1870; Jones and Cox (title under *Arthur*), 1871; W. W. Newell, 1897 (title under *Arthur*); C. W. F. von Schlegel, *Geschichte des Zauberers Merlin*, 1804; Tom Taylor, 1865 (title under *Arthur*); Alfred, Lord Tennyson (title under *Arthur*), 1832, 1859; John Veitch, *Merlin and other Poems*, 1889; and William Wordsworth, *The Egyptian Maid*, 1835, a story founded on Malory, in which *Merlin* plays an important role; in Italian by Ferrario (title under *Lancelot*); Parenti (title under *Lancelot*); and a reprint of Zorzi's *Merlin*, Bologna, 1884; in Spanish by Diaz de Benjumea, *El Mensaje de Merlin*, 1875; in German by Karl Goldmark, *Merlin*, an opera, 1888; Paul Heyse, *Merlin*, 1892, a novel, not reproducing the old legend, but with here and there a motive or hint from the mediaeval romance; Carl W. F. von Schlegel, *Merlin*, 1823, a translation of the French prose version of 1528; Karl Immermann, *Merlin*, a myth, 1832, in which motifs from the legends of *Faust* and the *Holy Grail* are mingled;

Ludwig Uhland, *Merlin der Wilde*, 1829; in French by Paulin Paris (title under *Grail*); and Edouard Quinet, *Merlin l'Enchanteur*, 1860; and an anonymous *Merlin, Tableaux*, 1827. *Tristan* appears in English in the writings of Matthew Arnold, *Tristram and Iseult*, 1852; Vivian Bell,<sup>29</sup> *Tristan*; H. and F. Corder, *Tristan and Iseult*, 1882, a translation of Wagner; A. Forman, *Tristan and Iseult*, 1891, a translation of Wagner; Maurice Hewlett, *The Forest Lovers*, 1898; F. Jameson, *Tristan and Iseult*, 1886, a translation of Wagner; M. W. MacDowall and W. S. W. Anson (title under *Arthur*); F. Millard, *Tristram and Iseult*, 1870; [William Morris, *Tristram in Marc's Palace*, a painting, 1856;] and *The Chapel in Lyonesse*, 1856, a poem; Algernon C. Swinburne, *Tristram of Lyonesse*, 1882; The Wanderer (pseudonym), *Sir Tristram's Axe*, 1892, a child's fairy tale; Jessie L. Weston, *The Story of Tristan and Iseult, rendered into English from the German of Gottfried von Strassburg* [with illustrations by Caroline Watts], 1899; in French, by the Count de Chambrun and S. Legis, in their translations of Wagner, 1895; Alfred Delvau (title under *Lancelot*); M. Lyon, *Tristan et Iseult*, 1895, a translation of Wagner; Armand Silvestre, *Tristan de Léonois, drame*, 1891; V. Wilder, *Tristan et Iseult*, 1886, a translation of Wagner; in German by Karl P. Conz, *Tristan's Tod*, 1824; Wilhelm Hertz, *Tristan und Isolde, von Gottfried von Strassburg, neubearbeitet*, 1877; Karl Immermann, *Tristan und Isolde*, 1841, an incomplete poem; Hermann Kurz, *Riwalin und Blanche-flor*, 1844; Oswald Marbach, *Tristan*, 1839, a translation of the beginning of Gottfried von Strassburg; August von Platen, *Tristan*, 1825, incomplete; Carl Robert (pseudonym of Edw. Hartmann), *Tristan und Isolde*, 1871; Friedrich Roeber, *Tristan und Isolde*, 1854; August Wilhelm von Schlegel, *Tristan*, 1800, incomplete; Carl W. F. von Schlegel, *Tristan*, 1846; Ludwig Schneegans, *Tristan, Trauerspiel*, 1865; Karl J. Simrock, *Tristan und Isolde*, 1845; *Tristan und Isolde, übersetzt von Gottfried von Strassburg*, 1855; Wilhelm Wackernagel, seven romances on *Tristan and Isolde in Gedichte eines fahrenden Schülers*, 1828; Wilhelm Richard Wagner, *Tristan und Isolde*, 1859; Joseph Weilen,

<sup>29</sup> This work, and *Yseult* given below, are mentioned by Anatole France in his *Lys Rouge*, chapter one, but I have not been able to locate them. He also states that Burne-Jones illustrated the *Tristan* in aquarelle.

*Tristan, eine Tragödie*, 1860; in Italian by 'A. Boito, *Tristano e Isotta*, 1876, a translation of Wagner; Giulio Ferrario (title under *Lancelot*); C. Nigra, *La Romanza di Tristano e Isotta*, 1897; in Spanish by Augustin Duran (title under *Lancelot*); and in Bohemian by Waclawa Hanka, *Tristram Weliky Rek (Tristram the Mighty Hero)*, 1820. (See also *Iseult*.) *Perceval* is treated in English by M. F. Glyn, *Parsifal*, 1890, a translation of Wagner; E. F. Germanicus (pseudonym), *Parsifal, der reine Thor*, 1883, a translation of Wagner; M. W. MacDowall and W. S. W. Anson (title under *Arthur*); W. W. Newell (title under *Arthur*); Jessie L. Weston, *Parzival, a Knightly Epic*, 1894, translated from Wolfram von Eschenbach; in French by Alphonse Grandmont, *Perceval*, 1893, translated from Wolfram von Eschenbach; V. Wilder, *Parsifal*, 1885, translated from Wagner; in German by Wilhelm Hertz, *Parzival, neubearbeitet von Wolfram von Eschenbach*, 1897; K. Pannier, *Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzival, übersetzt*, 1897; A. Schulz, *Parzival von Wolfram von Eschenbach, übersetzt*, 1836; Karl J. Simrock, *Parzival und Titirel von Wolfram von Eschenbach, übersetzt*, 1842; Wilhelm Richard Wagner, *Parsifal*, 1877; [C. Rotter, *R. Wagner's Parsifal, Neun Szenenbilder gemalt*, 1892].

The remaining titles are: *Balen (Balin)*, handled by Algernon C. Swinburne, *Tale of Balen*, 1896; Tennyson, *Balin and Balan*, 1859(?); *Bel Inconnu* by Alfred Delvau (title under *Lancelot*); a chronicle by J. A. Giles, *The History of the Britons*, 1841, translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth; *The Courteous Knight*, by E. Edwardson, 1899; *Elaine*, Tennyson, 1859; [illustrated by Gustave Doré, 1867;] *Enide* [illustrated by Gustave Doré, 1868;] D. E. M. van Herwerden, *Enid metrisch vertaald*, 1888, a translation of Tennyson into Dutch; Tennyson, *Enid*, 1857; *Erec*, by V. Asmundson, *Aevintyra-Sögur*, 1886; L. Clédat, *Erec et Enide, extraits traduits et analysés*, 1897; S. O. Fistes, *Erek, eine Erzählung*, 1851; W. W. Newell, *Erec and Enide*, 1897; *Fight with the Dragon*, by H. Kurz, 1844; *Galahad*, by Elinor Sweetmar, *Pastoral of Galahad*, 1899; William Morris, *Sir Galahad*, 1858; *Gareth and Lynette*, see above under *Idylls of the King*; *Gawain*, by A. Duran (title under *Lancelot*); George A. Simcox, *Gawain and the Lady*

of *Avalon*, 1868; Jessie L. Weston, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, 1898; *Geraint*, by Tennyson, *Geraint*, 1859; *Guinevere*, by William Morris, *Defense of Guinevere, Near Avalon*, 1858; C. Bruce, *The Story of Queen Guinevere and Sir Lancelot*, 1865, after the German of W. Hertz; Owen Meredith (pseudonym of Edw. Robt. Bulwer Lytton), *Queen Guinevere*, 1855; Edw. Geo. Bulwer Lytton, *The Fairy Bride*, and *King Arthur*, poems, 1848-49; Thomas L. Peacock, *Misfortunes of Elphin*, 1829, in which *Guinevere* is carried off by *Melvas*; George A. Simcox, *Farewell of Ganore*, 1868; Tennyson, *Guinevere*, 1859 (see also *Lancelot*); *Guiron*, by F. Tassi, *Girone il cortese*, 1855, a translation of Rusticien de Pise; P. Zanotti, *Girone il Cortese*, 1857; Tennyson's *Idylls* were treated by Oskar F. Adams, *Post-Laureate Idylls*, 1886, parodies; J. Angobol Csukassi, *Enid: Kiraly-idyll*, 1876, a translation into Hungarian; [A. Butts, *Sixteen Illustrations to the Idylls*, 1863;] J. H. F. Le Comte, *De Konnings-Idyllen*, 1893, in Dutch; S. Eytinge, Jr., *The Last Tournament*, 1872 [illustrated]; H. A. Feldmann, *Königsidyllen*, 1871, a translation; Francisque Michel, *Elaine*, 1867, *Vivienne*, *Guinièvre*, 1868, *Enid*, 1869, translations; A. Munch, *Idyller om König Arthur*, 1876, translations of Tennyson into Danish; [G. W. and L. Rhead, *Idylls of the King: Vivien, Elaine, Enid, Guinevere*, 1898, decorations;] W. Scholz, *Königs-Idyllen*, 1867, translations into German; K. Szász, *Kiraly-idyllek*, 1876, 1889, translations into Hungarian;<sup>80</sup> *Yseult* by Vivien Bell (date?); Charlotte H. Dempster, *Iseulte*, 1875; Robert Gehrke, *Isolde, Tragödie*, 1869. (See also *Tristan*.) *Iwein*, by W. Graf von Baudissin, *Iwein mit dem Löwen*, 1845; C. J. Brandt, *Ivan Löveridder*, 1869, translation into Danish; W. W. Newell (title under *Grail*); *Jaufre*, by Jean Bernard Mary-Lafon, *Les Aventures du Chevalier Jaufre*, 1856, also translated into English, 1869, under the title *Geoffrey, the Knight* [with illustrations by Gustave Doré], but the name of the translator is not given; *Joseph*, by Paulin Paris (title under *Grail*); *Knight of the Falcon*, by an anonymous writer, 1870; *Lady of the Fountain*, by the same, 1870; *Lady of Shalot*, by Giulio Ferrario (title under *Lancelot*); W. W. Newell (title under

<sup>80</sup> Also see the titles: *Enid*, *Lady of Shalott*, *Vivien*, *Elaine*, *Guinevere*, *Lancelot*, *Geraint*, *Merlin*, *Coming of Arthur*, *Holy Grail*, *Pelleas*, *Passing of Arthur*, *Balin*, *Last Tournament*, *Morte d'Arthur*, *Gareth*.

*Grail*); Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*, 1832; *Lais* of Marie de France, by E. Rickert, *Marie de France. Seven of her Lais done into English*, 18—; in German by Wilhelm Hertz, *Marie de France, Poetische Erzählungen übersetzt*, 1862; Wilhelm Hertz, *Lanval*, 1886, translated from the French; also translated into English by Way, 1800; James Russell Lowell, *Vision of Sir Launfal*, 1848; Way, *Translations from the Fabliaux of Legrand d'Aussy*, 1800; *Last Tournament*, by Tennyson, 1871; *Lohengrin*, by W. W. MacDowall and W. S. W. Anson (title under *Grail*); O. F. H. Schönhuth, *Der Schwanritter*, 1864; Karl J. Simrock, *Schwanenritter*, 1845; Wagner, *Lohengrin*, 1847; One of the Folk (pseudonym), *Lohengrin Fifty Years After*, 1895; J. Ashton, *Romances of Chivalry told and illustrated*, 1887; *Mabinogion*, by Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion*, a translation into English, 1849; J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, a translation into French, 1889; *Mantle*, by Maxime Camp, *Le Manteau déchiré*, 1891; *Mordred*, by Henry Newboth, *Mordred, a Tragedy*, 1885; *Pelleas and Ettarre*, by Tennyson, 1870; *Peredur*, by an anonymous writer, *Some of the King's Idylls Unvarnished*, 1870, containing *Peredur, or the Magic Basin*; *Vivien*, by Tennyson, 1859.

The summary for the nineteenth century is: one hundred and fifty-four authors; forty-four titles, with seven additional supplementary ones on Arthur; two hundred and thirteen productions distributed among fourteen languages: English with one hundred and twenty-three; German, thirty-three; French, twenty-four; Italian, thirteen; Dutch, five; Spanish, four; Hungarian, Danish, and Irish, each two; Swedish, Norwegian, Hebrew, Portuguese, and Bohemian, each one.

The twentieth century has already a large number of translations, reworkings, and original treatments in prose and poetry, appearing in narrative, dramatic, and lyric form. The information which the writer has been able to obtain would indicate that interest in the cycle has diminished very considerably in all countries, except England and America. This statement applies only to productions of a literary nature. If we consider editions and scholarly monographs, we find that Arthurian literature is attracting the attention of students in practically all the countries of Europe and



in America; but these, as in previous centuries, are not to be included here. In the matter of literary adaptations, English almost monopolizes the field, with fifty-five productions, followed by French with four, German with three, and Dutch and Swedish with one each. It seems improbable that this should be the sum of the productions outside of English. Twenty-six titles appear, with an addition of four supplementary ones on *Arthur*. There are forty-seven names of writers, and, as shown, but five languages are represented. *Arthur* and the *Grail*, then *Tristan*, are the subjects which have received the most frequent attention. The versions with *Arthur* as subject are largely rehandlings and reworkings of Malory, and there are few original ones. The subjects found during this first decade of the century are: *Arthur*, by Mary Macleod, from Malory, 1900; Andrew Lang, from Malory, 1902; C. L. Thomson, from Malory, 1902; H. Pyle, 1903; Beatrice T. Clay, 1905; U. W. Cutler, from Malory, 1905; Mary Macgregor, juvenile, 1905; R. S. Bate, from Malory and Tennyson, 1907; C. Morris, 1908; L. O. Stevens and E. F. Allen, from Malory, 1908; Frith, from Malory, 19—; *Arthur in Avalon*, by Geoffrey (pseudonym), 1904; *King Arthur's Table on Christmas*, an enumeration of foods and drinks, 1907; *King Arthur's Hunt*, by William H. Carruth, 1908; *The Advent of Arthur*, by Enid L. Hunt, 1908; *Cleges*, translated from Old English by Jessie L. Weston, 1901; *Crop-eared Boy*, translated from Welsh by R. A. S. Macalister, 1908; *Eagle-Boy*, translated from Welsh by R. A. S. Macalister, 1908; *Ex Calibur*, drama, by Ralph A. Cram, 1909; *Galahad*, by Norley Chester, 1907; Richard Hovey, drama, 1907; M. B. Sterling, 1908; *Gawain*, by Jessie L. Weston, 1903; Charlton M. Lewis, 1903; *The Grail*, by Ferris Greenslet, 1902; Richard Hovey, drama, 1907; R. Kralik, 1907; Henry James, an outline of the version of the legend in description of the Abbey frescoes, 1907; Norley Chester, 1907; [Miss E. E. Siddal, a drawing, 1909;] *Guinevere*, drama, by Richard Hovey, 1907 (see also *Lancelot*); *Historia Britonum*, translated by Sebastian Evans, 1904; *Iseult's Return*, by W. W. Newell, 1908 (see also *Tristan*); *Knight of the Lion*, from Chrestien de Troyes, W. F. Harvey, 1902; *Lohengrin*, by Oliver Huckel, from Wagner, 1905; Norley Chester, 1907; *Lady of the Fountain*, from

the *Mabinogion*, by W. F. Harvey, 1902; *Lady of King Arthur's Court*, by Sara H. Sterling, from Malory, 1907; *Lancelot*, by Richard Hovey, drama, 1907; H. Pyle, 1907; *Lanval*, by Jessie L. Weston, from Marie de France, 1900; T. E. Ellis (pseudonym of Lord Howard de Walden), drama, 1908; *Libeaus desconnus*, by Jessie L. Weston, translated from Old English, 1901; *Mabinogion*, translated by A. Nutt, 1902; *Merlin*, by R. A. S. Macalister, translated from Irish, 1903; Richard Hovey, drama, 1907; *Morien*, by Jessie L. Weston, translated from the Dutch *Lancelot*, 1901; *Oliver and Arthur*, by William Leighton and Eliza Barrett, translated from the German of Wilhelm Liely, 1903; *Perceval*, by J. P. Jackson, drama, translation of Wagner, 1900; Oliver Huckel, a poetic paraphrase of Wagner, 1903; C. G. Kendall, *Tannhäuser*, in which *Perceval* appears as a character, 1903; *Perceforest*, reprint of the 1531 French version, 1906; *Taliesen*, by Richard Hovey, drama, 1907; *Tristan*, by Joseph Bédier, a translation and reconstruction, 1900; H. Belloc, a translation of Bédier into English, 1900;<sup>21</sup> J. Zeidler, a translation, 1901; M. Lokes, a translation of Bédier into Dutch, 1903; Elizabeth Colwell, poem, 1907; R. Le Gallienne, translation of Wagner, 1909; Eddy Marix, drama, 1905; Ernst Hardt, *Tantris der Narr*, 1909. A drama has been announced, to be played by Sarah Bernhardt, written by Louis Artus, the pseudonym of a distinguished French scholar.

A. E. CURDY

YALE UNIVERSITY

<sup>21</sup> A new edition by Bédier, with illustrations by Maurice Lalan, has been issued by Piazza et Cie., Paris, 1910.

## BARTHÉLEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

(Continued from page 207)

### IV

THE literary activity of Aneau really begins with his election to the principalship of the Collège de la Trinité. Before 1540, literature was for him mainly a subject for the class-room. The few poems that he composed were either a diversion or intended to inspire his pupils. But after his election to this high position, he enjoyed greater influence in the social life of the city. The successful production of the *Mystère de la nativité* had indeed made of him a well-known local character; but now it devolved upon him to take part in all the important civic functions and write epigrams on contemporary events. He was placed on reception committees, and was usually requested, when the city welcomed a notable, to write a poem or a play commemorating the occasion. "Arriva-t-il en ville un accident," says M. Demogeot, "Aneau le racontait; un prince, Aneau le haranguait; une sottise, Aneau s'en moquait; une fête, Aneau en réglait les préparatifs."<sup>1</sup>

Although there were many poets and scholars in Lyons at this time, any one of whom was fully as capable as Aneau to fill this rôle, yet none held quite the same place in the esteem of the public. When Sainte-Marthe failed in his effort to secure the principalship of the Collège de la Trinité, Aneau began, in a way, to be aware of his own popularity. This probably explains the vanity that he manifests at times in later life—the innocent vanity of a self-satisfied pedagogue.<sup>2</sup> But we must be careful not to exaggerate this failing. Ordinarily he was very modest. "Exclusivement dévoué au culte des lettres," says M. Ferdinand Buisson, "Aneau partageait ses loisirs entre la muse latine et la muse française."<sup>3</sup> If he had not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Le Collège de la Trinité in Lyon ancien et moderne*, Lyons, 1838-43, vol. I, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, his criticisms on the *Deffence et Illustration* in the *Quintil Horatian*.

<sup>3</sup> *Castellion*, I, pp. 22-23.

possessed "les qualités rares de science, de bonté, et d'amabilité," to use the words of M. Mugnier,<sup>4</sup> he would not certainly have enjoyed such exceptional popularity amongst his pupils. "A une connaissance profonde des lettres grecques et latines," says M. Demogeot, "il joignait une éloquence facile, un abord gracieux. Il faisait des vers latins *durs d'accord*, mais ingénieux, des vers français où l'esprit manquait moins que le naturel."<sup>5</sup> An *esprit orné mais léger*,<sup>6</sup> he was careful to avoid religious and philosophical questions. In fact, all quarrels were repugnant to him. Only once did he engage in one; and that was when he criticised the *Deffence* of Du Bellay—a purely literary discussion. But even then he does not reveal his identity. When Buttet made a savage attack on him in the *Apologie pour la Savoie* in 1554,<sup>7</sup> Aneau did not reply. His chariness concerning religious questions was probably due to the fact that, being inclined to protestantism, he did not wish to expose himself to the shafts of his many bitter enemies. He knew, no doubt, of the fate of the unfortunate Cadurce, who was sent to the stake at Toulouse in 1532, accused of having taught heresy in his classes. He was also acquainted with the troubles of the scholarly jurist and Latin poet, Jean de Boyssonné, who was forced to abjure the reformed faith in the same city under the penalty of death.<sup>8</sup> But prudence availed Aneau little. "Aneau était choqué des disputes de l'école," adds M. Demogeot, "et, dès lors, *il sentait mal de la foi*."<sup>9</sup> We can, therefore, easily understand the diffident attitude assumed by this professor in regard to questions of theology and philosophy. The Church had sought to gain possession of the Collège de la Trinité in 1530, and was not dismayed by that first defeat.<sup>10</sup> Aneau had possibly a premonition of what Fate had in store for him; and, a few years later, Buttet warned him of it in a most brutal manner.

<sup>4</sup> *Marc-Claude de Buttet*, Paris, 1896, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Lyon ancien et moderne*, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Rabanis, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Mugnier, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> For Cadurce as well as Boyssonné, see my article on *Deux lettres inédites de Jean de Boyssonné*, in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, VII, 1906, pp. 228-32.

<sup>9</sup> *Lyon ancien et moderne*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. my article on *Le Collège de la Trinité*, etc., *Revue de la Ren.*, X, 1909, pp. 137, etc.

## V

The success of the *Mystère de la Nativité* encouraged Aneau to make another effort of a similar nature. This play, entitled the *Lyon marchand*, was represented in the college in 1541.<sup>11</sup> Its purpose was, without doubt, to inspire his pupils with civic patriotism, for as we shall see, *Vérité* gives the palm of victory, notwithstanding the pretensions of Paris, Rohan and Orleans, to *Lyon marchand*, the merchant city of Lyons.

The dedicatory preface, written in the same simple and graceful manner as the rest of the work, is addressed to M. de Langey (Guillaume du Bellay), one of the most famous warriors of the time.

"Ceste satyre a vous, Monseigneur," says the poet, "non pas dediée: (car ce n'est chose sainte, ne diuine) mais offerte en petit present: ne vous demande rien, sinon pour recreation de vos necessaires labeurs, estre leue de vous, comme de l'un des tres bons françois (ie tais les aultres langues, et vertus) que ie cognoisse au jourd'huy" (A1 v°).

The play opens with the *cry des monstres de la satyre* (A2 r°). The first personage to appear upon the stage is *Lyon, marchand à pied*. He is followed by *Arion* and *Vulcain*, to whom he addresses these words:

Des animaulx brutz le Prince et Monarche  
Ferme sur pied comme vn mont Pelion,  
Par propre force auant les aultres marche  
Marchant de soy soustenu le Lyon.

In order that the reader may not fail to comprehend the symbolism of the poem, Aneau has inserted in the margin the words, *Lyon cité marchande*.

The next quatrain, which is pronounced by *Arion*, contains a

<sup>11</sup> *Lyon marchand/Satyre Francoise. Sur la coparaison/de Paris, Rohan, Lyon, Orleans, &/sur les choses memorables depuys/Lan mil cinq cens vingt-quatre./Soubs Allegories, & Enigmes/Par personnages mystiques/iouée au College de la/Trinité à Lyon./1541./M. D. XLII./On les vend a Lyon en rue Merciere/par Pierre de Tours./Small 8vo of 20 unnumbered ff., goth. char., signed A-B by 8; C by 4. Bibl. nat., Rés. Ye1656. Reprinted by G(iraud) V(einant), June 15, 1831, chez Pinard, rue d'Anjou-Dauphine, no. 8, à Paris. Of the 42 copies composing this edition, two are in the Bibl. nat., Rés. Ye4347 and 1657. Cf. Brunet, III, cols. 1253-4.*

reference to the sudden death of the young Dauphin in 1536. This sad event stirred all France; and, as usual in those exciting times, an innocent man, Sébastien de Montecuculo, was accused of having poisoned him and paid the penalty with his life. Arion addresses the *Lyon* as follows:

Jadis on vit le harpeur Arion  
En haulte mer, porté sur vn Daulphin  
De l'homme amy, chantant ver Orthrion  
Mais maintenant il gemit son desin.

Vulcan, who aroused Francis I and Charles V to war, speaks in his turn:

Vulcan forgeant fouldre en feu, de fer fin,  
Trempe l'ouurage en Styx fluue de larmes,  
Pour puyz apres plonger en sang, affin  
Destonner toute Europe par alarmes.

Then enters Paris, *monté sur vn cheual roan (Rohan)*. The *cité souveraine*—as the poet indicates in the margin—addresses his rival in these terms:

Paris apprins aulx amours plus qu'aulx armes  
Diains corps nudz tousiours veoir vouldroit bien,  
Mais en ayant ses pasteurs bons gens d'armes,  
Pour estre grand est monté sur Rohan.

*Aurelian*, or, as the poet states in the margin, *Orléans, forte cité*, now enters, and exclaims:

Et l'empereur nommé Aurelian  
Victorieulx en mainte bataille (A2 v°)  
De seruitude en craignant le lien  
L'arme d'harnois faict de pierre de taille.

The next personage to make his entrance is *Androdus*, who represents Jean d'Albon, seigneur de St. André, a celebrated captain of Lyonnese origin. On Dec. 30, 1542, d'Albon, who was *bailli* of Mâcon and *sénéchal* of Lyons, succeeded the Cardinal de Tournon as governor of the Lyonnais.<sup>12</sup> D'Albon had just passed some

<sup>12</sup> Jean d'Albon was appointed to the above positions in 1530. He died in 1549, and was succeeded the same year by Jacques d'Albon, maréchal de St. André. Cf. Pericaud, *Notes et Documents*.

time in the Orient among the *Turcs chiens*, to use the words supplied by Aneau in the margin; and his quatrain explains why he returned:

Androdus craingt moins l'estoch que la taille,  
Et ayme mieulx, vivre vie sauluage  
Auec Lyon, qui sa vie luy baille,  
Que viure avec les hommes en seruage.

Europe, *très bonne partie du monde*, complains of the wars from which she suffers:

Du tort Vulcan voiant l'hideux ourage,  
La paoure Europe une fois ia rauie  
Par Juppiter, crainct vn second rauage  
Tremblant de paour d'estre aux chiens asseruie.

But *Ganymedes* tries to assuage her fears:

Joye en conseil et bon espoir de vie  
Ganymedes l'enfant Royal apporte,  
Et de conseil mutuel, sans enuie,  
Joye en conseil a Europe il r'apporte.

Finally *Vérité* comes forth from the earth—for do not the Psalms say *veritas de terra orta est*? She explains first why she considers her presence necessary:

En fin fault-il que la verite sorte  
Mise hors terre euidente en clarté,  
Pour tout iuger en equitable sorte,  
Car le feu clair n'est soubz le muid bouté.<sup>18</sup>

Beholding *les chiens d'Orleans* and *Rohan, grande cité au d'ssoubz de Paris*, she expresses the following opinion:

Europe est grande, et pleine de bonté  
Aurelian est vn fort chien couchant,  
Et Paris est dessus Rohan monté,  
Mais deuant tous est le Lyon marchant.

And the poet adds naïvely: *icy marche le Lyon premier*.

The *Cry* is followed by a *Satyre* (A3 r<sup>o</sup>), which consists of a

<sup>18</sup> In the margin, we find the verse from St. Matthew: *nemo accendit lucernam et ponit sub modio*.

kind of review of the most important contemporary events. First enters Arion *cheuauchant vn Daulphin, et sonnant sur vn luz, ou lyre, vn chant piteux, et lamentable, comme Douce Memoire*—the name of a *royalle chanson*, in imitation of which Aneau composed one of the Noels in the *Chant natal*. *Puys se leuant et gectant son instrument*, Arion sings three dizains on the death of the Dauphin. He calls upon the fish of the sea to come and weep with him for the young Dauphin, *jadis plus clair que le métal d'or fin*.<sup>14</sup>

Vulcan, like the demons in the mystery plays, issues forth from *un soubzterrain, et mettant hors vne serpentine suscrite Guerre, d'icelle tire vn coup soudain*. He asks the others if they are not afraid; and then explains, in two douzains, that the beast he has brought with him is War:

Guerre forgee a destruire, a conquerre  
Au goulphe obscur du centre de la terre.

*On tire derechef vn coup dedans ladicte piece, au son duquel Paris, dormant au pied du mont Ida, se reueille comme en sursault, et le lyon sort d'entre les rochiers, et tous les aultres personnages (fors que Ganymedes, et Verite) sortent en plain Theatre, comme tous esbahiz* (A4 r<sup>o</sup>). As they do not understand the purport of this terrible noise, Vulcan explains that

C'est vn coup de matines,  
Que Vulcan sonne auec son gros bafroy.

Europe trembles *de paour*, and asks, *de quelle part vient ce monstre, qu'on nous monstre?* Vulcan replies:

N'en sentez-vous pas le vent  
Du leuant,  
Du Pouant, Surest et North  
Des Deux Poles se leuant  
Dous seruant  
Des dessertes de la mort.

There follows a series of historical events, to each of which Aneau devotes several descriptive verses. The most important are:

Les Gantoys se offrans au Roys et non receuz; la retraicte de

<sup>14</sup> The poet is unable to resist the temptation to play upon the words, *Dauphin* and *D'or fin*.



l'empereur auec parte de ses gens ; passage de l'empereur par France en petit estat ; rebellion des Flamans : le roy souuerain de Flandres ; Sebastien de monte cuculo serra empoisonneur du Daulphin ; ledict esquartèle bis a quatre cheuaulx a Lyon ; Messire Philippe Chabot Admiral, mis hors la court puis redintégré par le Roy ; Castelnoue occisa Amboise par vn page ; Anne Boulaine Royne d'Angleterre auec son frere Rochefort, et ses complices decapitez ; le grand seigneur le Turc, et Grèce occupée par les Turcs ; deux cometes en lan 1532 et 1533 ; tremblement de terre l'an 1521.

In regard to the last two events, the poet says :

Bien i'en ay veu signes en l'air troublé,  
Le ciel aussi de cometes comblé,  
D'ond de grand paour ma terre en a tremblé,  
Que reste plus ?

The *Satyre* closes with another judgment of *Vérité*—this time in the form of a ballad, one or two stanzas of which are indeed worth quoting :

Paris est beau, et est le dernier Iuge  
Par le renuoy du grand dieu Iuppiter  
Car de l'arrest, et sentences qu'il iuge  
Par nul appel on ne peut respiter  
Pour courroucer, iurer, ne despiter  
Paris sans per est bien en maintes choses  
Et nations, qui dedans luy sont closes  
De tous les arts, et sciences sachant.  
Treseloquent et en vers, et en proses,  
Mais deuant tous est le Lyon marchant.

Lyon marchant assis en son hault throne  
Ayant le chef de haulx monts couronné  
Comme Corinthe est de deux mers : du Rhodne  
Et de la Saone il est enuironné.  
De grand beaultez, et de richesse orné  
Gardant du cueur de l'Europe l'entrée  
Et marchissant sur diuerse contrée  
Qui n'est Lyon ne passant, ne couchant,  
Rampant, grippant sa proye rencontrée,  
Mais deuant tous est le Lyon marchant.

Prince ie dy, (Ie qui suis verité)  
 Que nul ne soit de nos dictz irrité  
 En les prenant en quelques sens meschant  
 Car tous trois ont grand honneur merité  
 Mais deuant tous est le Lyon marchant.<sup>15</sup>

After the *Satyre* comes the *histoire de Androdus*, which the author pretends to have found in *Aule Gelle, liure 5, cha. 14, prinse en Appion, polyhistor*. Androdus—i. e. St. André—expresses his gratitude to the *Lyon tresgentil* (B7)

A qui ie doibz ma vie deux fois deué  
 C'est a sauoir nourrie, et defendue,  
 Et me nourrit trois ans dedans sa caue  
 Pour luy auoir vne espine tirée  
 Hors de son pied, et sa playe curée.

The *espine* refers to the great famine of 1531, from which the inhabitants of the city suffered terribly. It was during that year that the benevolent Jean de Vauzelles founded the *Aumône générale*; and at once, according to the legend, the pestilence ceased its ravages.<sup>16</sup> *Vérité* praises the generosity of the city in the following terms:

Hoste de l'homme est vraiment Lyon  
 Qui tous recoipt les estrangers et serfz  
 Les nourrissant de tous metz et dessers  
 Quand au banquet d'aulmosne les conuie,  
 Leur ministrant et preseruant la vie  
 Pour luy auoir osté la violence  
 De la poignante espine Pestilence  
 Qui n'y fut oncq' depuis l'aulmosne faicte.  
 Mais vous orrez sa parole parfaicte  
 Et ne fault ia en esbahir vos testes  
 Si Lyon parle: aussi font d'aultres bestes.

The last four pages of the work (C3 and 4, r° and v°) contain some epigrams *sur aulcunes choses memorables, aduenues a Lyon, audict an 1541*. The first is devoted to the adventures of Captain *Tholosan*, and bears as sub-title the words *liberté plus que vie*. The poet relates how

<sup>15</sup> For a brief review of this play, see Frères Parfaict, III, pp. 45-46.

<sup>16</sup> Pericaud, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Le Capitaine Antoine Tholosan  
 Pour acomplir vn grand faict, tost l'osant  
 Hardy de cueur : de corps et membres fort,  
 Le corrupteur de sa soeur mist a mort :  
 Osant de force en default de Justice,  
 Parquoy craignant d'un tel faict le supplice  
 En France vint, ou charge eut de gendarmes  
 Et son pays Piedmont surprint par armes  
 'Au Roy Francois en grand' part, le rendant.

This valliant captain was arrested for *lèse majesté*, and imprisoned at Lyons. On the eve of the St. Jean, he killed his three guards, and managed to escape during the storm. Re-arrested on the frontier of Germany, he was brought back to Lyons and decapitated. Even this tragic event does not escape the *esprit* of our poet—witness the closing verses :

Ainsi fina le plus hardy meurtrier  
 Qui se meslast oncques de tel mestier.  
 S'il est captif maintenant en enfer  
 D'estre tué se garde Lucifer.  
 S'il est au ciel : c'est vn pays libere  
 D'ond departir iamais ne delibere.

The next epigram has for its subject a famous beauty of Lyons, Jehanne Reste, or Creste. Gilbert Ducher was also enamoured of her charms.<sup>17</sup> According to Aneau, an admirer offered her two crowns, *si vn passant ramonneur el' baisoit*. The poet continues :

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Breghot du Lut, *Mélanges biogr. et litt.*, Lyons, 1828, p. 212. The epigram of Ducher is addressed to *Janam Crestam Lugdunensem*, and is thus conceived :

Ut turmatim homines cogebat adire Corinthum  
 Conspicuo formae Lais honore suae:  
 Sic formosarum tu formosissima, prorsus  
 Naturae excellens artificis specimen,  
 Si quo extra prodīs, Lugdunum effunditur omne:  
 Humanos oculos tam vehementer alīs.  
 Auertant Superi: ne nubis, Cresta marito  
 Acrisio: et fias, clausa domi, Danaë.

*Epigrammaton Libri Duo*, 1538, p. 24. Perneti states that the Latin poet, Voulté, also addressed her some verses, but Breghot du Lut thinks that he is mistaken.

Mais sans desdaing tres bien luy fait la Reste,  
 Car appelant le ramonneur, l'arreste,  
 Puis luy donnant les deux escuz, le baise.  
 O ramonneur, mort bien, que tu fuz aise.  
 Maint vouldroit estre a tel pris ramonneur.  
 Or en jugez des trois qui plus vous plaise:  
 L'orgueil confus, la noblesse ou bonheur (L3 v°).

The volume closes with an epigram on the *adventure ruineuse de la maison du Porcellet a Lyon, tresbuchée sur trois ieunes gentilz-hommes, Monsieur de Cercy, Corberon et de Senecey, et plusieurs aultres ceans logez* (C4 r°). The sudden collapse of this building was one of the favorite themes of the Lyonnese poets. It was located at the corner of the rue de l'Angile and of the rue de Flandre. The sign of this hotel was a *porc sellé*; but the name *Porcellet* was substituted by the poets in order to make a *jeu de mots*.<sup>18</sup> According to the Père Anselme, this accident happened on the 2nd of February, 1540.<sup>19</sup> The three young noblemen, who were killed, were Jacques Bouton de St Bury, seigneur de Corberon, Claude de Beauffremont, baron de Senecey, and Philibert de Cercy.<sup>20</sup> The Père de St. Romuald relates that these young gentlemen had gone to Lyons for the purpose of making wedding purchases.<sup>21</sup> Besides the sixain, giving an account of this accident, which is quoted by St. Romuald, there is in the unpublished history of Guichenon an epitaph of fifty verses.<sup>22</sup> The minutes of the meeting of the Echevins, on February 7, 1540, contain the following unpublished reference to this event:

"A esté mys en termes l'inconvenient venu puis huit jours en ça au lougeis du Porcellet, près Saint Heloy, duquel le derrier membre

<sup>18</sup> *Revue du Lyonnais, nouv. sér.*, XXX, 1865, pp. 354 etc. Another hotel bore the sign of a *truie qui file*.

<sup>19</sup> *Hist. général. et chronol. de la maison royale de France*, fol.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Palliot, in his *Hist. général. de la maison de Bouton* (Paris, 1671, fol., p. 326), says that Claude Bouton, father of Jacques, was "seigneur de Corberon, de St. Bury, etc., Chambellan de l'empereur Charles Quint, Premier Maître d'Hôtel de Ferdinand, Archiduc d'Autriche, Grand Ecuyer de la Reine de Hongrie, etc."

<sup>21</sup> *Trésor chronol. et hist. contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable et curieux dans l'Estat . . . depuis l'an . . . 1200 jusqu'à l'an 1647, 3me partie*, Paris, 1647, fol., pp. 549-50.

<sup>22</sup> In the library of the School of Medicine at Montpellier.

dud. lougeis est tumbé de nuyt et y avoit monsr. Senecé, gros personnage et trois autres gentilz hommes de grosse maison et autres marchans estrangers y estans lougez y sont demeurez mors au grant inconvenient et scandelle de lad. ville et marchans.<sup>28</sup>

Aneau's poem on the collapse of this hotel bears the title, *Mal tousiours prest: aenigme* (C4 r°). Then comes a quatrain, which is as follows:

Dedans le corps d'un Lyon merueilleux  
Trois Adonis (vn porceau perilleux)  
Tua sans dent et sans les auoir mords  
Qui enterrez furent plutost que morts.

After this is a douzain in Latin, which the author republished in his *Picta Poesis* in 1552 (p. 117). And finally there is a *translation des vers precedens*.

Vne nuict, en vn lict couchez ensemble estoient  
Trois ieunes gentilz hom's de noblesse premiere  
Les deux, qui dormiroit au milieu, debatoient.  
Sur vn liure le tiers veilloit avec lumiere.  
Bruyt se faict. La maison tombe en rude maniere.  
Et mesme sort, nuyct, mort ces trois hommes encombre.  
Mil cinq cens quarante ans tourné auoit en nombre  
Le temps, quand a Lyon telle ruine aduint.  
Leurs noms furent Cercy, Corberon, Senecey.  
Comme vn mesme malheur: mesme tumbeau conuint  
S'ilz ont mesme maison au ciel? de ce ne scay.  
Ainsi soit.

JOHN L. GERIG

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

(To be continued)

<sup>28</sup> *Actes cons. de Lyon*, BB58, fol. 136. Three days later (Feb. 10), the Echevins decided "de faire visiter les vieilles maisons de ceste ville ruynans et qui sont en doubte de tumber pour obvier aux inconveniens qui s'en pourroient en suyvre ainsi qu'il est advenu puis dix jours en ça ou environ au logeur du Porscelles duquel le dernier (*derrière*) dudit logeur est tumbé de nuyt et y sont demourez le sieur de Senecé et trois autres gentilzhommes et marchans et quelques femmes et enfans qui y estoient lougez qui y ont esté veus et morts. . . ." *Rev. du Lyonnais*, loc. cit. For other references to the same accident, see Cochard's article in Bregnot du Lut's *Mélanges*, p. 193, and Colonia, *Hist. litt. de Lyon*, Lyons, 1730, II, p. 669.

## GONZALO DE BERCEO IN SPANISH LITERARY CRITICISM BEFORE 1780

IN Spanish literature the first poet whose name we know with certainty is Gonzalo de Berceo, who flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. The first complete edition of his works did not appear until toward the end of the eighteenth century. What happened to them and what was thought of them during the five centuries that intervened between the death of the poet and the year 1780, when the learned Librarian of the King, Don Tomás Antonio Sánchez, published the second volume of his *Collección de Poesías Castellanas Anteriores al Siglo XV*, giving it the sub-title of *Poesías de Don Gonzalo de Berceo*?

The question is not without interest; neither are the results of the investigations that lead us toward the possibility of answering it. Consequently, I purpose setting forth with the utmost brevity the results that I have so far been able to obtain from my investigations. In citing the texts that speak of Berceo, I shall not stop to comment on them, nor even to correct the errors—sometimes rather serious—they may contain.

Five years previous to the edition of Sánchez, we find some very interesting passages in a work of the Reverendo Padre Fray Martín Sarmiento, entitled *Memorias para la Historia de la Poesía y poetas españoles*.<sup>1</sup> Berceo is treated in several places, but principally in two. When writing of the *Versos Alexandrinos*, which he would prefer to call *Versos Castellanos* or *Versos de Berceo*, he devotes to our poet paragraphs 431 to 445; and on coming down to the *Poetas Españoles del Siglo XIII*, he treats *in extenso* of Berceo in paragraphs 572 to 600, occupying pages 253 to 268. The chief importance of this last passage lies in the fact that it gives an analysis of the contents of two codices then existing in the Archives of San Millan. By means of this analysis we learn that Sarmiento was acquainted with the following works of Berceo: *Misterios de la Misa* (with a note about another codex of this work in the Biblio-

<sup>1</sup> Madrid, 1775.

teca Nacional, which completes the one at San Millán), *Los Señales que aparecerán ante el día del Juicio*, *Duelo de la Virgen*, some *Himnos*, *Loores de la Virgen*, *Milagros de la Virgen*, *Vida de Santa Aurea*, and *Vida de San Millán*. The *Vida de Santo Domingo*, which previously belonged to this codex, had already been separated from it in order that it might be sent to the Archivo de Silos.

As a *résumé* of all his thought, Sarmiento declares (§§ 597-600) that it is very much to be desired that all the works of Berceo should be printed, because they are "so to speak the key of the Old Castilian dialect and of the most remote Castilian poetry"; and he goes on to say (here and sometimes elsewhere I translate from the Spanish):

For these reasons, and others that I omit, and because of the remote antiquity of Berceo, and also because of the amount of his work that has survived, our Maestro Don Gonzalo de Berceo, Benedictine Monk of San Millán, should henceforth be called the 'Poet Ennius of Spain', or the 'Spanish Ennius'. I am not ignorant of the fact that the Poet Juan de Mena is already in possession of this title. But it is self-evident that Juan de Mena entered into the possession thereof only because the first man who called him the 'Spanish Ennius' had no knowledge of Berceo. Not even did the Marqués de Santillana, contemporary and fellow-poet of Juan de Mena, make mention of the Poet Berceo, in his oft-cited *Carta*. The famous three hundred octaves of *Arte Mayor*, which Juan de Mena wrote, their fair antiquity, their metaphorical and already antiquated style, &c., earned for him that epithet. And since it is evident that Berceo antedates Juan de Mena by more than two centuries; that if his 'Poetry' were reduced to octaves it would amount to more than fifteen hundred of them; and that his style is more antiquated, more pure and more simple, to say nothing of the more sacred character of his subjects, we should now apply to the Poet Berceo the title of 'Spanish Ennius.'

In 1771 Enrique Florez refers to Berceo in order to demonstrate the dedication of the Church of Santo Domingo de Silos.<sup>2</sup>

53 . . . No ves aqui mas de un Cardenal Legado,  
que era Ricardo.

54 Lo mismo publicó Berceo en sus poesías, verso  
667, donde dice:

<sup>2</sup> Enrique Florez: *España Sagrada*, Tomo XXVI, Madrid, MDCCLXXI. Tratado de Burgos. Cap. 3. Obispos de Burgos. Gomez II. *Consagracion de la Iglesia de S. Domingo de Silos*.

Era por aventura festa bien sennalada  
 El día en que fuera la Eglesia sagrada,  
 'Avie grand Clericía por la fiesta aplegada,  
 La yente de los legos adur serie contada.  
 Un Cardenal de Roma, que vino por Legado  
 Facie estonz Concilio, Ricart era nomnado,  
 De Bispos, & Abades avie hy un fonsado  
 Ca viniera con ellos mucho buen coronado.

A matter of sixteen years previous to the appearance of the quotation by Enrique Florez, another author who was studying ancient Castilian poetry produced a book in which mention is made of Berceo. I refer to the work entitled *Orígenes de la poesía castellana*, by Luis Josef Velázquez. I have been able to see only an edition of Málaga, 1797, which calls itself a second edition. The first edition must have been of 1754, inasmuch as this second edition reproduces the original *censura*, dated January 12, 1754. The author treats of Berceo in three places, and we read (pp. 33-34 of the copy belonging to the Hispanic Society of America, edition of Málaga, 1797):

The most ancient Castilian poet of whom we have any notice does not appear before the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. There lived at that time Gonzalo de Berceo, a native of the village of that name, and a monk in the monastery of San Millán, from whose archives it is proven that he was still living in 1211. He wrote, in Castilian verses of twelve, thirteen and fourteen syllables, the lives of several saints, such as San Vicente Levita, San Millán, and Santo Domingo, together with other verses about the battle of Simancas, which the King Don Ramiro II of León won against the Moors. These and other poems of this author are preserved in manuscript in two volumes in the monastery of San Millán. Among the manuscripts of the Royal Library at Madrid there are others of his poems concerning the sacrifice of the Mass; and of all of them the only one that has yet been published is the life of Santo Domingo de Silos, taken from the manuscript of San Millán, and printed, with other documents concerning the life of the saint, by Fray Sebastián Vergara.

The King Don Alfonso the Learned, who lived about this time, not only composed the *cántigas gallegas*, but also many couplets and verses in Castilian. The *Libro de la vida y hechos de Alejandro Magno* is written in the same kind of verses and couplets as the poems of Berceo. The *Libro de las querellas* has another kind of verse, which we call *Arte Mayor*.



This last paragraph is of interest because of the light it throws incidentally upon the question of Berceo's authorship of the *Libro de 'Alexandre*. A few pages later Velázquez remarks (pp. 42-43):

This age may be considered as the infancy of Castilian poetry. The poets of this time, who lacked invention and genius, scarcely succeeded in being good rimers. From some fragments from the works of poets of that age it is easy to see how rude were the beginnings of our poetry. Gonzalo de Berceo begins thus the Life of Santo Domingo [two *coplas* are quoted] and closes thus the Life of San Vicente Levita [one *copla* is quoted]. The Book of the Life and Deeds of Alexander the Great, by King Alfonso el Sabio, reads as follows [one *copla* is given].

From this statement there is no doubt at all that Velázquez considers Berceo as not being the author of the *Libro de 'Alexandre*.

The third passage in which Velázquez speaks of Berceo is devoted to a discussion of the origin of poetry in general and an analysis of the various kinds of meter. And we read (pp. 67-69):

If it be true that our poetry owes its origin to music, it is also very probable that Castilian verse sprang from the same source; and that the artifice of our verses is due rather to the accidental quantity and proportion of the ballads than to the ingenious invention of the poets themselves. Castilian poetry was born in very rude centuries, whose ear did not seek such varied and delicate proportions, nor were our first poets learned enough to be able to imitate in their verses the artifice of the Greeks and Latins, whom they scarcely knew. The Monk of Berceo gives a proof of this, when at the beginning of the Life of Santo Domingo he asserts that he determined to write his poem in Castilian verse because he was entirely ignorant of the artifice of Latin poetry.

The longer verses of thirteen and fourteen syllables are the oldest among us; since they were used by the Monk of Berceo, by King Alfonso el Sabio himself, and the Infante Don Manuel in the first century of Castilian poetry.

Taking advantage of the indication given by Velázquez as cited above, and turning to the book of Vergara, we find that in 1736, almost twenty years earlier, this distinguished Benedictine not only published for the first time a work of Berceo (his *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*), but that he gave also information concerning the author and concerning the manuscripts that contain the

said Life, together with a description of the place in which they were preserved and of their condition in the third decade of the eighteenth century. The work of Vergara is entitled: *Vida y Milagros de el Thaumaturgo Español, Moyses Segundo, Redemptor de Cautivos, Abogado de los Felices Partos, S<sup>to</sup>. Domingo Manso, Abad Benedictino, Reparador de el Real Monasterio de Silos que dedica, y ofrece al R<sup>mo</sup>. P. M. Fr. Bernardo Martin, General de la Congregacion de San Benito de España, è Inglaterra, &c. el P. Fr. Sebastian de Vergara, Hijo de dicho Real Monasterio. Con Privilegio. En Madrid: En la Imprenta de los Herederos de Francisco del Hierro. Año de 1736.* In paragraph five of the prologue Vergara says (speaking of the various authors whom he reproduces):

The second is D. Gonzalo de Berceo, native of Berceo, and son of the illustrious Monastery of San Millán, who put into Castilian verse what they sent him in Latin from Silos. From the death of Grimaldus down to Berceo there is no notice or record of the marvels of the Saint: I know not whether through carelessness on the part of the Monks, or through fires that the archives suffered, or through Berceo's having lost part of the Miracles that were sent to him, as he confesses. The certainty is that it fell to this author to write the prodigious conception of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, whose contemporary he was; since by the archives of San Millán it is shown that he was alive in the year 1211.

In paragraph seven of the same prologue Vergara continues:

At the request of a friend I give to the press these three authors, with the very words of their originals, which are preserved in the archives of Silos. . . . Berceo has been completed by means of an ancient copy, and in consequence thereof, starting with *copla* 166 the Castilian varies somewhat, because it is not of the original.<sup>8</sup>

Although Sebastián Vergara was the first to give a printed edition of any of Berceo's works, he is, as we shall see, far from being the first who knew of Berceo and spoke of his work.

In 1696 appeared, in Rome, the posthumous work of Nicolás Antonio: *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, in two volumes. In the

<sup>8</sup> A careful examination of the text, and a collation thereof with the other manuscripts, shows this statement to contain a misprint. The variation begins with *copla* 686. Vide: *Santo Domingo de Silos par Gonzalo de Berceo* (ed. Fitzgerald), Chaps. II and III, pp. xvj-xxvij.

second of them the whole of paragraph twelve in chapter one of the seventh book is devoted to Berceo. Although full of mistakes that subsequent editions never entirely eliminated, the paragraph is not devoid of interest:

GUNDISALVUS DE BERSEO Benedictinus monachus in eodem S. Æmiliani monasterio scripsit carmine illius aevi usitato, quod tredecim pedibus constat, vulgarique nomine audit *endecha doblada*, Sanctorum quorundam Vitas, aliaque. Inter has eminet S. Vincentii levitae illa quæ incipit:

*Quando ofrecio Christus la su carne preciosa*

definitque his versibus:

*Gonzalo fue su nombre, que hizo este tratado  
En San Millan de suso fue de niñez criado,  
Natural de Berceo, dōde San Millā fue nado.  
Dios guarde la su alma de poder del pecado.*

Sunt & Vitę sancti Æmiliani, & S. Dominici de Silos, necnon & carmen aliud de proelio Septimancensi (*De la batalla de Simancas*) quo Ranimirus II. Legionis Rex anno CMXXXVIII. Sarracenorum exercitum penę ad internecionem delevit: exempla item, seu monita ad promovendam pietatem. Membranaceis duobus voluminibus hæc & alia ejus opera custodiuntur in cœnobii S. Æmiliani archivo. Floruisse autem Gundisalvum sub Alphonso VI. Rege circa an. MLXXX. ex relatione ad nos ab eodem monasterio transmissa notum facimus. Hunc S. Dominici Vitę auctorem nescio quare Megiam vocat Ludovicus Arizius, Benedictinus & ipse, in *Abulensis urbis historia*.

Nicolás Antonio, who preceded Vergara by some forty years, had been himself preceded by another writer who in 1677 published in Madrid a work entitled: *La Perla de Cataluña. Historia de nuestra Señora de Monserrate. Escrita por el Maestro Fray Gregorio de Argaiz, cronista de la religion de San Benito. Madrid, 1677*. This work is divided into six treatises. In the fourth treatise mention is made of "The Writers that the Order has had in these Congregations of Castilla, Portugal, and Cataluña, together with Aragon and Navarra, belonging to the Black Cowl"; and we read (pp. 438-9):

Gonzalo, a native of Berceo, a small place in the Province of Rioja, three leagues to the South of the city of Nájera, and a monk

in the Monastery of San Millán, as he confesses in his 'Life of Santo Domingo de Silos,' began to flourish at this time. He was a Castilian poet, and (so far as I know) no other poet is found who has written with that meter in the vulgar tongue. I am fully aware that some writers say that Betic Spaniards, from the very beginnings of the peopling of Spain by Tubal, had their laws written in verse; but they do not say in what verse, nor in what language; whether it was in Hebrew or in the primitive language of Spain, let others demonstrate. Don Gonzalo de Berceo, some six hundred years ago [an error of about one hundred and fifty years] wrote in Castilian verse the Life of Santo Domingo de Silos. Let the antiquarians give me other verses earlier than these and we will grant priority to him who shall be shown to have written them, and until such another shall appear, let Don Gonzalo have the honor of being called the first Castilian poet whom we find. Fray Antonio de Yepes quoted some of these verses, but the beginning is as follows [and Argaiz quotes the first three *coplas*]. In such style he goes on recounting in great detail the life and miracles of that Saint, with such devout and delightful consonance that I have no doubt that, if the whole book were printed, so illustrious a relic would be well received and read. It is preserved in the archives of San Millán, where the Saint took the habit of Monk and was Prior; and there is a copy thereof in the archives of Santo Domingo de Silos, where he was Abbot. [At this point Argaiz quotes another *copla*, 757, and continues.] Don Gonzalo de Berceo wrote, in addition to the life of Santo Domingo de Silos, the lives of other saints, together with the translation of San Felices. He flourished about 1180, when Don Alfonso VI was reigning in Castile. Mention is made of Gonzalo and of his great authority by Fray Gaspar Ruiz, a Monk of Santo Domingo de Silos, in the manuscript history of the Saint that I have in my possession, and by Fray Antonio de Yepes in the life of San García, Abbot of San Pedro de Arlanza.

As is seen, Argaiz praises Berceo not only because of his antiquity, but also because of the quality of his verse. We must also bear in mind that he mentions as written by our author other works than the life of Santo Domingo de Silos. At the end of the passage just quoted, we find the names of Fray Gaspar Ruiz and Fray Antonio de Yepes, and we must not forget that Argaiz asserts that Ruiz's manuscript history of the saint is in his possession. This work of Ruiz I have never succeeded in seeing, nor do I even know whether or not it has been published; but I have seen the aforesaid work of Yepes.

But long before we get back to Yepes, we find a book published in 1653 in Madrid, and bearing the title: *El Moysen Segundo. | Nuevo | Redentor de España. | N. P. Santo Domingo Manso, | Monge Benito, | (Aclamado hasta ahora, Santo | Domingo de Silos.) Su Vida, | sus virtudes, y milagros, antes, y | despues de su muerde. | Escriuia | el R. P. Maestro Fray Ambrosio Gomez, | Predicador General de la | Religion de San Benito.* Here we read in two different passages some very interesting statements concerning Berceo and his acquaintance and friendship with Santo Domingo. We read also statements concerning Berceo's personal knowledge of the miracles wrought by the Saint, together with an interesting analysis of some of the most important passages in his Life of Santo Domingo (page 4, near the end of § 4):

Que Santo Domingo fue Manso por apellido, y varonia, afirma el Maestro Don Gonçalo de Verceo (natural de Verceo, vezino à Cañas) que conociò à Santo Domingo, que le comunicò, y juntos viuieron en el Monasterio de San Millan de la Cogolla: como escriuiè despues en el libro segundo en el capitulo doze, en el numero nouenta y ocho.

5. Fue Don Gonçalo hombre piadoso, y docto, ocupauase en escriuir las vidas de los Sãtos en verso: La de San Millan compuso, la de su Maestro San Felix, la de Santo Domingo de Silos, y otras muchas que guarda en su Archiuo el Conuento Real de San Millan de la Cogolla. . . . Seysciētos años ha q̄ escriuio D. Gonçalo Verceo, y habla de Sãto Domingo que fue amigo suyo, que le venerò por Santo y tuuieron las patrias muy vezinas. . . .

6. Dà principio à la vida de Santo Domingo; y auiendo inuocado en su fauor al Padre, al Hijo, y al Espiritu Santo (que de los que escriuen verdades Christianas, estas son las Musas) dize:

*Quiero que lo sepades luego de la primera,  
Cuya es la historia, ponervos en carrera,  
Es de Santo Domingo, toda bien verdadera,  
El que dizen de Silos &c.*

Habla luego de sus padres, y prosigue:

*Iuan auia nombre el su padre honrado,  
del linage de Mans vn home señalado,  
amador de derecho, &c.*

*Iuan Manso* pues se llamò el padre de Santo Domingo, legitima, como frondosa rama del tronco ilustre, y Real de los Señores de Vizcaya y de los Reyes de Nauarra.

Upon consulting the passage referred to at the beginning of this extract we see that Gómez again treats of Berceo, and at the end of page 193 we read:

Conociò pues don Gonçalo à Sãto Domingo; porq florecia en su edad, y porque se criò en el Monasterio de Suso, dõde Santo Domingo fuè Prior y lleuado de su deuociõ, escribiò la vida de nuestro Moysen en verso.

No concluye poco el argumento: pero aun le dà mas fuerça su misma autoridad. Põdera D. Gonçalo, q̄ fuè Santo Domingo al Monasterio de Cañas; q̄ le hallò destruido; que le edificò; que dedicò el Tēplo, y enriqueciò la Iglesia, y claustro de ornamentos y halajas. El dize que lo viò.

*Compuso la Iglesia, esto bien lo creades,  
De libros, y de ropas, è de muchas bondades,  
Sufriò en este comedio muchas aduersidades.  
Yo Gonçalo que fago esto à su honor,  
Yo lo vi, assi veyla la faz del criador.*

Este Autor que alcançò los tiempos de Santo Domingo, y fue testigo de vista de sus virtudes, y milagros; quãdo refiere la libertad q̄ diò al captiuo Seruando, escribe.

*Fizose el ruydo por toda la cibdad,  
Que el Santo Confessor ficiera tal bondad,  
Non fincò en Villa Obispo, nin Abad,  
Que à Seruante non fizo muy grã solemnidad.  
El Legado mismo con tan buen varon,  
Cantando tibi laus, fizo gran procession,  
E luego iste Sanctus con la su oracion,  
Ouieron esse dia la [sic] gentes gran perdon.*

Que el Cardenal Ricardo publicò su santidad en Roma, dize Don Gonçalo, y que le canoniçò el Sumo Pontifice Vrbano Segundo, afirma. Si su verdad sustenta, poco importa que disuene en los oydos el verso.

Maguer, que era ante por precioso contado;  
Despues en adelante fue mucho maspreciado:  
Publicòle en Roma D. Ricardo el Legado:  
Fue por Santo cumplido del Papa otorgado.

The good friar was about one hundred and seventy-five years out of the way in his reckoning and he was quoting from a corrupt text that led to further erroneous deductions, but that is of no

importance for our purpose. He knew of Berceo and knew several of his works, one of them pretty thoroughly, although none had yet been published. He also maintained that Berceo told the truth about the saint and his canonization, and that if he told the truth it matters little that his verse sound a bit harsh to delicate ears.

This tempered adverse criticism of the versification of our poet may have been original with Gómez, but it was not the first time that an adverse opinion had been expressed, for the aforesaid Fray Antonio de Yepes had preceded him by some forty years and his opinion had been much more severe. Let us hear what Fray Antonio has to say:<sup>4</sup>

"In order to learn the whole truth concerning the revelation that San García had, I have wished this time to use, in addition to the tradition, and paintings and memoirs that exist in San Pedro de Arlanza, a history of Santo Domingo de Silos written by an author named Megia who lived very close to those times, on which account it will be necessary to pardon the very barbarous verses that he wrote. Although I confess that it is the least polished poetic style that has ever been composed in Spain, I have still wished to make use of it, because, underneath that rusticity and sackcloth, grave and learned men have found things of substance that they could use. Among other things he says the following words which I think it will be impossible for the reader to peruse without laughing, for they continue as follows. . . ."

He then quotes two stanzas (266-267) of the Life of Santo Domingo by Berceo, whom he erroneously calls Megia.

Fortunately for our author, all the critics do not coincide in this adverse verdict concerning the quality of his poetry. We have already read the high opinion that Sarmiento professed for Berceo. Two years previous to the appearance of the book of Yepes, Prudencio de Sandoval, in 1615, published his work which is usually called the "Histories of the Five Bishops."<sup>5</sup> In it, when speaking of the translation of the remains of the three martyrs (Vicente,

<sup>4</sup>Fray Antonio de Yepes, *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito*. Tomo VI (Valladolid, 1617), folio 208 recto.

<sup>5</sup>*Historias de los cinco obispos*. The real title, with the omission of minor details, as indicated, was: *Historias de Idacio, Obispo, . . . de Isidoro, Obispo de Badajoz, . . . de Sebastiano, Obispo de Salamanca, . . . de Sampiro, Obispo de Astorga, . . . de Pelagio, Obispo de Oviedo, . . . Recogidas por don Fray Prudencio de Sandoval . . . Año 1615 . . . Pamplona*.

Sabina, and Cristeta), and mentioning those who had treated the same subject, he says (pp. 346-351):

In addition to this, Master Friar Gonzalo de Berceo, a highly esteemed theologian and poet of those times, knew those who were present at this translation and wrote an account thereof in verse, the most heroic that was used by our Castilians. Because of its great antiquity I quote it here from the life and miracles of Santo Domingo de Silos, who was Abbot at the time of the translation and was present thereat together with the glorious San García, who was Abbot of Arlanza.

Hereupon Sandoval quotes, more or less incorrectly (at least so far as concerns any manuscript now known to us), from the life of Santo Domingo de Silos by Berceo the seventeen *coplas*, 261-277, wherein is given the account of this translation. As we have seen, these verses, that Yepes called "most barbarous" and "incapable of being read without laughter," are considered by Sandoval the most heroic verses ever written in Castilian.

We have one more testimony, still more ancient, of Berceo's having been known while his works were still inedited. In the 'History of the Greatness of the City of Ávila' by Fray Luis Ariz,<sup>6</sup> published at Alcalá de Henares in 1607, on the verso of folio 31 in the First Part we read:

"What is found written in the Ancient History of Santo Domingo de Silos. Written by Megia."

Then follow thirty-five verses from Berceo's Life of Santo Domingo, beginning at *copla* 260c and continuing, with certain omissions of single verses or whole *coplas*, as far as 271d. One of the chief interests attaching to this citation of thirty-five verses lies in

\* Historia|de las grandezas|de la Ciudad de Auila.|Por el Padre Fray Luys Ariz Monge Benito.|Dirigida a la Ciudad de Auila, y sus dos|Quadrillas.|En la primera par-|te trata qual de los quarenta y tres Hercu-|les fve el mayor, y como siendo|Rey de España, tuuo amores con vna Africana, en quien tuuo|vn hijo, que fundó a Auila. Tratase, que naciones la posseye-|ron, hasta que la conuirtio el glorioso san Segundo, compañe-|ro de los seys Obispos que embiaron, san Pedro, y san Pa-|blo, donde Roma, y adonde estan los seys. Prosi-|gue el Auctor, los demas Obispos que ha|tenido Auila, y los cuerpos santos que|tiene, y como fue hallado san Se-|gundo, y su traslacion, con|las fundaciones de|sus Yglesias.|(.?.)|Con Preuilegio, En Alcala de Henares, Por Luys|Martinez Grande. Año de. 1607.



the fact that the version represented does not coincide absolutely with that of any manuscript now known to us.

Whether there be other authors still more ancient who mention Gonzalo de Berceo I do not know, but in any case we have already seen that, during more than a century and a half previous to the first complete edition of his works, frequent and appreciative reference is made to our venerable poet.

J. D. FITZ-GERALD

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

## THE DEVIL AS A DRAMATIC FIGURE IN THE SPANISH RELIGIOUS DRAMA BEFORE LOPE DE VEGA

WHILE many Spanish plays of the sixteenth century have recently been published, comparatively little attention has been paid to some of the characters which constantly appear in these plays. In the drama of the sixteenth century we find many characters which were developed by the more skilful dramatists of the following century and a study of these earlier plays is necessary to a complete understanding of the more finished products. It is the purpose of this article to study the Devil as a dramatic figure in the Spanish religious drama before Lope de Vega. Appended is a list of the plays which were accessible to me in which the Devil appears, and they are grouped for the sake of convenience into Mysteries, Plays on the Lives of Saints, and Moralities.

### MYSTERIES

- I. *Aucto del Peccado de Adan*, pub. by Leo Rouanet, *Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del siglo XVI*, 1901, vol. ii, p. 133.
- II. *Aucto de la Prevaricacion de Nuestro Padre Adan*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 167.
- III. *Auto de Cain y Abel*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 150.
- IV. *Victoria de Christo, aucto tercero* by Bartolomé Palau, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 383.
- V. *Victoria de Christo, aucto quinto* by Bartolomé Palau, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 393.
- VI. *Aucto de la Paciencia de Job*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 105.
- VII. *Farsa de los Doctores* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. Pub. by Barrantes in vol. xii of the *Libros de Antaño*, p. 53.
- VIII. *Aucto de la Resurreccion de Nuestro Señor*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 66.
- IX. *Aucto de la Redencion del Genero Humano*: Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 47.

PLAYS ON LIVES OF SAINTS

- X. *'Auto de Sanct Christoval*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 451.
- XI. *'Aucto de un Milagro de Sancto Andres*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 468.
- XII. *'Aucto del Martyrio de Sancta Barbara*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 78.
- XIII. *Farsa de Santa Barbara* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. Pub. by Barrantes in vol. xi of the *Libros de Antaño*, p. 205.

MORALITY PLAYS

- XIV. *'Aucto de Acusacion contra el Genero Humano*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 449.
- XV. *Farsa Sacramental de la Residencia del Hombre*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 152.
- XVI. *Auto de la Residencia del Hombre*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 330.
- XVII. *Aucto de los Hierros de Adan*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 216.
- XVIII. *'Aucto de la Culpa y Captividad*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 243.
- XIX. *'Aucto de la Verdad y la Mentira*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 421.
- XX. *Farsa Sacramental llamada Desafio del Honbre*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 513.
- XXI. *Farsa del Sacramento llamada la Esposa de los Cantares*, Rouanet, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 212.
- XXII. *El Paraíso y el Infierno*, pub. by Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos*, vol. i, col. 980.
- XXIII. *'Auto da Barca da Gloria* by Gil Vicente. Ed. of Lisbon, 1852, vol. i, p. 270. (The other religious plays by Gil Vicente in which the Devil appears have not been included in this list as they are written in Portuguese.)
- XXIV. *Los Desposorios de Cristo* by Joan Timoneda. Pub. by Pedroso in *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, vol. lviii, p. 104.
- XXV. *Parabola Coenae*. Pub. by Pedroso in *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, vol. lviii, p. 122.
- XXVI. *Las Cortes de la Muerte* by Michael de Carvajal and Luis

Hurtado. Pub. in *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, vol. xxxv, p. 1.

XXVII. *Farsa Militar* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. Pub. by Barrantes in vol. xi of the *Libros de Antaño*, p. 353.

In the Mystery plays, the Devil usually appears only in certain scenes which correspond to the Scriptural narrative or to the accounts found in the Apocryphal Gospels. The Devil of the Spanish drama was a creation, not of the people, but of theology, and the authors of the early Spanish plays followed their sources closely.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of these plays was to teach sacred history and the doctrines of the Church, and although comic scenes were occasionally introduced to amuse the audience, the general tone was serious. The fall of Lucifer,<sup>2</sup> which was a popular subject for representation in medieval literature, is not found in any of the Spanish plays which I have examined, although it is frequently alluded to, and is the cause of the Devil's relentless hatred of mankind. For example, in (XXVII), p. 358, Lucifer says:

Yo, Lucifer, alanzado  
De aquella divina corte,  
De tanta gloria privado,  
Venido á tan mal estado,  
No hay virtud que me soporte.

In (I) and (II) the Devil appears as a serpent in the scene of the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve, according to the Scriptural account. In (III) and (IV) the Devil appears as the instigator of the murder of Abel. The introduction of the Devil in this scene is doubtless due to the medieval idea which considered him

<sup>1</sup> The Devil as a dramatic figure in other literatures has been studied in the following monographs and articles. H. Wieck, *Die Teufel auf der mittelalterlichen Mysterienbühne Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1887; Weinhold, *Ueber das Komische im altheidischen Schauspiel*, pub. in *Gösche Jahrbuch für Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 18; L. Cushman, *The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare*, Halle, 1900. References may also be found in D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Vol. I, pp. 526-35 and Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, Vol. I, p. 271 ff. For the general subject of the Devil, see Gustave Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Leipzig, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> A play entitled *La soberbia y caída de Lucifer* was represented at Seville in 1561. See José Sanchez Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla en los siglos XVI y XVII*, p. 315.

responsible for all the evil actions of man. The appearance of the Devil in (VI), in which he puts to the test the patience of Job, follows the Scriptural narrative. The quarrel between the Devil and the Bobo in (VII) was introduced merely for comic effect. The temptation of Christ offered a good Devil-scene, but I have not been able to see any early Spanish play on that subject. A play entitled *La Tentación de Cristo* was represented at Gerona in 1473<sup>3</sup> and Vasco Díaz Tanco wrote an auto entitled *La Tentación en el desierto*.<sup>4</sup> In (VIII) the Devil was introduced simply for comic effect. The well known theme of the Harrowing of Hell is represented in (IX), and relates the descent of Christ to Hell, the release of the damned souls and the binding of Satan. This theme, which is based on an interpretation of Psalm XXIV, 7-10 is found in the *Descensus Christi ad Inferos*, a work dating probably from the third century, and is also contained in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

In (X) the author follows the story of St. Christopher as it appears in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. The theme treated in (XI) is taken from the same source.<sup>5</sup> In (XIII) the Devil and an angel dispute for the soul of Santa Bárbara before the tribunal of God.

No. XIV treats the so-called *Processus Satanas* theme, a popular allegory in nearly all the literatures of Europe. Here the Devil appears as the accuser of mankind before God. After twice postponing the hearing, the case is tried, and the Virgin Mary appears as man's advocate. The Devil objects that she is a woman and therefore has no standing in court, and also that her relationship with the Judge, Christ, makes her participation in the suit unfair. The Judge refuses to sustain these objections and the case proceeds. It ends with a formal sentence in favour of mankind, which is read by St. John, Clerk of the court. This play followed closely the version of the *Processus Satanas* attributed to Bartolus entitled *Tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro Jesu Christo* etc.

In (XV) and (XVI) we have a variant of the same theme. In

<sup>3</sup> Milá y Fontanals, *Orígenes del teatro catalán*, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos*, Vol. II, col. 785.

<sup>5</sup> Rouanet, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 206.

these plays, Hombre is summoned for trial by Conciencia before Justicia. He is defended by Ángel de la Guarda, while Lucifer, Mundo and Carne appear as witnesses against him. In (XVII) Sabiduría, wishing to relieve Adam and his sons, offers to lead them to God. Ynorancia is guided by la Fe, Deseo by Esperança, Voluntad by Caridad and Trabajo by Sabiduría herself. The procession is halted by Horror, "que es el Demonio." The sons of Adam, supported by their guardians, refuse to recognize the commands of Horror, and Misericordia announces that Adam is released from his bonds through the birth of Christ. In (XVIII) Culpa and Captividad play the part of Devils although they are not specifically named so. They place in Hell two pilgrims and other characters who are released by Libertad. In (XIX) Verdad is about to be vanquished by Demonio, Malicia and Mentira when she is saved by the intervention of Justicia. In (XX) Lucifer sends Sobervia and Mentira to bear a challenge to Mankind. The latter, aided by Iglesia, Horación and Penitencia, defeats Lucifer. In (XXI) the Devil tries to prevent the marriage of Alma with Christ, but disappears at a word from the latter. In (XXII) and (XXIII) the Devils appear as boatmen to carry the souls of the damned to Hell. The function of the Devil in (XXIV) and (XXV) is to carry off to Hell one who had incurred divine displeasure. In (XXVI) Satanás appears as the procurator of Hell at the Cortes of Death. In (XXVII) Lucifer, Mundo and Carne tempt Fraile to forsake his holy life, but are driven away by an angel.

In marked contrast with the French religious plays in which the Devil appears under a great variety of names, the names of the Devils are restricted in the Spanish drama.<sup>6</sup> In many plays simply the word "demonio" or "diablo" is used. I have noted the following proper names: from the Old Testament, Asmodeo; from the Apocalypse, Lucifer; from the New Testament, Satan, Bercebu, Belial; from Greek mythology, Cancerolro (Cerberus), Caron. Of these, by far the most frequently used are Satan and Lucifer. Lucifer and Satan are frequently accompanied by Carne and Mundo and by the Vices, such as Gula, Avaricia, Malicia, Mentira and Culpa. Lucifer and Satan are represented as the rulers of Hell

<sup>6</sup> Wieck, *op. cit.*, mentions 72 names of Devils in the French religious plays.

with multitudes of devils at their command in order to contrast with God and his hosts of angels. In (I) Asmodeo addresses Lucifer (ll. 262-3) as:

Grande enperador Satan  
del negro rreyno perdido.<sup>7</sup>

This is a typical case of the confusion in the names of the devils. In (XIV), ll. 21-22, Lucifer addresses Satan and Caron as:

Capitanes ynfernales  
de mi arte y del ynfierno.

In (XXVI), p. 5, we find Satan accompanied by his lawyer, Lutero, "fuente de las herejías:"

*Satanás.*

Como fué tan gran letrado,  
Llévole por abogado  
De los pleitos del infierno.  
Hacémosle cortesía  
Con Mahoma y sus iguales,  
Y así tiene monarquía  
En el infierno y valía  
Por sus letras infernales.

*Outfit.* One of the earliest descriptions of a play in which devils occupy a prominent part is quoted by Schack as follows:

Operae credo pretium erit, si spectacula quaedam in honorem regis Philipi Perpigniani edita narravero. Quae profecto magnificenciam Barcinonum superarunt. Repraesentabantur rariae ex veteri et novo testamento historiae, Christi passio et plaeraque alia, paradisus et infernus, mero artificio constructa, in quibus innumerae machinae et papyro ita artificiose factae, ut intuentes fallerent verae quae bombardae crederentur. Paradisus autem, et qui in illo erant angeli infernum oppugnabant: Angeli candidis, Daemones auro argenteos intertextis bissinisque et sericeis induti erant vestibus; accensae vero machinae maximo sonitu innumeras evocaverunt machinulas, quas fuscas apellant, quae plures decem millibus feruntur, et nulla erat quae fulmen et creditum horrendum non ederet, ita ut omnia ardere coelumque, terram et aëra concuti et a sedibus commovere crederes. Cessante vero strepitu et disperso in nubila fumo, stupor quidam

<sup>7</sup> Cf. with this Dante, *Inferno*, XXXIV, 28, where Lucifer is called *Lo imperador del doloroso regno*.

omnium mentes occupavit, cum ex tanto apparatu totque ingentibus machinis neque rotarum neque conceptaculorum ullae apparent reliquae, sed omnia evanuisse viderentur.<sup>8</sup>

These plays were represented in the year 1500, and it is evident that the stage machinery used at that time in Catalonia was complicated and doubtless effective.

Neither the stage directions nor the dialogue offer very definite information concerning the appearance of the devils. They were frequently represented as being black.<sup>9</sup> In (XVII), ll. 570-74, Ynorancia thus addresses Herror:

Vellaco, moço de espuelas,  
andrajo de cachivache,  
negro como el azavache,  
que os quebrantare las muelas;  
vala el diablo al moarrache!

In (XV), ll. 236-37, Honbre exclaims on the appearance of Lucifer, Carne and Mundo:

Ojo! y que negra gente  
asoma por la ladera.

In (XVIII), ll. 401-6, Bobo warns his father against Captividad:

Guarda que os engañara  
qual otra negra presona,  
qu'es un diablo tesona.  
Aguarda, padre, aguarda,  
porque os engarrafara  
el salvajon.

In (VI), ll. 321-4, when Satan asks Bobo to enter his service, the latter replies:

Y diga, señor, do naçio?  
*Satan* Porque lo preguntas? Parezcote mal?  
*Bobo* Ni aun muy bien tanpoco. Quemado venis  
del sol o del ayre.

<sup>8</sup> *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*, Vol. I, pp. 326-27.

<sup>9</sup> The idea that the Devil was black goes back at least to the fourth century. See Roskoff, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 284.



In the same play, there is another allusion to the color of the Devil. Satan addresses Bobo as *hermano*, and Bobo replies, ll. 332-35:

Mi hermano soys vos? Si tal a parido  
mi madre, yo muera vestido y calçado!  
Mi madre hera blanca, vos soys tapetado;  
la otra rredonda, vos boquicunplido.

In the contract for the representation of the *Auto de Job* (not the play published by M. Rouanet), dated March 2, 1592, the devil's costume is described as follows: "el demonio principal con una tunicela de tafetan negro, cota, faldin y calçadilla y los otros tres demonios con tres ropas largas muy bien pintadas de bocas."<sup>10</sup>

It appears that occasionally the devil was represented as a dragon. In (XIV), l. 703, Nuestra Señora refers to Satan as *este dragon*. In (VIII), ll. 1082-1086, San Pedro exclaims on seeing Lucifer:

Ao! cata la tarasca  
que anda por los oteros!  
Mas, que mala cara añasca!  
Dios! que pape mas corderos  
que diez lobos, segun tasca.

The Devil was also sometimes represented with horns, tail and cloven foot. In (XVIII), ll. 183-85, the Bobo cries on seeing Captividad:

O Dios, y que salvajon!  
Que barvaça trae el alimañon!  
paresce cola de aca.

In (XIX), ll. 331-2, Bobo says of Demonio:

Cuernos tiene, en buena fee;  
pardios, paresçe mochuelo;

and again in the same play, ll. 354-5, Bobo exclaims at the sight of Demonio:

<sup>10</sup> Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español en los siglos XVI y XVII*, p. 29.

Pardios, que tiene mi aguelo  
cuernos y pata hendida.

In (VI), ll. 337-40 Bobo says to Satan:

*Bobo.* Mas creo que soys hijo de gato rrabon.

*Satan.* Como, mancebo?

*Bobo.* Gran cola es aquesa!

Dezi, vuestra guespeda a sido traviesa?

Los cuernos os puso. Que largos que son!

In (VIII), ll. 1087-1101, some of the Saints make fun of the appearance of the Devil:

*Santo Tomas* Ora, dezi, pesi al moro  
con tan mala catadura,  
que diabros de figura!  
que trae rrabo como toro,  
y ensomo la cornadura.

*San Juan* Soys camello, o ansaron,  
o lobaça, o papagayo?  
Soys elefante, o lechon?  
Balga el diablo tal ensayo!  
Soys buitire, o camaleon?

*San Felipe* Dome a Dios si en su manera  
No me semeja a la rrasa  
porcaço de panadera,  
o monaço, o duende casa,  
o espantajo de higuera!

In order to serve his evil designs, the devil frequently adopted a disguise. As in the Scriptural account, he appears as a serpent while tempting Eve. In (I) the stage direction reads: *Entra Lucifer en abitto de sierpe*. In (X) the devil enters *en abitto de caçador*. In (XI) one devil appears as a page and the other as a young girl to lead a Bishop into sin. In (XXI) the devil appears *en abitto de rrufian*.

It is likely that the devil sometimes wore a mask. In (XVII), l. 501, he is addressed as *cara de perro*. In (VI), ll. 316-7, he is represented as very thin and wearing a visor:

*Bobo.* muy çanquivano y angosto venis.  
Alçad un poquito, señor, la visera.

In (IX), l. 418, the devils were armed with large clubs.

The devils sometimes gave vent to their anger by uttering loud cries or roars like a bull. In (VI), ll. 602-6, the Bobo describes as follows how he had escaped from the clutches of the Devil:

El, quando me vido tan determinado,  
despidese luego con unos bufidos,  
como los osos qu'estan ya metidos  
so duros cordeles, con maña caçados,  
o como los toros que en lid van vencidos.

In (XIII), p. 212, the Devil flees in fear, shouting *Bu, bu, bu, bu*. In (VII), p. 73, the Pastor attacks the Devil, who, finding himself defeated, shouts:

*Diablo.* U u u u u u.

*Pastor.* ¿Ya perro dañado aullas?  
Pensais de aventar las grullas;  
Pues no me espantarás tú.

*Diablo.* Bu, bu, bu, bu, bu, bu, bu.  
(Aqui arremete y lo ase por los cuernos.)

*Pastor.* Sois toro, dad acá el cuerno  
Que ya nació Dios Eterno,  
No me espanto ya de mu.

In (XXVII), p. 404, when the Fraile has escaped from the Devil through the intercession of the Angel, we have the following stage direction: (*Vanse huyendo dando alaridos el Diablo, y el Mundo y la Carne*).

The following passages from (I) will show that trumpets were sometimes used to add to the uproar created by the devils, and that their appearance was followed by smoke and stench, the latter to contrast with the odour of sanctity of the righteous.<sup>11</sup>

L. 242ff., Lucifer expresses thus his joy over the fall of Man:

Ynfemales moradores  
de la eterna escuridad,  
ya es vencida humanidad:  
con espantables clamores  
la vitoria celebrad.

<sup>11</sup> The stench emitted by the devils was a common attribute. See Roskoff, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 156.

Toquense mis ynstrumentos  
de boçinas y alaridos,  
dense tan grandes aullidos  
que tienblen los firmamentos  
del ynfierno con jemidos.

Levantense mis pendones,  
haganse grandes ogueras,  
y al poner de mis vanderas  
se ençiendan fuertes tiçones  
por buardas y troneras.

In the same play, l. 297ff., Asmodeo exclaims:

Pues, prinçipes ynfernales,  
hazed grandes sentimientos:  
toquen, toquen ynstrumentos  
de alaridos y atabales;  
anden açervos tormentos.

Abivense los tiçones,  
crezca el humo y el hedor  
con boz de horrible dolor,  
y las çelestes cançiones  
buelvan en triste clamor.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

*(To be continued)*

---

## MISCELLANEOUS

### CONCERNING SOME LINES OF THE SIEGE D'ORANGE

Time has been lacking me to notice the comment of Mr. G. Bertoni with regard to my collation of the 651 lines of the *Siege d'Orange*, which were published by Mr. A. Fichtner.<sup>1</sup> In the article to which Mr. Bertoni refers, I made perhaps two dozen or more suggestions about the textual readings of Mr. Fichtner. Some of these suggestions were of course syntactical, but half of them probably were criticisms of the readings given supposedly as existing in the manuscript. It will be remembered that the copy of the manuscript was made by Mr. Suchier. Mr. Bertoni has made a new collation of the manuscript, and has succeeded in making out a number of words that had been considered hitherto illegible, for which skill and patience he deserves commendation. He seems to accept my corrections, save in two points: it had appeared to me that only one verse had been lost at the top of one of the pages, but it seems to Mr. Bertoni (doubtless correctly) that two verses have there disappeared. The second point is that he is not sure that one should read *paiens* in line 608, rather than *fuians* (both Mr. Suchier and I read *paiens*). The criticism of Mr. Bertoni being, then, so slight in my regard, my purpose here is not at all to discuss this criticism, but to draw attention to his language, for he says: "M. Fichtner a imprimé son texte d'après une copie très soignée faite par M. Suchier, et M. Weeks n'y a trouvé presque rien à signaler dans sa revision. Pourtant, il reste encore quelque chose à glaner." Mr. Bertoni finds about ten words or significant parts of words to add to the "copie très soignée," which, added to the dozen (approximately) indicated by me, gives a total of twenty or more blunders and defective readings made at a time, be it said, when the manuscript was distinctly

<sup>1</sup> *Studien über die Prise d'Orange*, etc., Halle, 1905, reviewed by me in the *Romania*, XXXVI, 1907, p. 309 ss. Mr. Bertoni's comment is to be found in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXXIII, 1908, p. 233.

more legible than at present. We have before us, then, a scale which will tell us when a manuscript has been transcribed in a manner *très soignée*: if there are no more than a score of negligencies in 650 lines, the copyist may rest content. What would classical scholars say of this standard?

RAYMOND WEEKS.

### POSSIBLE TRACES OF HUON DE BORDEAUX IN THE ENGLISH BALLAD OF SIR ALDINGAR

THE first appearance of *Huon de Bordeaux* in England, so far as we know, is in Sir John Bouchier's translation of the French prose version of the fifteenth century. The unique copy of the supposed first edition of this translation is in the possession of the Earl of Cranford and Balcarros and bears the following on its title page: *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux done into English by Sir John Bouchier, Lord Berners, and printed by Wynkyn de Worde about 1534 A. D.*<sup>1</sup>

To trace the influence of *Huon* through the literature of the sixteenth century in England is an intricate and bewildering undertaking. There is a very large amount of literary material of this period in England which contains Celtic fairy lore. *Huon of Bordeaux* contains Celtic fairy lore. How is one to determine which has its source directly in the British folk-lore and which is derived from the French adaptation of it? At any rate, in the English ballad *Sir Aldingar*, there are evidences that certain elements of the *Huon-Oberon* story had filtered down into popular narrative early enough to have become a well assimilated part of this ballad before the writing of it in Bishop Percy's *Ancient folio manuscript*. These evidences are best shown by a comparison of passages in the ballad with parallel ones in the original epic; but before considering these parallels it will be well to note that that part of the ballad with which we are concerned is characteristic of the *English* version alone, which version departs in this one particular from all the various known versions of the main theme. It will be clearer, perhaps, to dispose of this main theme of the ballad first. It is the

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by Early English Text Society. Extra Series, vols. 40-59.

very wide-spread one of the falsely-accused-wife, and appears in nearly every European language in diverse literary forms: *chanson de geste*, romance, chronicle and ballad. The interrelation of these various versions is, according to Professor Child, impossible to determine, and it is not pertinent to the present inquiry, as the theme which is common to them all has no connection with the *Huon-Oberon* story. The thing to be noted is that this ballad, while presenting a theme so very well known to the nations of western Europe, differs from all other presentations of that theme in this one point; namely, in the character of the champion of the falsely-accused-wife. In some versions there is no champion, in none but the English ballad version is there found this type of champion.

According to Professor Child our ballad represents a distinctly Germanic type of this theme and the ballads which appear in Grundtvig's collection, as also the Scottish one given in Professor Child's collection, also represent this type.

Looking then at these ballads, we have eight Danish, two of the Faroe Islands, one Icelandic, and one Norwegian, besides the English and Scottish ballads mentioned above. In all of these ballads the wife is allowed to put her innocence to the test of ordeal. In the two Faroe Island versions and the one Icelandic, the ordeal is of a hot iron, and so no champion appears. The eight Danish and the one Norwegian make the champion a man of the court or household who was formerly of the wife's father's retinue. The Scottish version makes him "Sir Hugh Le Blond out of the North." In some of the Danish versions the champion is of less than ordinary size, in one, "Least of Christian men," but in none of the ballads except the English and in none of the other forms of the story in any language is there any suggestion that the champion possesses *supernatural powers*. In this statement I am depending upon Professor Child.

It is just this point, the supernatural character, and the particular kind of supernatural character, possessed by the champion in our English ballad, with which this study is concerned. In the English Ballad the wife is queen and before her accusation she has had a dream:

- st. 19 "I dreamed a grype and a grimlie beast  
Had carryed my crowne away,  
My gorgett and my kirtle of golde,  
'And all my faire heade-geare.
- st. 20 How he wold haue werryed me with his tush,  
'And borne me into his nest,  
Saving there came a little hawk,  
Flying out of the east.
- st. 21 Saving there came a little hawke,  
Which men call a merlion;  
Untill the ground he stroke him downe,  
That dead he did fall downe."

And so when she is allowed forty days to find a champion, she sends one messenger into the east; and here I will give parallel passages from the ballad and the epic.

*Ballad*

- st. 28 'As he<sup>3</sup> rode then by one riuer side,  
There he mett with a little child  
He seemed noe more in a mans likenesse  
Then a child of four yeeres old  
. . . . .
- st. 38 'A louelie child was hee;

*Huon*

- l. 26 Et d'Auberon, le noble chevalier;  
Ens son estant n'ot de grant que III piés.  
. . . . .
- l. 3217 Li petis hons vint par la gaut ramé,  
Et fu tous teus que ja dire m'orrés:  
'Aussi biaux fu con solaus en esté,  
(here follows a long epic description).
- l. 3252 "Hé Dix!" dist Hues, "qui nous vient viseter?"  
. . . . .
- l. 3414 "Dix ne fist homme de si grande biauté."  
. . . . .
- l. 3422 "Que il n'ait mie plus de v ans pasé."

<sup>3</sup>"He" refers to messenger.



*Ballad*

- st. 29    He askt the queenes messenger how far he rode;  
           Loth he was him to tell;  
           The little one was offended att him  
           Bid him adew, farewell.

Oberon says:

- l. 3265    "Vous conjur jou que vous me salués"  
           Et li XIII sont en fuies tourné.  
           Li petis hom en fu moult airés;

and he sends terrors in the shape of winds and torrents, but again

- l. 3350    "Vous conjur jou qe vous me repondés,

and when Huon still refuses,

- l. 3357    Li petis hom est tous seus demorés;  
           Moult durement fu courciés et irés.

*Ballad*

- st. 30    Said, "turn thou againe, thou messenger,  
           Greete our queene well from me;  
           When bale is att hiest, boote is att next;  
           Helpe enough there may bee.
- 31    Bid our queene remember what she did dreame  
           In her bed wheras she lay;  
           She dreamed the grype and grimly beast  
           Had carryed her crowne away;
- 32    Her gorgett and her kirtle of gold  
           Alsoe her faire head-geere;  
           He would haue werryed her with his tushe,  
           And borne her into his nest.
- 33    Saing there came a little hawke,  
           Men call him a merlyon;  
           Untill the ground he did strike him downe,  
           That dead he did ffall downe.
- 34    Bidd the queene be merry att her hart,  
           Evermore light and glad;  
           When bale is att hiest, boote is at next,  
           Helpe enoughe there shalbe."

*Huon*

1. 3432 Es 'Auberons qui les a escriés :  
 " Signor, dist il, estes vous propensé?  
 Encor vous vien ge de Jhesu saluer;  
 De cank'il a et fait et estoré,  
 De sa vertu et de sa poosté,  
 Et de tel poir qe Jhesus m'a donné,  
 Vous conjur jou que vous me salués.  
 . . . . .
1. 3446 Hé! Hues sire, je te sai bien nommer,  
 Et si sai bien là où tu dois aler,  
 Et sai moult bien comment tu as ouvré.  
 T'a(s) mort Karlot, qui fix Karlemaine ert,  
 Et en bataille as 'Amauri tué,  
 Et sour chou t'a Karles desireté,  
 Et si t'estuet le mesaige porter  
 'Au roi Gaudise, outre la roge mer.  
 Mais jou te di, en fine verité,  
 Que sans mon cors n'i poras ja aler.  
 Parole à moi, je te ferai bonté,  
 Et t'aiderai ton mesaige à conter,  
 Et l'amiral t'aiderai à tuer.  
 Devant tes piés le te ferai ruer,  
 Et t'aiderai, se me puist Dix salver,  
 Que tu aras les blans gernons mellés,  
 Et de sa geule IIII dens maseliers,  
 Que tu déus à Karlon raporter.  
 Ramenrai toi en France à sauveté,  
 Et tous iciaus qe tu as à guier,  
 Se nel perdés par vostre malvaisté."

*Ballad*

- st. 37 Our queene was put in a tunne to burne,  
 She thought no thing but death;  
 The' were ware of the little one  
 Came ryding forth of the east.

'And the queen is saved and truth established.  
 The emperor says

*Huon*

1. 10075 "Jamais, par Diu, jugieres n'en serés,  
 Que par ma barbe qui me pent sour le nés,  
 Ne mangerai jamais c'un seul disner  
 S'arai Huon pendut et traîné.  
 'Avois!" escrie, "le table me metés!"

Auberon says in Monmur.

1. 10125 "Jou secorraï le jouene baceler.  
 Jou i souhaide me table en son ostel  
 Delés celi ù Kalles doit disner,  
 Si soit plus haute II grans piés mesurés.  
 Et sor le table soit mes hanas dorés,  
 Mes cors d'yvoire et mes haubers safrés.  
 Et s'i souhaide C<sup>m</sup> hommes armés;  
 Se mestiers est, plus en vuel demander."

And Huon is saved and justice meted out.

It is to be noted that both in the ballad and in the epic the supernatural helper champions a falsely accused, innocent person against royal power made hostile through a traitor.

Now as to the possibility of the author, or perhaps more properly, the authors of the ballad having heard the *Huon-Oberon* story. The epic passages quoted above are from the text of Guessard and Grandmaison<sup>8</sup> and so are probably separated from the ballad by several literary versions. How many we cannot tell nor does it particularly matter, for, as I have indicated, the early French texts conform substantially to that of the Tours manuscript in characterization and episode up to the point where the Tours manuscript ends and Lord Berner's work is a faithful translation of the early French prose version. It is probable that it was through this translation that the influence reached the ballad; altho it is possible that some parts of the story may have reached England at an earlier period and in a way of which this ballad would furnish the only record. It would seem that a play or a song would have been more likely to reach the ballad-makers than such a work as Lord Berner's, but I have found no such song and the earliest play of which there

<sup>8</sup> Paris, 1860.

appears to be any record is in 1593. This I find in Greg's edition of Henslow's Diary, Vol. II, p. 158:

[8<sup>r</sup> hewen of (burdoche, of burdockes) Performed by Sussex men, as an old play, 28 (27) Dec. 1593 and 3 & 11 Jan. 1593/4]

How much earlier the "old play" may have been we can only guess. It is generally supposed that this play was from Lord Berner's translation, but it may have been a direct translation of *Le Mystère de Huon de Bordeaux* (1557). So far as I have been able to learn this is all that can be stated as to the possible sources of influence from *Huon de Bordeaux* on our ballad, so that my argument must rest positively upon the obvious similarity in the passages quoted and, on the negative side, on the absence of any evidence of other influence than the Huon in producing so marked a difference between this ballad and all its nearest of kin. None of the fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth century English writings, so far as I know, present this type of supernatural character, altho there are many, especially from 1590 on, presenting other attributes of the fairy prince or *roi sauvaige*, some without the name Oberon, some others (and these must be so far dependent upon the *Huon*) with the name of Oberon.

There is one exception to this last statement, in a black letter tract reprinted by Halliwell in his *Fairy Mythology and Oberon's Vision* and entitled *Robin Goodfellow his mad pranks and merry jests, full of honest mirth and is a fit medicine for melancholy*. In this tract Robin Goodfellow is represented as being the son of Oberon and receiving a scroll from him which gives fatherly counsel in verse, two lines of which are

But love thou those that honest be  
'And help them in necessity.

This tract was published in London in 1628 and undoubtedly owes a part of its material to *Huon of Bordeaux*, but these two lines could hardly have influenced the ballad and the rest of the tract has absolutely nothing in common with any part of *Sir Aldingar*.

And moreover this trait of loving truth and hating lies seems to have belonged to certain classes of supernatural beings quite inde-

pendently of literary influence. For example, it is told in Giraldus Cambrensis of two little men who invited a boy to their beautiful underground country where he was royally entertained at many different times, but when the boy, yielding to his mother's entreaties, took home a golden ball, he was spat upon by two of the dwarfs and could never after find his way to their enchanted land. And it was said of them, "There were no oaths among them, for they detested nothing so much as lies."

The ballad must antedate the writing of the "ancient folio MS.," which Furnival places at 1650. Whether the elements in the ballad which I have indicated as being derived from *Huon of Bordeaux* could have been assimilated during the years between the publication of Lord Berner's translation in 1534 and the writing of this MS. in 1650 I leave to wiser heads than mine. But that the Oberon spirit, as one feels it in the epic, is also present in the ballad, I think no one can deny; and if the inspiration of the "little one" really came from *Huon of Bordeaux*, it must, I think, considering what we know of Ballad production, represent the earliest influence, which we know, of this epic in England.

MURIEL KINNEY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

## TWO LATELY-DISCOVERED LETTERS OF FOSCOLO

**I**N a recent number of the *Fanfulla della Domenica* (March 27, 1910), Professor Eugenia Levi, of the *R. Istituto superiore di Magistero*, Florence, deals with two letters of Foscolo that came to light not long ago in London. Having traced them to Boston, and obtained copies from the dealer by whom they had been acquired, Professor Levi, in the above-mentioned paper, after summarizing the shorter, less important letter, which is in English, publishes, with biographical and literary notes, the longer and highly interesting one (addressed to Lord Holland), according to her copy.

The latter, as results from comparing the published version with the original letter, is in many places incorrect: the punctuation being frequently altered, and words interpolated, omitted, changed and disfigured. Although in some instances the sense of the garbled

passages has not been seriously affected, there are two or three places that in the *Fanfulla* version have become unintelligible.

The most serious blunder is in the date. Through gross misreading of the original, "venerdì sera, 29" has become "venerdì, Genn. 29," whereby Professor Levi has unfortunately been betrayed into a false deduction regarding the date of Foscolo's letter to the Director-General of the police of the canton of Zurich.

This letter, an undated fragment, but interesting from the autobiographical material it furnishes, is inserted in the fifth volume<sup>1</sup> of the Le Monnier edition of Foscolo's works. The editor, Orlandini, in a note, conjectures the end of 1816 as the period of its composition, probably on the basis of the phrase: "Dopo tre mesi ch'io mi sto in Inghilterra"<sup>2</sup> (p. 264). In spite of this passage, Professor Levi, relying on the erroneous copy furnished her—though the un-Italian-looking "Genn. 29" might have aroused suspicion—argues that Orlandini's "sulla fine del 1816" should be modified in a future edition.

However, with the correct reading: "venerdì sera, 29" before one, it takes but a short calculation to show that January, 1817, is out of the question, since the twenty-ninth of that month fell on a Wednesday, and to determine November 29, 1816, as the date of the letter to Lord Holland; which is further corroborated by comparing this letter with the one to Binda of November 21 of the same year.<sup>3</sup>

The suggestion of a later date for Foscolo's letter to the Swiss magistrate is thus irrelevant; indeed, it seems likely that the exiled poet added but little to his *apologia* after Nov. 29, when he wrote to his English friend that he was "a mezzo il lavoro"; for a comparison shows the recurrence of certain expressions from well-advanced portions of the *apologia*, in the letter to Holland.<sup>4</sup>

The "dopo tre mesi" alluded to, which would mean about the middle of December, need not be taken as a literal indication of the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 261-270.

<sup>2</sup> Foscolo landed in England September 12, 1816.

<sup>3</sup> . . . Ora a me resta solamente da desiderare che Mylord torni a piena salute, e ch'io possa riveder lui e Milady, e presentar loro i miei ossequj, e i miei ringraziamenti a Hollandhouse." *Epistolario*, vol. ii, p. 288.

<sup>4</sup> E. g., "il genere umano europeo," p. 267, *ad fin.*

time at which the particular passage in which it occurs was written, but may represent the period when Foscolo expected to have the letter completed.

In the following reprint the erroneous readings of the *Fanfulla* version are given in notes; and the unpublished letter in English is printed with all the orthographical peculiarities of the original.

GEORGE B. WESTON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

### UGO FOSCOLO TO LORD HOLLAND

*MyLord—*

Stammattina Binda nostro è venuto a darmi notizie del ritorno e del miglioramento di Lei; io ne viveva un po' inquieto: so per prova quanto pesi lo stato nojoso della infermità che promettendo lentissima guarigione, minaccia nuove percosse. Or io vorrei poter venire a Holland-house dove sono certo di trovare i conforti che ho nella mia casetta, e tutti quei che pur troppo non ho: e<sup>1</sup> non temo che la magra e trista Don-Chisciottesca figura d'un infermo che non ride più; parla poco; tosse sempre; non trova sonno di notte, e lo cerca di giorno—non temo che possa rincrescere ad ospiti generosi. Ma appunto perchè gli ospiti son generosi, io devo scansare d'affliggerli e di impacciarli—spesso, la mi creda, Mylord, io riesco di noja anche a me: or le febbrette verso sera—or le trafiggiture ch'io sperava passate—e le scrupolose cautele—e le cure d'ora in ora—e i bagni—e il non vedermi mai guarito davvero—e a chi viene vado pur dicendo ch'io sto bene, affinchè non mi domandino piu come sto; perchè anche quel discorrere sempre della mia salute è una gran penitenza per me. Ora<sup>2</sup> Signore ed amico mio:

*Si me vivere vis rectèque videre valentem,  
Quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegrotare timent  
Veniam—*

Onde aspetterò ancora sino a Domenica della settimana ventura; e in questi<sup>3</sup> dieci giorni mi rifarò alquanto in forze da potermi mostrare piu convalescente che infermo. E spero di certo che l'aria migliore, a la minor solitudine (la quale specialmente la sera è solitudine di romiti, perchè il mio Frate Laico ha diritto e necessità di non intristirsi meco dalla mattina alla mezzanotte) mi renderanno la vita;—ma soprattutto la compagnia e la di lei conver-

<sup>1</sup> e dove non.

<sup>2</sup> Ma.

<sup>3</sup> questi giorni.

sazione mi svieranno dalla malinconia che dopo d'essere stata l'effetto è divenuta la causa del male. Intanto m'ingegno di cacciarla da me; e scrivo certa lettera a un<sup>4</sup> Magistrato svizzero il quale dopo d'avermi usato mille sevizie villane a Zurigo, inquieta gli amici miei per trovare delle Filippiche immaginarie che presume ch'io abbia stampato contro la casa d'Austria. Quel brutale e grosso svizzero ha tanto in mano da sapere che la cosa è una chimera; ma finge di crederla come la gli è raccontata da' Ministri<sup>5</sup> austriaci i quali vogliono forse<sup>6</sup> con queste invenzioni politiche di loro conio far risapere in Inghilterra che io sono il *Bue* del Deuteronomio, *col fieno sul corno*, e che merito una mazzata da chiunque mi incontra. Comunque sia, certo è che quello svizzero ha fatto sul principio di novembre delle perquisizioni e degli scandali; ed è pur certo che la requisizione gli venne dall' Ambasciadore di quella Maestà cesarea che non può star senza moglie, e che ora forse spera di ammazzar<sup>7</sup> presto anche questa Bavarese per provarne un'altra *and so on*. Pur avrei taciuto anche questa volta se W. Rose non mi avesse detto che non so quali signori inglesi, a due, a tre, a quattro vanno spargendo ch'io sono un perturbatore della quiete pubblica e seminatore<sup>8</sup> di fazioni. Onde mi risolvo a parlare *de rebus omnibus, et quibusdam aliis* che mi concernono;<sup>9</sup> a smentire gli austriaci, e disingannare gl'inglesi. Sento<sup>10</sup> ad ogni modo ribrezzo a parlare di me. Tuttavia mi studierò a scrivere l'opuscolo in guisa che i lettori siano più occupati delle cose che della persona, e che la mia apologia risulti da' fatti importanti<sup>11</sup> alla curiosità altrui, e da disquisizioni di opinioni politiche le quali oggi tengono in guerra civile il genere umano Europeo. Sono già a mezzo il lavoro; e lo vado, nelle ore che posso, affrettando; ed ecco anche un'altra ragione del mio stare a Londra. E intanto andrò affrettando co' miei desideri e con le mie speranze anche l'ora di stringere la mano a Lei Mylord dopo tanto tempo, e di presentare i miei rispetti e i miei cordiali ringraziamenti a Mylady—

Londra Venerdì sera,<sup>12</sup> 29—

Umil<sup>mo</sup> Servidore ed amico leale  
UGO FOSCOLO

<sup>4</sup> uno sciagurato Svizzero.

<sup>5</sup> dagli Austriaci.

<sup>6</sup> pare.

<sup>7</sup> ammogliarsi presto anche con.

<sup>8</sup> sollevatore.

<sup>9</sup> conoscono.

<sup>10</sup> Certo ad ogni modo ho.

<sup>11</sup> imputabili alla animosità.

<sup>12</sup> genn.



UGO FOSCOLO TO MR. GLYNN  
WALTON—Wednesday—

*Dear Mr. Gleen—*

Be so good as to deliver to the Bearer *three* copies of my *Essais on Petrarch*, and let them be put on my account, as they are not for my own use, but are to be sent in Italy. It is necessary that they should be delivered on tomorrow before evening, that they may be given to the gentleman which is going to the Continent—I shall be in town in a few days,—meanwhile i sent you in a parcel my corrections of the three last sheets of the new Edition of Forsyth Travels—be so good as to send them to the printer, who is unknown to me. My love to Mr. Murray—

Your sincerely obliged  
UGO FOSCOLO

To Mr. Jack

Deliver it as soon  
as you receive this  
note

For Mr. Glynn—  
or any of Mr.  
Murray's Clerks  
50-Albemarle Street  
from Mr. Foscolo—<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With the corrected proof of the above, Mr. Weston sends the following additional unpublished Foscolo item, recently acquired by him:

Mardi 1820 [in another hand]  
154 New Bond St.

Je vous remercie boucoup boucoup. Si vous aurez le bonté de corriger les preuves de l'impression, je vous les ferai arriver. En attendant je vous prie de vouloir bien me traduire le morceau ci-joint, et de me l'expédier *par la petite poste* sans donner trop de trouble à vos gens. Adieu.

Tout à vous H. Foscolo.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*Leonardo Giustiniani, venezianischer Staatsmann, Humanist und Vulgärdichter.*

By B. FENIGSTEIN. Halle, Niemeyer, 1909. Pp. vii + 150.

*Maffio Venier, arcivescovo e letterato veneziano del Cinquecento.* By N.

RUGGIERI. Udine, Bosetti, 1909. Pp. 159.

*Le commedie veneziane di Riccardo Selvatico.* By A. FRADELETTO. Milano, Treves, 1910. Pp. xxxvi + 273.

Leonardo Giustiniani, who thirty years ago was but vaguely known to such a scholar as D'Ancona, can today boast of a stately series of investigators. He is one of the resurrections of modern criticism that have distinctly paid. He has aroused interest as the inventor of a new form of the strambotto—the octave; as an assiduous and artistic cultivator of the themes of popular poetry, into the criticism of which his work has brought disturbing and revolutionary elements; finally as the “most significant Venetian poet before Bembo, and one of the best in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century” (Fenigstein, p. 129). Those who have followed the activities around Giustiniani's work and Mr. Fenigstein's admirable summary of them, will probably see in Leonardo even broader titles to respect. He is, in a sense, the Philip Sydney of the Venetian Renaissance: he was the ideal gentleman of his time. He was a competent humanist, a connoisseur of art and an enthusiastic student of natural science. The devoted ascetic, delighting in saintly conversation, was no less fond of hunting and fishing; and he bore with him memories of an interesting, even a licentious youth (cf. the canzone *Amante a sta fredura*, Wiese's ed., no. VII). The shrewd senator, the conscientious and popular governor, could leave his treatise on the art of war to compose a bar of music for the Virgin—or for a serenade. The successful merchant was also a skilled accountant, interested in the theory of numbers. The most eloquent orator in the Council is famous as the most seemly eulogist in the Basilica, while the clever diplomat rises to one of the highest political positions in the State. These broad interests make of him one of the best embodiments of Venetian ideals of cultured manhood; he is one of the representative minds of the Italian Renaissance.<sup>1</sup>

*Giornale Storico*, X, 363. One passage, p. 365, in addition to those more notable

Mr. F.'s contribution is a closely knit and carefully conducted piece of work, and is beyond question the most comprehensive and satisfactory general

<sup>1</sup> For a portrayal of his life by himself, see the letter published by Sabbadini, features dwelt on at length by others, seems to me worthy of remark. This is his praise of the life in the gondola, as the most genial of occupations, which I am inclined to associate with that interesting Venetian trait studied by Segarizzi, *Emporium*, Sept., 1908, pp. 213–224, *Freschi e passeggi a Venezia*. Also earlier than the literary echoes of this custom cited there, is a passage in the letters of Andrea Calmo, ed. by Vittorio Rossi, Loescher, Roma, 1888, p. 279: “. . . si vu gustassè, anema mia, i spassi de andar al fresco in barca. . . .”

review of Giustiniani literature to date. He has not reviewed in detail the work of previous writers, but refers to them only in foot-notes. This method is in general adequate; but Note 8, p. 33, perhaps through an infelicity of style, is unfair to Foscarini. Montfaucon's error in attributing the *Liber philologicus* to Giustiniani was recognized by Foscarini (*Della lett. veneziana*, ed. 1847, p. 391, note 1). Mr. F. makes Foscarini sponsor for the error itself. The idea of the bibliography (pp. vi-vii) is, however, most unhappy. If meant to outline the literature of the subject it is scarcely half complete; if intended to offer a selected list, it has chosen the insignificant in preference to the indispensable and adds nothing to the foot-notes, which must still be consulted throughout. It deals particularly with the Latin sources, and as such should contain at least a reference to the bibliography compiled by Ortolani in his *Appunti su L. G.*, Feltre, 1896. In place of this haphazard list of general works, such as Romanin's history and Agostini's *Notizie*, an actual list of the MSS. and published works of Giustiniani would have served a purpose. And to mention another *inesia*—why give English parallels (p. 45) to the regular Christian designation of *diabolus* by "Enemy"? or carefully translate *soveneto* (p. 111) and say nothing about *chui* (p. 112)? Is this an emendation, Venetian *quii*, "quei," or a misprint of the passage in Wiese, which reads *dui*?—*di dui partiti qual dezo seguire* (the reference is Wiese X, not XI)? These Venetian citations within the German text have not, apparently, received the author's revision: in addition to very numerous harmless slips (such as *tuo mana*, 85; *stu* for *s'tu*, *vegno* for *vegna*, etc.), in the citation (p. 83) from Foscarini's *Canti popolari*, nearly everything is wrong, including verse division, text and reference. The passage is found on p. 128 of the *Canti* as follows:

"Ga Roma fabricà Romolo e Remo;  
Venezia amor, vegnudo a vela e a remo."

The date hitherto accepted for Giustiniani's birth is 1388, but this has always led to difficulties (cf. Wiese, *Zeit. für. rom. Phil.*, XVII, 258). Mr. F. attacks this further on the ground that the marriage of Leonardo's mother at fifteen, his own at seventeen, and the composition of the poems in the Galeazzo MS. at fourteen, are improbable. There remains to be explained the statement of Leonardo himself that "his nineteenth year offered him to the State." Mr. F. doubts whether this refers to his admission to the Maggior Consiglio in 1407. But he has no positive suggestion for the reference. He might possibly have added that the presentation of a young man for the proof and acknowledgment of his right to the patriciate or to the *cittadinanza originaria* usually took place around nineteen and was called precisely an "offering." Mr. F. does not state very clearly his reasons for accepting the date 1383. We are left to infer that Leonardo married not younger than twenty-one, and we know the date of the marriage: 1405. This assumes that he entered the council in 1407 at the regular age of twenty-five. His eldest brother, Lorenzo, was born in 1380. Mr. F.'s confirmation of his hypothesis (already advanced by Wiese) has much probability. But two further inquiries may be in point: may Leonardo's aggregation to the Council at the earliest legal moment and his unusually early marriage have been caused by Lorenzo's determination to enter the cloister? May the poems in the Galeazzo MS. have been written in the already stamped volume

long after it passed from Galeazzo's ownership? If Leonardo were born in 1388, he could have been not yet thirty at the time of the Zeno eulogy, 1418; this could account for the presence of "twenty" in that inaccurate oral tradition recorded by Egnazio (p. 38). Of course the orator's references to his own age in the speech itself are mere rhetorical modesty.

With some of Mr. F.'s general statements it is difficult to agree. It can hardly be said that Venetian usage expected the marriage of the eldest son (p. 7). Venice never recognized the principle of primogeniture: all the sons had equal property and political rights. Hence enormous fortunes and family dissensions were obviated. But to prevent, on the other hand, the dwindling of estates, a custom grew up automatically, by which the brothers lived together and only one married.<sup>3</sup> This was usually the younger. Naturally the eldest son had political preferment from the very fact of age and experience and from a tendency not to favor too many of the same family. Of course this was a custom not a law, and exceptions are numerous according to the exigencies of particular cases. The failure of the elder brother, Lorenzo, to marry, is therefore not surprising. His retirement opened the way to the careers of Marco and Leonardo.

To deduce from Leonardo's statement that his political preferment was unsought, that he was a prominent possibility for the Dogeship, is probably excessive. This expression of Leonardo smacks of that feigned modesty of which humanistic correspondence is full, and is no gauge of his actual popularity. To be sure, the office of Procurator of San Marco<sup>4</sup> was often a stepping-stone to the throne. But this was a period of intense political activity in Venice, with grave questions at stake. Men of stronger bias and aggressiveness than Leonardo were favored for the highest position. His most conspicuous traits were social tact and administrative competence. There is little evidence of his capacity as an enthusiastic leader. He is not of the type of Mocenigo and Foscari, who were guiding Venice at this period. Nor was the problem before them of so inevitable an answer as Mr. F. would have us believe.<sup>5</sup> Venetian decline begins from the adoption of Foscari's policy of imperialism in preference to Mocenigo's theory of peaceful commercial expansion.

In connection with Leonardo's political career, we may suggest that the statement that he was a member of the Council of X from 1428 till 1445 is surprising. Constitutionally, the election was for not more than one year. The "headship" was not for one person, as Mr. F. seems to imply (pp. 12-14), but for three, and the duration in office not for one sitting but for three months.<sup>6</sup> It is not a question of chairmanship: the *capì* were a sort of executive committee.

<sup>3</sup>This custom was general enough to attract the attention of many visitors to Venice; and it seems that the community of life led to certain social evils: see Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, Bergamo, 1908, III, 41-42 and especially 424.

<sup>4</sup>The statement (p. 13) that this was the second highest office in the state needs limitations: strictly speaking, the Grand Chancellor, the "Doge of the people," came next in rank after the Doge. In matters of influence, of course, the patrician alone counted.

<sup>5</sup>P. 15: "Venedig war somit *gezwungen* in die Terraferma einzudringen."

<sup>6</sup>A complete statement of these matters may be found in Romanin, *Lezioni di storia veneta*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1875, I, p. 281.

When Mr. F. asserts that the Greek preceded the Latin Renaissance in Venice and that "Greek first introduced the Venetians into the spirit of Antiquity" (p. 29), can he be ignoring the long residence of Petrarch in Venice and the Veneto—this scarcely a quarter-century before the advent of Emmanuel Chrysoloras? Petrarch's most noteworthy defence of Plato is precisely of Venetian inspiration; yet Petrarch was not a Greek scholar. As for the introduction of Greek into Italy, we may recall from Novati that the movement proceeded not only from sacred literature and from commerce, but also from a movement of considerable importance emanating from Ireland, where the classical tradition was protected from barbarian disturbance during the Invasions. Irish monks were established in Calabria and North Italy.

The mediocrity of Venetian humanism is due less to the practical bourgeois spirit of the Republic—does Venice then show less the passion for art and beauty than the rest of Italy?—than to the liberal ideals of culture which the conditions of the State enforced. The freedom of political and commercial activity engrossed much creative energy. This does not attain in purely academic fields the specialized excellence that the parasitic culture of the Renaissance reached in the other Italian courts. Venetian culture is assimilative rather than creative: it is diffused and balanced rather than intense. This explains the numerous "names and naught but names" (p. 30) of Venetian humanists. For the rest, is not Leonardo himself an example of that rounded liberal culture that nowhere rises above mediocrity? Further, we must not forget the proximity of Padova and Venice. The leisure of the rich nobles was spent in the villas of Terraferma, at Treviso, at Bassano, along the Brenta. How much of really Venetian activity is absorbed in the more congenial circles of the university suburb?

Probably Mr. F. attaches too much literalness to the content of the humanistic production of Giustiniani. His criticism of painting (p. 20); his praises of his friends; his religious moods, these all deal with concepts and forms imposed by the traditions of the time and are as far from life as the language in which they were expressed. There is also nothing distinctive in Guarino's praise of the Zeno eulogy, which Muratori printed in full precisely because it was brief; nor in the homage of Barzizza, who was Leonardo's senior in letters. This humility of Barzizza moves us the less in proportion as Giustiniani's rôle as the patrician and the Maecenas is emphasized. It is difficult to concede Leonardo's special love for Nature on the slender basis of the sentences adduced (p. 63; the passage is in *Giornale Storico*, X, p. 365). It is significant that he compares the scene before him to a painting, and (p. 20) that he considers the human art the greater of the two. There is no hint there of the all-sufficiency of life from the mere fact of living that we find in the true poets of nature: or of the absorbing delight in the world of Petrarch.\* For in the poems of Giustiniani, where there was room for greater expansiveness, Nature appears only in the triteness of conventional symbols.

Mr. F.'s analysis of the vernacular poetry of Leonardo Giustiniani is an excellent piece of work. We should be inclined only to dwell with greater in-

---

\* Mr. F. says: "Die Freude an die Natur war für Leonardo Giustiniani nicht der Ausdruck einer bloss vorübergehenden Stimmung: sie war ihm Lebensbedürfnis."

sistence on his relations to the Dugento. He is much more in sympathy with Guinicelli and Davanzati than with Petrarch or his followers. If he feels the Trecento at all, it is rather of the bourgeois poets, of Faitimelli or Soldanieri or Antonio Pucci that he reminds us. He is thoroughly familiar with the popular poetry of the thirteenth century: and philosophically he connects the Dolce Stil Nuovo with Michael Angelo. With his leanings toward the older Italian spirit should be associated his rather scanty use of classical analogies (p. 65), which is certainly not due to ignorance, but rather to a sobriety of taste the more remarkable when we recall that Giustiniani is a contemporary of Il Saviozzo. In view of this simple popular tone of Leonardo's work, we have a right to grave doubts as to the authenticity of Mr. Ortolani's additions to the list of the *strambotti*.<sup>7</sup> Those published in the *Appunti* are in the manner of an arrant Petrarchism, entirely foreign to the rest of the poems known. We miss a careful treatment of this question in the work before us. For the *Leandreide*, however, a rather beautiful poem of the early Quattrocento, in the style of Boccaccio's verse romances, Mr. F., following others, notably Lazzarini, is emphatic in rejecting Giustiniani's authorship. The attribution had originally in its favor principally the fact that Leonardo is about the only Venetian poet with genius enough to have written it. Mr. F.'s negative proof is as conclusive as one has a right to expect. But is the *somma gravità* of the author's brother necessarily a reference to a specific office—a bishopric? Why not, to his general dignity as a famous saint?—It is difficult to see how the "concept of morality [in Giustiniani] is Venetian" (p. 114). The conspicuous motive to conduct is reputation, good name; but this is regular already in the Dugento and in Provence.—P. 125: Leonardo was not only writing *laude* in 1429: he was then enjoying a certain reputation for them (cf. Sabbadini, *op. cit.*).

Mr. F.'s note (p. 83), identifying the *liagò* with the *altana* is inexact. The *altana* was a hanging balcony, while the *liagò* was the outside staircase (of which examples still remain in Venice) capped by the sheltered sun-room. Both the *altana* and the *liagò* figure in Wiese VII. Developments in architecture have introduced fundamental changes in the meanings of these terms. *Liagò* appears also in the form *diagò*, though the exact relation of the words has not been made clear. With the gradual disappearance of the outside sun-room, this latter name passed over to the glass bay-window (cf. Boerio), which served a similar domestic purpose—that of a pleasant sitting room. Meanwhile the *altana* came to designate the enclosure on the roof, yielding to *balcone* in its other sense.<sup>8</sup> In *sudio-a*, an epithet applied to the uncomplaisant lover (p. 116), the connotation and semantic origin is in the meaning "faithless," as shown by the frequent adjunct *eretico* and longer definitions: Wiese (p. 12): "Ai me, ch'io cridi—A la tua fede zudia; (p. 39): Donna: De sti tui sacramenti—Che me farà rasone? Amante: Donna, non haver temanza!—Crederestu forssi che zudeo io sia?—Ancor may hai cognoscanza! Non credere che zurassi la busia. (P. 142):

<sup>7</sup> For the discussion and Ortolani's defense, see a note in *Giornale Storico*, XXXIII, p. 453 and Fenigstein, p. 81.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Molmenti, *Venice in The Middle Ages*, translated by H. Brown, Bergamo, 1906, 50–51.

Fane vendetta—De sta zudia perfida e crudele. (P. 275): Non adoro altro dio—  
Che la tua fazza bella—Sun doventà zudio—Per ti, mia chiara stella.”\*

In contrast with the condensed and much worked matter of Mr. Fenigstein, we have the rather light treatment of Maffio Venier by Professor Ruggieri. Here the substance of Venier's work is dealt with in categories of the most general kind: and the various poems are considered *seriatim* with little attempt at synthesis. It is an account rather than a study of Venier's production, and the subject is far from being exhausted. Aside from a well ordered bibliography, offering a starting point for future investigators, the most valuable portion of the work is the biography, which is a real contribution based on inaccessible sources.

Venier is a sample of the Venetian courtier: his career represents persistent tugs at the various wires attached to lucrative positions, most of which he failed to attain. His exploitation of the clerical robe is by no means exceptional, of course: and when he finally arrived in the archbishopric of Corfù, he displayed occasionally a decency that does him credit. He dabbled with some success in diplomacy and was capable of arousing deep affection in high places, especially at the Florentine court, under the patronage of his romantic compatriot, Bianca Capello. His diplomatic status was perplexing even to his contemporaries, and he was specifically charged with being a spy, acting in behalf of Florence. Mr. Ruggieri comes to his rescue in a warm denial (p. 41), but this defence, like, for that matter, the accusation itself, rests on rather weak evidence. The express denial of Francesco I is worthless, as coming from the most interested party next to Venier. The Republic at any rate never took Venier over-seriously. Yet he was one of those men whom Venice liked to see advanced at foreign courts, as a means of strengthening her own influence and popularity, and as convenient sources of information in case of need.

As a poet, Venier is famous for the authorship of the most widely read poem in the Venetian dialect: *La Strazzosa*. In it a man of the people describes the joy of life with his ragged but beloved wife. There is great realistic power and much sensibility; above all, a note of domestic purity that charms. Nevertheless *La Strazzosa* is not a democratic poem. It belongs to that well stocked genre of verses in which a long series of Venetian nobles sang the charms of their washerwomen, their cooks and their scullions. Here *La Strazzosa* is a masterpiece. As a social document, it shows the reverse side of Petrarchism, where the poets, surfeited with the insipid beauty of painted Lauras, struggled to get back to natural and uncultivated types, sought in the grime of the kitchen or in the squalor of the poor house. The rest of Venier's work presents in substance all the mediocrity of Petrarchism: but his dialect gives to these worn themes that appearance of originality, which forceful figures, derived from the people, produce.

---

\* In the last number of the *Giornale Storico*, just arrived, A. Oberdorfer publishes notes on Giustiniani as a Humanist. He objects to the form *Giustiniani*, preferring *Giustiniano* or *Giustinian*. Why then not a pure Venetian form *Zustinian*? And his rejection of Fenigstein's suggestion of 1383 seems as excessive as the latter's categorical affirmation. After all, 1383 is “comodo per la critica.”

Venier is the author of a classic tragedy, *Idalba*, of which Mr. Ruggieri has discovered a second redaction. The differences in the two forms seem to me to suggest an hypothesis as to the inspiration of the play, worthy of consideration. In the first draft, we have the disinheritance of a princess, *Idalba*, in favor of another relative, *Delida*. War results, though against *Idalba*'s will. In the fight her lover is killed, and she becomes a suicide.—In the second working,<sup>1</sup> *Delida* is disinherited and *Idalba* is raised to the throne. In the resulting war, *Delida* is victorious. *Idalba*'s father is executed and her husband is placed on trial. *Idalba* herself is accused, and failing to flee the country, is at last condemned. After long hesitation on the part of *Delida*, who at first refuses to permit the execution, *Idalba* is sacrificed to "ragion di stato."—What at first was a mere romantic tragedy has become a struggle of character, where the interest of pity centers in *Idalba*, but where the motive will-power is in *Delida*. Is this combat of queens for the throne, this trial and condemnation of the one by the other, an echo of the tragedy about to be consummated in England? *Idalba* was complete in 1585 and Venier died in 1586. The play may originally have been suggested by the circumstances attending the advent of Elizabeth to the throne. But the struggle between her and Mary the Catholic is forgotten as the dramatic career of Mary Queen of Scots unfolds. If the second redaction of *Idalba* is influenced by these important events, it is not only one of the earliest tragedies devoted to Mary's history: it is also a prediction of that solution of her case at which Elizabeth was to arrive in 1587.

Mr. Ruggieri had not been following the *Cronaca* of the *Giornale Storico* when he wrote note 2 on p. 77. The literature he there cites is nearly two centuries out of date.

But he has written a valuable and interesting book.

In editing the unpublished work of Riccardo Selvatico, whose name was not fortunate enough to appear in the study of Nani-Mocenigo (*Letteratura veneziana del secolo XIX*), Mr. Fradeletto has rendered a service of friendship and affection. His introductory essay, *Riccardo Selvatico e la sua generazione*, analyses the temper of the Venetian mind during the period of reconstruction: it outlines the evolution of Selvatico's genius and describes briefly his career as a man and a politician (Selvatico became *sindaco* of Venice and *deputato alla camera*). He relates as a first hand observer the interaction of Selvatico's work with that of Giacinto Gallina and Giacomo Favretto and the coöperation

<sup>1</sup>Mr. R. considers the unedited *Idalba* the earlier redaction (p. 112), because "i difetti riscontrati nell' *Idalba* stampata sono più appariscenti nell' *Idalba* inedita, massime rispetto allo stile. . . . Tutto sommato l' *Idalba* inedita ha più rettorica, ha più impronta di esercitazione letteraria." In spite of Mr. R.'s great authority as a specialist with first hand information, this hypothesis, based on impressionistic grounds, does not seem to be borne out by the substance of the two plays; where, judging from Mr. R.'s summaries, the unedited text has by far the greater dramatic interest. There is also the MS. title, *tragedia nova*—of course not absolutely conclusive. Finally the historical background to the plot, which we consider here. Mr. R.'s light treatment of this important question is paralleled by similar inadequate discussions of Venetian poetry and of the drama before Venier.



of all three with the actors Angelo and Marianna Morolin in creating a distinctive and artistic Venetian stage.

The edition comprises three plays (one incomplete) and a short series of dialect poems—notable here *Le tabachine*—as a short study of a local trait, and a *Nina-nana* with *In morte d'una bambina*,—verses in popular manner but of fine tone. The comedies are models of current dialect speech and in them the question of Venetian orthography seems for once to have been satisfactorily decided.

The third of the series, *I morti*, is really but the dialect plan of a play intended for rewriting in Tuscan. It is a study in psychology: a wife, cruelly treated, dies. The unfaithful husband, who has rushed into a second marriage, returns now to a passionate adoration of the dead woman—a passion in fact as productive of evil as his original infidelity had been. The second, *I recini da festa*, "Earrings," treats the theme of the rich but irascible father, led by the helpless innocence of an infant, to pardon the runaway marriage of his son to a poor girl. This play has no dramatic interest, but it has great keenness of observation and gentleness of manner. To Mr. Fradeletto's observations on the first, *La bozeta de ogio*, "The Spilling of Oil Brings Bad Luck," we may add the following suggestions: The play is a mosaic of Goldonian themes, suggested principally by *Il Bugiardo*, *Le Barufe Chiosote* and *L'Avaro*. But Selvatico has carefully pondered his art and while his plot revolves about lies and misunderstandings, the falsehoods and mistakes go back to fundamental character traits: in Cate to avarice, in Anzoleta and Bortolo to *onestà*, a desire to save at all costs the reputation of the family. Piero and Bepo are gondoliers with weaknesses for drink and gaming but thoroughly good fellows. Taken as a class, the characters stand for impulsive honesty, but they are totally unable to resist the temptation to gain good ends by bad means. Hence all the trouble. The "observation is superficial" (p. 10) in the sense that the characters are types, invented to stand for certain traits, and in the sense that the play has after all a mechanical framework. But in the detailed scenes, this is scarcely true; the conduct of the *barufa* (I, 7), the reading of *Sior Tonin* by Bepo and Piero (II, 1), Cate's narrative of the rich lady's refusal to kneel beside her at mass (II, 2),—these bits are perfect in their genre. For the rest, the comedy registers a broad social judgment: it recognizes the social problem that exists, when, through poverty and helplessness, fundamentally honest natures are driven to complete ethical irresponsibility.

A. A. L.

*The Reconstruction of the Original Chanson de Roland.* By FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS. Reprinted from the Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XV, July, 1909.

This paper is announced as the introduction to a series the purpose of which is the reconstruction of the original *Roland*. The author hopes by methods of literary criticism to be able to fashion a text which will be open to fewer objections than those we already possess. "Although the *Chanson de Roland* has been studied for three-quarters of a century, many of its problems, including several of the most important ones, are as yet unsolved. In the opinion of the present writer, however, a great number of these problems are solvable if the following thesis be proved—that the original *Chanson de Roland* was a poem of marked and consistent technical excellence."

To prove the "marked and consistent technical excellence" of the original poem, Mr. Luquiens deems it sufficient to establish the merits of a more or less distant relative. "That x (the original) was a poem of marked and consistent technical excellence is practically proved by the following two facts: (1) one of the extant manuscripts, O (the Oxford MS.), is of marked and almost consistent technical excellence; (2) the few technical faults of O may be plausibly attributed to copyists." "These facts, however, need detailed exemplification, for very few investigators have realized them." There are not many students of this epic who will hesitate to concur in the author's general estimate of the literary worth of the Oxford MS., but it is more than questionable that they will approve his logic. "I hope," he continues, "that the foregoing exposition has rendered clear the nature of the Oxford manuscript's technic. If so, I may consider my thesis—that the original *Chanson de Roland* was a poem of marked and consistent technical excellence as proved." The conclusion of this argument seems hardly warranted by the premises. These "facts" may be proved and "the nature of the Oxford manuscript's technic rendered clear," but how does that establish the greater perfection of the original? "Est-on tenu de se représenter à l'origine un âge d'or où auraient fleuri des poèmes merveilleusement logiques et harmonieux, contre lesquels par la suite des remanieurs stupides se seraient acharnés?" asks M. Bédier (*Légendes Épiques*, I, 305). Bédier, Gaston Paris and others answer in the negative. Mr. Luquiens replies in the affirmative. "Almost all students of the question have thought that between x (the original) and x' (the progenitor of all redactions) intervened a long process of accretion. To quote Professor Weeks: "To my mind, the process of development was so gradual that, at no stage of the operation could one say: 'Here begins the Oxford version.'" No editor who holds this opinion would attempt to reconstruct x. But, if my thesis be conceded, it must also be conceded that between x and x', and between x' and O, there was very little accretion, or indeed change of any kind; that, moreover, it is feasible to reconstruct x, merely by excluding from O whatever is due to its scribe, or to the scribe of x'." This is a specious argument but one is tempted to inquire why he should "concede" the "thesis" when that thesis is the very subject that is most disputable and requires most careful proof. This thesis is the very heart of Mr. Luquiens' case and is exactly what cannot be conceded in the case of the *Roland* any more than in the case of any other *chanson de geste*. To ensure acceptance of his 'thesis' Mr. Luquiens must prove that the process of reworking was a process of peijoration.

"The argument might be made much simpler for any who would accept subjective reasoning." Unfortunately, the question is one of external evidence. Subjective treatment in the realm of *Roland*-study, found its apotheosis in the work of Bourdillon. Mr. Luquiens' difficulties with the text and with his familiar 'the copyist,' recall inevitably the labors of that all but forgotten editor.

'Voici la marche,' says Bourdillon, 'que j'ai suivie dans mon travail. J'ai commencé d'abord par apprendre à peu près par cœur le texte de mes manuscrits. Cela obtenu, une fois bien ferme sur ce terrain, j'ai pris l'ordre des idées et j'ai appelé les vers, qui alors, sans peine, sans effort, et d'eux-mêmes, sont venus se ranger sous ma plume et c'est ainsi que notre poème, si l'on peut l'assimiler à une statue, s'est trouvé, non pas sorti du bloc de marbre, mais dégagé des haillons dont la main des hommes pendant plusieurs siècles l'avait affublé. Ce travail s'est achevé de telle façon, qu'en vérité je ne crois pas avoir omis dix vers

appartenant à l'auteur. Quand je voulais m'écarter un peu à droit ou à gauche, je trouvais ses vers pitoyables, clochant par le sens, par la mesure et par la rime, comme s'ils fussent sortis d'une tête battant la campagne, ou bien d'une incohérence d'idées, attestant qu'ils n'ont pu être conçus que par des gens sans littérature ni éducation" (quoted by Foerster, *Altfranz. Bibliothek*, Bd. 6, p. ix).

What an invaluable document in the history of humor and subjective criticism! For Bourdillon the original *Chanson de Roland* sprang perfect at all points from the head of Calliope. It is worthy of note, however, that Mr. Luquiens' favorite codex O was the worst of redactions in the eyes of Bourdillon.

Passing over the cursorness of the author's 'detailed exemplification' of the excellence of the Oxford MS., his examination fails in convincing force. We fail to see that Marsile, when he cries "Jo nen ai ost qui bataille li dunne" (l. 18), is playing upon words. This line stands in unreconcilable conflict with ll. 564-5 which show that Marsile is quite confident of his ability to meet Charles with an army "plus bele ne verreiz, Quatre cenz milie chevaliers." Surely there is a lack of seriousness, also, in citing the simple inconsistency between 'desuz un pin' and 'desuz dous arbres' as the only breach in the unity of the *Roland*. While this is a fault, it does not disturb the action of the poem at all in the measure that it is disturbed by the difficulty mentioned above or by the poetic inconsequences of the introduction of hostages given by Marsile to Charles. "Because the wily counsellor may have thought his despondent sovereign to be in need of some violent excitant," will scarcely be regarded as a successful suggestion to account for Blancandrin's failure to warn Marsile of Ganelon's real intentions. One may be pardoned also if he confess that Mr. Luquiens' argument for O's presentation of the quarrel scene between Roland and Ganelon has failed to convince him that it is not logically impossible and dramatically inferior to the arrangement of the editors. The need for the reconstruction of such portions as are represented by Stengel's *laisses* cxia, cxib, cxic and for Müller's re-arrangement of ll. 1628-1670 seems as imperative as ever to one who is not interested in defending O at all hazards.

Allusion might be made to other details of Mr. Luquiens' criticism. Sufficient has been said, however, to indicate the line of his argument.

The second part of this paper is occupied with a discussion of Stengel's edition, in an effort to show that a text such as Müller's constituted upon the 'Oxford-stemma' alone is superior to a text—Stengel's—constituted from all the redactions. "Müller's text is practically the Oxford manuscript. Therefore it possesses, of course, marked and almost consistent technical excellence. Let us turn to the examination of Stengel's text." The "poetaster" whom Stengel has been unfortunate enough to summon to the footlights is a very reprehensible person. Stengel's edition "is at the same time the most useful and the most harmful of books dealing with the *Roland* . . . it is harmful because . . . it is now generally accepted as the authoritative text of the *Roland*." "The fact that Stengel's supposed x' contains over six hundred lines more than O, arouses at the outset suspicions of lack of technic." It may be more difficult to appreciate the value of such a distinction between Stengel and Müller when it is seen exactly how Müller regarded those fatally redundant six hundred lines. A consultation of Müller's foot-notes will reveal the fact that he regards about one-half of these lines as undoubtedly original. Another one hundred are 'unessential,' 'possible,' 'doubtful.' We may conclude from his silence in regard to the remaining two hundred that he

thought them superfluous. Mr. Luquiens appears to misapprehend Müller in more cases than this. "No one," says Mr. Luquiens, "has ever attempted the reconstruction of  $x$  (the original poem)." "He (Müller) did not consider the reconstruction of the original poem to be feasible." Müller says: "Ich habe das Original zu reconstituieren gesucht" (La Chanson de Roland, 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl., 1878, p. vi). Again Mr. Luquiens says: "So his (Müller's) formula—to adopt his expression—may be reduced to lowest terms as follows: *Never alter the Oxford manuscript to accord with the other redactions except for an imperative reason.*" Then, having enlarged upon Müller's "infidelity to his formula," he continues: "In short, to Müller's formula should be added: exclude from the Oxford manuscript whatever may be proved due to copyists." Now compare Müller: "Es finden sich andererseits im Oxforder Texte mehrere ungehörige Einschießel, die dem Uebersetzer zugeschrieben werden müssen. Sie sind durch Einklammerung Kenntlich gemacht" (Müller, op. cit., p. vii). Perhaps an injustice is done to Mr. Luquiens, but Müller seems to have anticipated his suggestions.

There is no such difference, then, between Stengel and Müller as the writer of this paper seems to imply. Stengel's redaction is not final. Prof. Stengel himself does not seem to have thought of it as being so. Nevertheless it remains to many the truest representation that we possess of the original. Hence its basic value. Müller's text was superseded because it failed to carry out its purpose. "Es ist nun das in der Oxforder Handschrift Fehlende nach den anderen Redactionen ergänzt. . . Einzelne Verse, welche vermisst worden, habe ich in der Sprache des Originals in den Text eingerückt; ganze Tiraden dagegen habe ich nicht in der ursprünglichen Gestalt wiederzugeben gesucht. . . Ich habe mich damit begnügt, die entsprechenden Tiraden aus den anderen Redactionen unter dem Texte mitzutheilen" (Müller, op. cit., p. vii). Müller shrank from thorough-going reconstruction. Stengel attacked his task boldly and his achievement is greater than Müller's because, with all the faults of his text, he has given us a poem undoubtedly much closer to the original than that of Müller. Should we go even so far as to deny high technical excellence to this reconstruction, it would constitute no argument against close approximation to the original.

Had Mr. Luquiens been able to prove that Müller's text possessed all the merits which he claims for it and that Stengel's was as vicious as he asserts, it would scarcely have corrected the fallacies of his reasoning. That he has done even this remains open to doubt.

The task of the reconstruction of the Roland is one which, by reason of its inherent difficulties as well as because of the great names connected with it, might seem calculated to give pause to the most adventurous. Mr. Luquiens appears to be carried away with the idea that he has discovered an easy method. His key is the literary perfection of the Oxford manuscript, from which the unwarranted deduction of the perfection of the original poem. The key, however, is not fitting the wards. Perhaps Mr. Luquiens' main proposition is correct. It may be that the construction of the original *Chanson de Roland* will be rendered easier by the results of literary criticism. But he has approached the problem with a dangerous and, we think, an unsubstantiated preconception. It will be interesting to follow his speculations in the articles that are to follow.

J. A. WILL

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

*Commentaire Anonyme sur Prudence d'après le manuscrit 413 de Valenciennes*  
par John M. Burnam. Paris, Picard, 1910. 8vo, pp. 300.

The period following the Carolingian Renaissance abounded in commentaries. To compare small things with great, it suggests the Alexandrine age, which succeeded the creative period in Greek literature. Not many of the commentaries of the ninth century have been published, and the reason is not far to seek. They contain little information of value concerning the classical authors whose work they were written to explain; an attempt like that of F. Schlee in his *Scholía Terentiana* (1893) to sift out the ancient and profitable material, can furnish only ludicrous results. But viewing these commentaries as illustrations of the culture of their times, they acquire interest at once; in fact the history of the period cannot be written until many more of them are published. They can show how information about antiquity gradually increased in the ninth century, how it was accompanied, nevertheless, by gross ignorance and the readiness to invent when facts were lacking, and how the humanistic and belletristic tendencies of the times of Charlemagne yielded finally to the passion for philosophy of which we find the first great partisan in John the Scot.

Professor Burnam has already published from two manuscripts (Vat. Pal. 237 s. xi and Paris 13953 s. x) '*Glossemata de Prudentio*' (University of Cincinnati Studies, 1905), which he attributed to a Celtic monk of the monastery of Corbie writing between 650 and 750. But the palaeographical evidence on which this conclusion rests is most uncertain, and Professor Burnam, in a note at the end of the book, abandoned his attempt to prove Corbie the home of the writer. More probably, it seems to me, the commentary is a work of the ninth century. In the present volume Professor Burnam has edited in a clear and convenient fashion another and longer commentary on Prudentius from a Valenciennes manuscript, 413 s. ix. Reserving a complete discussion until later, he declares that the archetype of the present manuscript was probably written in a semiuncial insular hand by a Low-German or Netherlandish scribe, and that its author was Remigius of Auxerre. Without going into details, I may state my belief that the writer was more probably the master of Remigius, Heiricus of Auxerre. In a most interesting manuscript at Trèves, 1093 s. xi, which contains an *EXPOSITIO IN LIBRO BOETII DE CONSOLATIONE PHYLOSOPHIAE REMIGII AUTISIODORENSIS MAGISTRI*, conflated with at least one other commentary on the same work, there is also an assemblage of notes on Prudentius. So far as I can judge from random excerpts, it is the Trèves manuscript which contains, perhaps with other material, the commentary of Remigius, while the Valenciennes manuscript preserves, though again, it may be, with some additions, the earlier work of Heiricus. Remigius, as usual, cribs with so few alterations that his work has at least a value for the text of his pilfered source; for instance, the unintelligible conclusion of an important anecdote ('*Commentaire*,' top of p. 128) is perfectly clear in the Trèves manuscript. These two commentaries were preceded, it would seem, by the *Glossae Magistri Isonis* cited by Arevalo, and that work in turn depends on the *Glossemata* published by Professor Burnam in 1905. I see no reason why all these works should not be placed in the ninth century, and believe also that John the Scot, who is quoted in the '*Commentaire*' and the Trèves manuscript, should be credited with an exposition of Prudentius; the activity of this great man as commentator is only just beginning to be understood. (See Traube's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*

I, 2 (1906), 96 ff.) Interesting relations may be traced between the present series of commentaries on Prudentius, those on Boethius, to which John the Scot and Remigius contributed, and those on Terence, two of which I have tentatively assigned to Heiricus and Remigius (*Classical Philology* iv (1909), 385 ff.), but the whole subject demands renewed investigation. When the whole material is before us, it should be possible by putting these commentaries in chronological order to follow in detail the development of culture in the ninth century, and, perhaps, to determine more exactly, events in the life of John the Scot.

The student of language will find much of interest in the lists at the end of the volume: '*Addenda Lexicis Latinis*,' '*Vocabula Rariora*,' '*Index Graecus*,' '*Index Latinus*.' These are inconvenient to use, since, doubtless owing to the exigencies of printing across the ocean, the references are not to the preceding pages but to lines of the poems and subdivisions of the different glosses. It is clear that making due allowance for scribal slips, for errors of the commentator, for his deliberate inventions in the interests of a rabid etymology, there remain enough new and unusual words to show that Latin was still growing by natural processes in the ninth century. I cite from Professor Burnam's list of one hundred "*Addenda Lexicis*," of which some sixty are of distinct significance; *balator* (= *balbus*), *condefleta*, *conserminocinatio*, *conturbatrix*, *cumex* (= *tip-pula*), *cytheralis* (= *lyrica*), *despective*, *fatigabundus*, *fulvicolores*, *illigata* (= *non ligata*), *inconsumptus* (= *consumptus*), *involucla* (= *involutiones vestimentorum* for which *involubilitates* is also used), *iocalis* (= *lyrica*), *laniola* ('a surgical hospital'—not a bad word), *novernus* (= *novus*, *modernus*), *obco-operire* (= *obducere*), *pluina* (= *pluvia*), *quietare* (= *furari*!), *rauciones* (*Italia vocat cignos quod bene canant*), *reinnovari*, *somniculositatem*, *turmen* (= *trochus*).

The commentator shows inventiveness in almost creating an abstract noun *peccatia* to translate *ἀπαρτήτεια* (*liber id est de peccatia, si posset dici*). He likes to distinguish in the fashion of the pseudo-etymologist, between forms and shades of meaning—*circinus* and *circinnus*, *transtra* and *trastra*, *pernecies* (from *pernecare*) and *pernicies* (= *pernicitas*).

One questioned word in this list is *funditonnae*, which needs, I think, only to be separated into two words, *fundi tonnae*. The context (p. 133) is:

*Vesontium civitas tres portas habebat in quibus literis maximis in similitudine fundi tonnae factis hoc scriptum habebatur: IVLIA IVLII FILIA HOC DIIS MANIBUS OBTRULIT, id est diis infernalibus.*

This is a gloss on *Adv. Symm.* I 403: *ipsa patrum monumenta probant, dis manibus illic | marmora secta lego*. The letters of the inscription, which I have been unable to identify and which the commentator seems to know from some literary source, may have been large enough and round enough in the case of O and C to suggest the butt-end of a barrel—an exaggeration with which our use of 'cart-wheel' may be compared. *Tonna* (*tunna*) is of course a common mediaeval word.<sup>1</sup>

Another doubtful word is *olario*, p. 183 (on *Adv. Symm.* ii, 1077: *flameo enim id est olario nubentium capita velabantur*. Professor Burnam thinks this an

[<sup>1</sup>I would suggest that the words *in similitudine fundi tonnae factis* mean 'disposed in the form of a barrel-head,' i. e., like the legend on a coin.—H. A. T.]

error for *velario* or *sudario*. Might it not be for *stolario*, especially if the preceding *est* was written with the customary abbreviation ( $\bar{e}$  *stolario*)? *Stolarium* would be a new word. Or possibly *olarium* is an error, or another form for *orarium* = *stola*; v. Du Cange s. v.

I expected to find that this list of new words would remove the stars from some of the substrates in Körting's *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*. But not one of them is affected. Is this fact significant? Is it possibly true that the Latin formations of the day have no influence on the vernacular, which drew from the Latin of either earlier or later periods, or have we merely to do with the bookish inventions of a scholar which would not have affected popular usage at any period? Questions like these increase our curiosity as to the general vocabulary of these commentators of the ninth century and confirm the desire for the publication of their works. We can only be grateful for Professor Burnam's editions of the commentaries on Prudentius, and hope that he and others may make further investigations of this subject.

E. K. RAND

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*La Seguidilla*. Por FEDERICO HANSSEN. (Publicado en *Los Anales* de la Universidad de Chile.) Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Cervantes, 1909.

This publication embodies a most welcome contribution to the study of the poetic types of the Spanish Peninsula, which are still far from receiving the attention which they demand. This is especially true of the popular lyric of Spain which, as the artistic expression of an unlettered community, is of very great value for the historical and comparative treatment of poetry. Dr. Hanssen has divided his discussion of the *Seguidilla* into forty-five paragraphs dealing, in a sequence which is perhaps not as well adapted as one might wish to a clear exposition of the essential questions involved, with a brief bibliography of the subject, the origin of the name *seguidilla*, the various metrical forms affected by this type at the present as well as in former times, its geographical distribution, the popular and literary sources in which it is found (here we miss, among other references, one to the two specimens offered in the *Picara Justina*, i p. l. 2, c. 4; iii p. l. 2, c. 5, to which attention is called in *Revue Hispanique*, 1906, p. 93), the origin of the rhythms of popular poetry, the primitive rhythm of the folk-song of Castile, the classification of *seguidillas* according to the shifting of the final accent in the verses employed in them, and general observations regarding the rhythm and the origin of the *Seguidilla*.

In the list of authors who have discussed the metre of the *Seguidilla*, as well as in the body of the treatise itself, one misses, e. g., the following important works: (1) *Apollon ou l'oracle de la poésie italienne et espagnole*, par Bense-Dupuis. Paris, 1644 (see p. 351, ch. iv, *Des seguidilles*); (2) *Rhythmica . . . Ioannis Caramuelis. Campaniae . . . 1668* (especial chapter: *De strophis quas Hispanus Siguidillas, Latinus Secundinas aut etiam Consectarias appellat*); (3) *El Loaysa de "El celoso extremeño. . ."* Por Francisco Rodríguez Marín. Sevilla, 1901 (p. 275 ff.); (4) *Rinconete y Cortadillo . . . edición crítica* por F. Rodríguez Marín. Sevilla 1905 (p. 460 ff.) and (5) *Chilindrinas*. Cuentos, artículos y otras bagatelas. Sevilla, 1906 (p. 112 ff.). In discussing the origin of the name, Dr. Hanssen quotes Cejador, *La Lengua* de Cervantes, ii, 1002, and the well-known expression *coplillas de la seguida* in the *Celoso Extremeño* in favor of its scarcely contestable interpretation as a diminutive of the latter

form, citing furthermore a few eighteenth-century texts in which the variant *siguidilla* occurs. This form, which we have already met with in the above-mentioned *Rhythmica* of Juan Caramuel, and which is familiar from the Andalusian *siguir*, *siguiriya* (cf. El Loaysa, p. 280), illustrates a substitution of *i* for atonic *e* of which numerous examples are found in the literary texts of earlier centuries, as e. g. in the Cancionero de Baena no. 287 *espiriencia*, 250 *nigligencia*, 334 *yclipsado*, 342 *ligereza*, 380 *priminencia*, 522 *syguiria*, etc. Regarding the more important question of the signification of the term *seguidilla*, the author states that it is generally applied to the well-known strophic form, though occasionally it is also connected with songs composed in other metres, such as octosyllables (Italian and Spanish terminology). This appears to be true for the period from Cervantes down to the present day, but does not hold good for the fifteenth century. For in the poetic texts composed between 1400 and 1450 we find the term *seguida* used in two wholly different ways which have not been noticed by Dr. Hanssen and other writers on this subject, who, indeed, do not appear to have examined this period with much care. As I stated in an article on the *Versos de cabo roto* published in vol. xv (1906) of the *Revue Hispanique* (p. 93, note 3), the name *seguida* occurs not less than ten times in the *Cancionero de Baena*, but is applied, without regard to metrical form, to ephemeral verse on the emptiness of the poetic purse and didactic poems. Thus in no 93, a *respuesta* in versos de arte mayor (with *rims singulares*), Alfonso Alvares de Villasandino says in reference to a theological *pregunta* of the Bachiller de Salamanca: "Por ende, amigo, yo bien m'enamoro De *vestras seguydas* tan bien ordenadas"; in no. 151, a *petición* composed in romance-verse (with *rims unisonans*) the same poet says: "El Rey de memoria sana con su noble discrecion Esamine la leçon Desta *seguida* aldeana"; in no. 265, an *esparsa* in versos de arte mayor, Juan Alfonso de Baena, familiar with the Catalan lyric school as well as with the Castilian, opens his reply to Ferrant Manuel de Lando, who attended the coronation of D. Fernando de Aragon at Saragossa in 1414 (cf. *Canc. Baena* no. 67) as follows:

Lyndo fidalgo, ley la seguida  
que vos enbiastes de grant sotileza, etc.;

and in 510, a poem in ballad-verse (with *rims singulares*) which in the rubric of the piece is characterized as a *decir como á manera de discor*, Fray Diego de Valencia de Juan concludes his complaint addressed to Death as follows:

Por fenida de seguida  
de ninguno non te dueles,  
atrevida sin medida,  
mas cruel que los crueles.

Cf. further, nos. 117, 166, 176, 202, 209, 511.

As far, then, as the evidence of the *Cancionero de Baena* goes—and the other Castilian *cancioneros* are silent in the matter—the term *seguida* appears to have been applied by the practitioners of the Castilian School to almost all of their poems with the important exception of those composed in the form of the *cancion* or *cantiga*, consisting of a theme (later called *estribillo*) and a stanza of eight lines, the last four of which repeat either in the same or in an inverted order the rimes and sometimes the final words of the theme (see, for this type, among others, Savi-Lopez, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura italiana*, vol. 46, p. 1 ff.).



It is very probable, however, that besides the more general meaning recorded in the texts cited, the term in question had another more special one, as was the case, e. g., with the name *discor*, which at this time had come to mean a composition in the form of the *strophe couée* and also a lyric poem in general, whereas the *discordo* of the First Portuguese School was practically identical in import with the *descort* of Provence and France (see my article on *The Descort in Old Portuguese and Spanish Poetry* in *Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie*, 1899, p. 492 ff.): The name *seguida* may therefore, in the period under discussion, have denoted either lyric forms derived from the Old Portuguese *seguir*, a song which according to the metrical treatise (cap. ix) written about 1300 (see *Revue Hispanique*, xvi, p. 17) adopted the melody of another song, or, more likely, stanzas serving as conclusion of a composition, in the manner of the *estribote* of the *Cancionero de Baena* (e. g., nos. 2, 196, 219, 546). The latter conjecture receives no little support from Catalan verse, in which we find the word *seguida* applied to the second *tornada* usually called *endreça* or, less frequently, *fi*, and containing the name of the person to whom the poem is addressed. The printed copies of the works of the Valencian singer Auzias March, a contemporary of the literary court of John II of Castile, offer us three examples of this use (ed. Barcelona 1888). Page 137, at the end of no. lxxxvi of the *Cants d'amor* (abbacddc; *tornada* ceec), there comes the following quatrain as *seguida* (cffc):

Dona, que vos aneu sovint davant,  
satisfahent vostres senys e raho,  
yo la suplich que us suplich del falco,  
e si 'u fara ja 'm veig ab ell caçant.

P. 166 the last *resposta* to the *demanda* of Auzias March, made by Rodrigo Diez (ababdddc) ends with a stanza termed *Seguida endreça* (cddc):

Vos, molt discret e honest capellá,  
del que 'us he dit, segons ma 'ntencio,  
sumar podeu esta conclusio:  
que zel d'amor es qui la brega fa.

P. 238, no. xii of the *Cants morals* (abbacddc) the *tornada* is followed by a *seguida* (cddc):

Vos, mon senyor, haveu sciencia vera,  
los apetitz mals a vos no contrasten,  
mostrant a molts, qui saben e no tasten,  
si 'l passonat ha la raho sancera.

Other instances may occur in the manuscript copies of the works of Auzias March, neither fully nor faithfully reproduced in the editions now available, or in other collections of contemporary Catalan poetry not accessible at present; but none are contained either in the *Cancionero Catalán de la Universidad de Zaragoza* (ed. Baselga y Ramirez, 1896) or in the extracts from the *Cançoners d'obres enamorades* (National Library of Paris, fonds espagnol no. 595) given by Ochoa in his *Catálogo razonado de los manuscritos españoles de la Biblioteca Real de Paris*, 1849, p. 286 ff.

In so far as the cases cited permit us to judge, we may say that in the Catalan lyric of the first half of the fifteenth century the *seguida*, like the *tornada* of the Provençals and the *finida* of the Castilians, was a stanza serving as the conclusion and metrical echo of the last part of a song, and thus per-

formed a function closely akin to that of the theme and refrain, called *estribillo*, of Castilian poetry, which resumes the metre and often the rime-words of the last part of each stanza. Now, it is well-known—and Dr. Hanssen calls attention to this fact (p. 40 ff.)—that from the sixteenth century, when the name *seguidilla* is first met with in literature, down to the present day, the lyric type so designated is found employed as the *estribillo* of another song. Thus, to cite a classical case, Loaysa, in Cervantes' novel *El Celoso Extremeno*, sings to his guitar "unas coplillas que entonces andaban muy validas en Sevilla":

Madre, la mi madre,  
Guardas me poneis;  
Qui si yo no me guardo,  
No me guardareis.

Dicen que está escrito,  
Y con gran razon,  
Ser la privacion  
Causa de apetito;  
Crece en infinito  
Encerrado amor,  
Por eso es mejor  
Que no me encerreis:  
Qui si yo no me guardo,  
No me guardareis . . . etc.

If, then, as would appear from what has been said, the *seguida* or *seguidilla* was originally not an independent poem using the melody and strophic form of a given model, but a stanza serving as sequence to another lyric song the metrical ending of which it partly or wholly reproduced, we may suppose that it was recognized by literature only in proportion as it assumed a certain individuality of its own, being employed, whether as a dance-song or not, as the vehicle of satirical as well as of amatory themes. Its development would thus in a measure form a parallel to that of the *estrabot* of France, the *strambotto* of Italy (see Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants* 1889, p. 533 ff., and the more recent, but far less satisfactory treatment of the subject by F. Novati in the *Mélanges Wilmotte*, Paris, 1910, vol. ii, pp. 417-441) and the *estribote* or *estrambote* of Spain, which latter I intend to discuss on another occasion.

We should go far beyond the proper limits of a review, were we to discuss in detail the very able examination which Dr. Hanssen, summarizing and in no small degree extending the results obtained by his predecessors, has made of the various metrical forms affected by the *seguidilla* since its appearance in the literature of the sixteenth century. Suffice it to give here, translating the author's own words, the very suggestive conclusions reached by him in regard to the original rhythm of this charming creation of the popular muse of Spain:

The rhythm of the *seguidilla*, in its simplest form, is trisyllabic, three syllables corresponding as a rule to each rhythmic clause. The distribution of time among these three syllables is a question of secondary importance, but it seems that the dactyl is the original foot. We thus come to the conclusion that the following song of the collection of Olmeda (*Folklore de Castilla o Cancionero Popular de Burgos*, 1903, ii, 16) preserves the primitive rhythm:

UU | — UU | — UU | — UU | —  
A la | ruru a la | ruru, duér- | mete, ni- | ño

In the popular *seguidilla*, the discrepancy of accents at the end of the pentasyllables may be avoided by the introduction of a masculine hexasyllable, and in the old *seguidilla* a heptasyllable may be replaced by a feminine hexasyllable. Compare the *seguidilla* cited by Correas (*Arte Grande de la Lengua Española*, 1626) and Cervantes (*Celoso Estremeño*):

Madre, la mi madre,  
Guardas me poneis;  
Que si yo no me guardo,  
Mal me guardareis.

The form

UU | — UU | — UU | — UU | —

is probably derived from

U | — UU | — UU | — UU | —

the initial syllable having been duplicated in order to complete the first anapæst.

The fundamental form must therefore be the one preserved in Olmeda, viii, 21:

U | — UU | — UU | — UU | —  
Ve- | rás i ve- | remos los | chapite- | les

This metrical combination is very common in medieval versification. It is met with in Latin and French poems. The Latin decasyllable (French terminology) may receive an additional syllable at the beginning, as may be seen in the following composition published by Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines*, p. 237, and in *Carmina Burana*, p. 229:

| — UU | — UU | — UU | —  
| — UU | — UU | — UU | —  
| — UU | — UU | — UU | —  
| — UU | — UU | — UU  
| — UU | — U  
U | — UU | — U  
U | — UU | — UU | — UU  
| — UU | — UU | — UU | — etc.

Sic mea fata canendo solor,  
Ut nece proxima facit olor.  
Roseus effugit ore color,  
Blandus inest meo corde dolor.  
Cura crescente,  
Labore vigente,  
Vigore labente, miser morior.  
Tam male pectora multat amor!

This form is also known in French poetry, as may be seen in Beck, p. 139:

U | — UU | — UU | — UU | —  
Je sui joliete, sadete, pleisans.

It seems, therefore, that we may regard the following Latin, French and Castilian verses as identical:

U | — UU | — UU | — UU | —  
Vi | gore la | bente mi | ser mori | or.  
Je | sui joli- | ete, sa- | dete, plei- | sans.  
Ve- | rás i ve- | remos los | chapite- | les.

H. R. LANG

YALE UNIVERSITY

## NOTES AND NEWS

*Both of the editors-in-chief of this Review are advocates of the movement for the simplification of English spelling. Within appropriate limits, contributors will be freely permitted to follow their individual predilections in the matter.*

"Si on écrivoit *connaissais* au lieu de *connoissois*," wrote Bossuet, "qui reconnoistroit ce mot?"

It is announced that the "France-Amérique" Committee, formed last winter under the leadership of Gabriel Hanotaux, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, to develop closer intellectual and commercial relations between France and the two Americas, has now been placed upon a solid footing. The committee has begun the publication of a monthly magazine, and a large number of the prominent men of France have agreed to coöperate actively in the work.

The many friends of Paul Meyer and of Romance letters will rejoice that the eminent editor of the *Romania* is recovering from his recent illness. The April and July numbers of the *Romania* have just appeared as a double number.

A bronze medal has been struck in honor of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo on the occasion of his having been elected Director of the *Real Academia de la Historia* of Madrid. The modelling of the medal is due to the sculptor Lorenzo Coullaut Valera, and the presentation was made by friends and admirers of Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo.

There have been several appointments in Romance languages at Toronto University, where our studies are flourishing. Dr. Milton A. Buchanan becomes Associate Professor of Italian and Spanish; St. Elma de Champ, Associate Professor of French; J. A. Will, Lecturer in French; A. E. Hamilton, Instructor in French. Professor Buchanan has become co-editor of the *Romanischer Jahresbericht*, in the department of Spanish literature. Professor Baist remains in charge of Spanish filology.

An arrangement has been concluded between the University of Paris and Columbia University for an annual course of lectures at the latter institution. Ferdinand Brunot has been selected to lecture at Columbia next winter.

Professor Elizabeth Wallace, of the University of Chicago, will pass next year at the Woman's College, Madrid, where she will devote most of her time to the preparation of a biographical sketch of Fernan Caballero. She recently secured for the University of Chicago some valuable unpublished letters of Fernan Caballero. These letters, about 700 in number, are all adrest to Antoine de Latour, and have considerable literary as well as political interest. Miss Wallace's adress will be: Instituto Internacional, 5 Fortuny, Madrid.

Associate Professor Henry C. Lancaster, of Amherst College, has been made professor of Romance languages at that institution, and Assistant Professor William A. Stowell becomes Associate Professor.

The department of modern languages at Lehigh University has been divided. Charles Shattuck Fox becomes the head of the department of Romance languages, and Philip M. Palmer, head of the department of German.

Mr. W. O. Farnsworth, recently professor of Modern Languages at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., has accepted a position as Instructor in University Extension in French at Columbia University. Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi has accepted a similar position. Mr. Altrocchi went abroad two years ago as Traveling Fellow of Harvard University, and has past the last two years in Italy and France.

Mr. R. C. Eldridge, whose address is Drawer L, Niagara Falls, New York, has offered a prize of \$250 for the most satisfactory fonetic alphabet, the same to be submitted and past upon by the Simplified Spelling Board, New York City. Additional sums will be welcome, to make the prize worthy of the effort required. Mention may here be made of a most important event concerning a fonetic alphabet for text-books and dictionaries in English. The National Educational Association, at its recent meeting at Boston, adopted the key alphabet which was mentioned in the last number of this journal, page 226. Copies of this alphabet were ordered printed and distributed among the members of the Association. Pamphlets on the alphabet and spelling reform have recently been published by the following gentlemen: C. L. Annan, St. Paul, Minnesota; Wm. H. Hurst, 3115 Madison St., Chicago, Illinois; E. Whitney, Weehawken, New Jersey; O. C. Blackmer, Oak Park, Illinois.

Mr. C. E. Young, Instructor in Romance languages at Vanderbilt University, has accepted a position in the department at the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Karl Pietsch, of the University of Chicago, has been elected a corresponding member of the Spanish Royal Academy.

Professor D. B. Easter, of Randolph-Macon College, has resigned to accept the chair of Romance Languages in Washington and Lee University.

Dr. J. E. Shaw, Associate in Italian in the Johns Hopkins University, has been made Associate Professor of Italian in the same institution.

Mr. R. H. Plaisance, of Miami University, will return to the University of Michigan next year as Instructor in Romance languages.

Mr. Wm. Kühne, a graduate student at Harvard University, has become Assistant Professor of Romance languages at Miami University. Professor Kühne received his first degree from the University of Montpellier, and his A.M. from the University of Chicago.

Assistant Professor Ernest Roy Greene, of Dartmouth College, has resigned to accept a position at Tufts College.

Assistant Professor Ernest F. Langley, of Dartmouth College, has accepted the headship of the newly-constituted department of Romance languages at the Boston Institute of Technology.

Mr. Oscar E. Staaf has been appointed instructor in Romance languages in Adelbert College, Western Reserve University.

In the August, 1909, *Chautauquan*, appeared a series of ten articles under the general title: *A Reading Journey Through Spain*, by John D. Fitz-Gerald. A revised and considerably enlarged edition, in *de luxe* form, is to come from the press of T. Y. Crowell & Co., in September, under the new title: *Rambles in Spain*.

Mr. René Poupardin, one of the co-editors of the *Romanischer Jahresbericht*, has become secretary of the Ecole des Chartes (at the Sorbonne). Mr. Poupardin has many friends among Americans who have worked in the Salle des Manuscrits at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Mr. Shirley Gale Patterson, who was last year Traveling Fellow of Cornell University, has accepted an instructorship in Romance languages at Chicago University. Mr. Patterson is a graduate of Amherst College, and was a student at Columbia University before going to Cornell.

Mr. Park Powell, a graduate of the University of Missouri who has been studying for the past fifteen months in France, Italy and Spain, will go to the University of South Carolina as Instructor in Romance languages.

---

At the moment of going to press, news is received of the sudden death, from an attack of cerebral hemorrhages, of JOHN E. MATZKE, since 1893 Professor of Romanic Languages at Stanford University, and widely known both in this country and abroad, for his important contributions to Romance scholarship. At the time of his death Dr. Matzke was in attendance at the formal opening of the New National University of Mexico, as a representative of Stanford University. For an adequate appreciation of the career of this distinguished scholar there is not now opportunity; it must suffice to give expression here to heartfelt sorrow for the personal loss and the loss to scholarship occasioned by Professor Matzke's sudden and untimely death.

---

## NEW SPANISH TEXTS

This new series is appearing under the editorship of Professor J. D. M. FORD, of Harvard University.

### **Alarcón (Ruiz de): Las Paredes Oyen.**

Edited by CAROLINE BOURLAND, Professor in Smith College. [*In preparation.*]

### **Ayala: Consuelo.**

Edited by AURELIO M. ESPINOSA, Professor in the University of New Mexico. [*In preparation.*]

### **Calderón: El Magico Prodigioso.**

Edited by A. F. KUERSTEINER, Professor in the University of Indiana. [*In preparation.*]

### **Calderón: El Alcalde de Zalamea.**

Edited by B. P. BOURLAND, Professor in Adelbert College. [*In preparation.*]

### **Cervantes: Novelas Ejemplares. (Selections.)**

Edited by HUGO A. RENNERT, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. [*In preparation.*]

### **Hartzenbusch: La Coja y el Encogido.**

EDITED by J. GEDDES, Jr., Professor in Boston University. [*In preparation.*]

### **Hills's Modern Spanish Lyrics.**

Edited by E. C. HILLS, Professor in Colorado College. [*In press.*]

### **Ibáñez (Blasco): La Barraca.**

Edited by R. H. KENISTON, Instructor in Harvard University. [*In press.*]

### **Morley's Spanish Ballads.**

Edited by DR. S. GRISWOLD MORLEY. [*In preparation.*]

### **Selgas: La Mariposa Blanca.**

Edited by H. A. KENYON, Instructor in the University of Michigan. [*Ready.*] 60 cents.

### **Tres Comedias Modernas.**

Edited by F. W. MORRISON, of the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis. [*Ready.*] 60 cents.

### **Valdés: La Hermana San Sulpicio.**

Edited by J. G. GILL, Professor in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. [*In preparation.*]

---

## HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

34 West 33d Street  
NEW YORK

378 Wabash Avenue  
CHICAGO





**The School of Household Arts**  
**of**  
**Teachers College**  
**Columbia University**  

---

**Department of Nursing and Health**

Under the above title there has recently been endowed in the School of Household Arts a Department designed to prepare Graduate Nurses for the various forms of social educational work in which skilled supervision by nurses is required. Students who are not nurses but who have had at least two years of College work with chemistry and biology, will also be admitted to the group of courses.

Instruction in the Department is offered in four Sections :

- I. Teaching and Supervision in Training Schools for Nurses.
- II. General Administration in Training Schools and Hospitals.
- III. Public Service as Teacher-Nurses, Visiting Nurses, Board of Health Assistants and Teachers of Hygiene.
- IV. Preparatory Courses for Nurses.

The Announcement of the School of Household Arts, including the circular of the Department of Nursing and Health, will be sent on request, by the

---

**Secretary of**  
**Teachers College**  
**525 West 120th St.** **New York City**



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

## A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

with the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG  
MILTON A. BUCHANAN  
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD  
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET  
JOHN L. GERIG  
C. H. GRANDGENT  
GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG  
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON  
KENNETH MCKENZIE  
HUGO A. RENNERT  
HUGH A. SMITH

## CONTENTS

Petrarch's Confessions—II.	JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON . . . . .	347
Honor in the Spanish Drama.	DONALD CLIVE STUART . . . . .	357
The Date of the Birth of Boccaccio.	E. H. WILKINS . . . . .	367
The Devil as a Dramatic Figure in the Spanish Religious Drama before Lope de Vega—		
II.	J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD . . . . .	374
A Boccaccio Analogue in the Old French <i>Tristan</i> .	J. DOUGLAS BRUCE . . . . .	384
Barthélemy Aneau: a Study in Humanism (continued.)	J. L. GERIG . . . . .	395
<i>Los Verros de Naturaleza y Aciertos de la Fortuna</i> , by Don Antonio Coello and Don Pedro		
Calderón de la Barca.	GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP . . . . .	411
A Description of Vacluse: a Note on Petrarch Topography.	M. S. GARVER . . . . .	426
A Note on Saint-Gelais and Bembo.	C. RUTZ-REES . . . . .	427
Rumanian <i>Pleopă</i> and <i>Popor</i> .	E. H. TUTTLE . . . . .	430
A Bibliographical Ghost: the Deventer Petrarch of 1494.	ARTHUR LIVINGSTON . . . . .	434
A Mention of the Return of King Arthur in <i>Foucon de Candie</i> .	RAYMOND WEEKS . . . . .	436

For continuation of Contents see next page

PUBLISHED BY

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

LANCASTER, PA.,

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Entered as second-class matter April 19, 1910, at the Post Office at Lancaster, Pa., under the Act of  
March 3, 1879.

CONTENTS—Continued from first page

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

<i>Les Obres del Elegantissim y Genial Poeta del Amor, Ausias March</i> , by H. R. Lang	437
E. Faral, <i>Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age</i> , by M. J. Minckwitz	438
M. G. de Menéndez Pidal, <i>La Difunta Pleileada, Estudio de Literatura Comparativa</i> , by J. D. M. Ford	440
F. Gohin, <i>Œuvres Poétiques de Héroët</i> , by R. L. Hawkins	443
C. Jugé, <i>Jacques Peletier du Mans, Essai sur sa vie, son œuvre et son influence</i> , by J. L. G.	444
E. Langlois, <i>Nouvelles françaises inédites du Quinzième Siècle</i> , by A. G. Panaroni	447
G. Morpurgo, <i>La poesia religiosa di Iacopo Sannazaro</i> , by A. A. L.	448
P. Rasch, <i>Verzeichnis der Namen der altfranzösischen Chanson de Geste: Aliscans</i> , by R. W.	451
E. Tron, <i>Trouvaille ou Pastiche? Doutes, exprimés au sujet de la Chanson de Willame</i> , by R. W.	453
Brief Report on American Contributions to Romance Scholarship in 1910	455
NOTES AND NEWS	458

Articles to Appear Shortly

- Notes on Renoart, HÉLENE M. EVERS, Western Reserve University.  
 Barthélemy Aneau: a Study in Humanism (continued), JOHN L. GERIG, Columbia University.  
 The Classical Eclogue and Mediaeval Debate, JAMES HOLLY HANFORD, Simmons College.  
 The Translations of Hugo Sanctelliensis, by CHARLES H. HASKINS, Harvard University.  
 Magis, -mar, -men, OTTO JESPERSEN, University of Copenhagen.  
 The Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis, Translated into English, with Textual Notes, ARTHUR LIVINGSTON, Cornell University.  
 Dante and Aquinas, DUDLEY HOW MILES, Columbia University.  
 A Verse Redaction of the Sept Sages de Rome, HUGH ALLISON SMITH, University of Wisconsin.  
 Notes on the Rumanian Numerals, E. H. TUTTLE, New Haven, Conn.

JUST PUBLISHED

PELLISSIER, Anthologie des Prosateurs Français, Tome I:  
 Les Romanciers, 1850 à nos jours. 16mo. Flexible  
 Leather, \$1.20 net.

*We offer a few copies of*

MEYER - LUEBKE, Einführung in das Studium der  
 romanischen Sprachwissenschaft, 1901, cloth, published  
 6 Marks, for \$1.00 net.

**Columbia University Press Bookstore,**

West Hall, Columbia University, New York

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

With the coopération of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

MILTON A. BUCHANAN

JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD

J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET

JOHN L. GERIG

C. H. GRANDGENT

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

KENNETH MCKENZIE

HUGO A. RENNERT

EDWARD S. SHELDON

HUGH A. SMITH

## Volume I

PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1910

PRESS OF  
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY  
LANCASTER, PA.

## CONTENTS

B. CERF, Ogier le Danois and the Abbey of St. Faro of Meaux.....	1
J. M. BURNAM, The Scribe of the Oaths of Strassburg: What was his Nationality? .....	13
K. MCKENZIE, The Problem of the "Lonza," with an Unpublished Text....	18
C. D. FRANK, The French Locution <i>à la queue leu leu</i> .....	31
G. L. LINCOLN, <i>Golondrino y Calandria</i> : an inedited <i>Entremés</i> of the 16th Century .....	41
F. DIKE, The Breviary of St. Louis (Arsenal MS. 1186) and the Central Portal of the Cathedral of Bourges.....	50
H. J. HARVITT, A Parallel between <i>Le Roman de Flamenca</i> and Dante's <i>Purgatorio</i> (IV, vv. 1-13) .....	57
G. W. BACON, The Comedia <i>El Segundo Séneca de España</i> of Dr. Juan Pérez de Montalván .....	64
H. A. TODD, <i>Roland 2165: tendent de l'espleitier</i> .....	87
A. A. LIVINGSTON, The Meaning of <i>Vita Nuova</i> .....	89
A. A. LIVINGSTON, The Suffixes <i>-aster</i> , <i>-ignus</i> , etc., in Nouns of Rela- tionship .....	91
J. BÉDIER, Richard de Normandie dans les Chansons de Geste.....	113
A. E. CURDY, Arthurian Literature .....	125, 265
H. M. EVERS, Two Traces of the Cycle of Guillaume d'Orange in the Old Spanish <i>Romances</i> .....	140
D. H. CARNAHAN, The Opening Diablerie of the Unpublished <i>Mystère de Saint Martin</i> , by Andrieu de la Vigne.....	149
H. H. VAUGHAN, A Brief Study of the Phonology of the Neapolitan Dialect.	159
J. L. GERIG, Barthélemy Aneau: a Study in Humanism.....	181, 279, 395
J. D. M. FORD, Dante: <i>Purgatorio</i> (XIII, 49 ff.) .....	208
F. VEXLER, Note on the Foreign Elements in Rumanian.....	209
M. A. BUCHANAN, Mantua = Madrid .....	211
J. H. ROBINSON, Petrarch's Confessions .....	231, 347
D. C. STUART, Honor in the Spanish Drama .....	247, 357
G. L. HAMILTON, The Sources of the <i>Secret des Secrets</i> of Jofroi de Watreford .....	259
J. D. FITZ-GERALD, Gonzalo de Berceo in Spanish Literary Criticism before 1780 .....	290
J. P. W. CRAWFORD, The Devil as a Dramatic Figure in the Spanish Religious Drama before Lope de Vega .....	302, 374
R. WEEKS, Concerning Some Lines of the <i>Siège d'Orange</i> .....	313
M. KINNEY, Possible Traces of <i>Huon de Bordeaux</i> in the English Ballad of <i>Sir Aldingar</i> .....	314
G. B. WESTON, Two Lately-Discovered Letters of Foscolo.....	321
E. H. WILKINS, The Date of the Birth of Boccaccio .....	367
J. D. BRUCE, A Boccaccio Analogue in the Old French <i>Tristan</i> .....	384

G. T. NORTHUP, <i>Los Yerro de Naturaleza y Aciertos de la Fortuna</i> , by Don Antonio Coello and Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca .....	411
M. S. GARVER, A Description of Vaucluse: A Note on Petrarch Topography..	426
C. RUUTZ-REES, A Note on Saint-Gelais and Bembo.....	427
E. H. TUTTLE, Rumanian <i>Pleoapă</i> and <i>Popor</i> .....	430
A. LIVINGSTON, A Bibliographical Ghost: The Deventer Petrarch of 1494....	434
R. WEEKS, A Mention of the Return of King Arthur in <i>Foucon de Candie</i> ..	436

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Alvord, C. W., <i>Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790</i> (R. Weeks).....	216
Burnam, J. M., <i>Commentaire Anonyme sur Prudence d'après le manuscrit 413 de Valenciennes</i> (E. K. Rand).....	337
Carreres y Vallo, F., <i>Los Amantes</i> , tragedia original de Andrés Rey de Artieda (M. A. Buchanan) .....	94
Crawford, J. P. W., <i>The Life and Works of Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa</i> (J. D. Fitz-Gerald) .....	101
Cuervo, R. J., <i>Lecciones de Literatura Española por Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly</i> (H. A. Rennert) .....	97
Faral, E., <i>Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age</i> (M. J. Minckwitz).....	438
Fenigstein, B., <i>Leonardo Giustiniani, venezianischer Staatsmann, Humanist und Vulgärdichter</i> (Arthur Livingston) .....	326
Fitzmaurice-Kelly, J., <i>Lecciones de Literatura Española, vid. Cuervo</i> .....	
Fradeletto, A., <i>Le commedie veneziane di Riccardo Selvatico</i> (Arthur Livingston) .....	332
Gohin, F., <i>Œuvres Poétiques de Héroet</i> (R. L. Hawkins).....	443
Hanssen, F., <i>La Seguidilla</i> (H. R. Lang).....	339
Jones, F. N., <i>Boccaccio and his Imitators in German, English, French, Spanish, and Italian Literature</i> (G. L. Hamilton).....	213
Jugé, C., <i>Jacques Peletier du Mans, Essai sur sa vie, son œuvre et son influence</i> (J. L. Gerig) .....	444
Langlois, E., <i>Nouvelles françaises inédites du Quinzième Siècle</i> (A. G. Panaroni) .....	447
Lanson, G., <i>Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature française moderne. I. Seizième Siècle</i> (J. L. Gerig) .....	98
Lee, A. C., <i>The Decameron: its Sources and Analogues</i> (G. L. Hamilton)..	213
Luquiens, F. B., <i>The Reconstruction of the Original Chanson de Roland</i> (J. S. Will) .....	333
March, Ausias, <i>Les Obres del Elegantissim y Genial Poeta del Amor, Ausias March</i> (H. R. Lang) .....	437
Morpurgo, G., <i>La poesia religiosa di Iacopo Sannazaro</i> (Arthur Livingston)..	448
Oulmont, C., <i>Estienne Forcadet, un juriste, historien et poète vers 1550</i> (J. L. Gerig) .....	217
Pasqualigo, C., <i>La Lingua rustica padovana nei due poeti G. B. Maganza e Domenico Pittarini</i> (Arthur Livingston) .....	102
Pidal, M. G. de M., <i>La Difunta Pleiteada, Estudio de Literatura Comparativa</i> (J. D. M. Ford).....	440
Rasch, P., <i>Verzeichnis der Namen der altfranzösischen Chanson de Geste: Aliscans</i> (R. Weeks) .....	451



## *Contents*

vii

Ruggieri, N., Maffio Venier, arcivescovo e letterato veneziano del Cinquento (Arthur Livingston) .....	331
Schulz, W., Das Handschriftenverhältnis des Covenant Vivian (R. Weeks) ..	219
Séché, L., Le Cénacle de la Muse française (J. L. Gerig) .....	100
Segarizzi, A., La poesia di Venezia (Arthur Livingston) .....	104
Terracher, A. L., La Chevalerie Vivien (R. Weeks) .....	96
Trabalza, C., Storia della Grammatica Italiana (Arthur Livingston) .....	104
Tron, E., Trouvaille ou Pastiche ?Doutes exprimés au sujet de la Chançon de Willame (R. Weeks) .....	453
Vianey, J., Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI <sup>e</sup> Siècle (R. S. Phelps) .....	215
 BRIEF REPORT ON AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ROMANCE	
SCHOLARSHIP .....	105, 223, 455
NOTES AND NEWS .....	110, 225, 344, 458
OBITUARY .....	346, 460



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

## A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSION, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE EARLY ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

**HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS**

with the coöperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG  
MILTON A. BUCHANAN  
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD  
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET  
JOHN L. GERIG  
C. H. GRANDGENT  
GEORGE L. HAMILTON  
EDWARD S. SHELDON

HENRY R. LANG  
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON  
KENNETH MCKENZIE  
HUGO A. RENNERT  
HUGH A. SMITH

---

The subscription price of the ROMANIC REVIEW is \$3.00 per year; single copies, \$1.00. Postage is prepaid by the publishers to destinations in the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai. Postage is charged extra as follows: To Canada, 12 cents for annual subscription; for single copies, 3 cents; to all other countries in the Postal Union, 24 cents for annual subscription; for single copies 6 cents. Name and address should be given exactly as they ought to appear on wrappers containing the REVIEW. Remittance should be made by New York cheque, draft or money order (ten cents should be added on all cheques drawn on banks outside New York City), payable to the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS.

The ROMANIC REVIEW is issued by the Columbia University Press, a corporation. The officers of the Press are Nicholas Murray Butler, president; William H. Carpenter, secretary, and John B. Pine, treasurer. The principal place of business of the corporation and the address of the officers is Columbia University, New York City.

All communications with regard to the ROMANIC REVIEW should be addressed to the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 41 North Queen St., Lancaster, Pa., or at Columbia University, New York City.

## WILLIAM R. JENKINS CO.

851 and 853 Sixth Ave., N. W. Cor. 48 St., New York

Publish the BERCY, DU CROQUET, SAUVEUR, and other  
standard methods for teaching

### FRENCH, GERMAN, AND OTHER FOREIGN LANGUAGES

The French and German methods are used in many of the most progressive schools and colleges throughout the country. The general stock of imported books is very large, for we supply not only our own publications but those of all publishers at home and abroad. Our *Romans Choisis*, *Contes Choisis*, and other series, tastefully printed and low priced, contain masterpieces of French, Spanish and Italian authors. They are used extensively for class reading, many having notes in English. A complete catalogue of all publications, also of imported books, will be sent when requested.

#### JUST PUBLISHED

### Common Difficulties in Reading French

CHARLES C. CLARKE, Jr.

Professor of French in the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University.

12mo, cloth, 5¼ x 7¾, iv + 147 pages

Price, \$1.00

This book offers answers to most of the questions which present themselves to second and third year students while trying to get at the exact meaning of a modern French text. It is prepared with a view toward supplying something convenient for solving questions that are constantly recurring to college students, readers of French and even to the teachers. None but common difficulties such as experience has shown to be inevitable has been included in the choice of words and subjects treated upon. The book is not intended to take the place of either the grammar or the dictionary, but to be supplementary to both. Subjects are arranged in alphabetical order, and at the back of the book notes on syntax have been added, together with a reference table of irregular verbs. The book will be found a general aid, invaluable to all persons reading French or translating it into English.

### WILLIAM R. JENKINS CO., Publishers,

851 and 853 Sixth Ave., N. W. Cor. 48 St., - - - NEW YORK

## FUNK AND WAGNALLS

# STANDARD DICTIONARY

always was and is now, the best, because made on *original* plans, aiming to *overcome all the defects of other existing dictionaries*, it is kept **REVISED TO DATE**.

**MARK TWAIN** said: "I have found that one can do without principles but not without the Standard Dictionary."

**THE STANDARD'S VOCABULARY.**—The most satisfying, the most comprehensive and the easiest to consult because the common meaning of the word is given first, and the vocabulary is not broken up into two or more divisions on the same page, thus causing confusion. The Standard includes every *living* word—every word liable to be sought by any considerable number of people. The Standard Dictionary contains **317,000** terms and *rejected* as useless over 200,000. As much discrimination was used in *excluding* terms as in *including* terms. It does not swell its vocabulary bulk by giving such useless, obsolete misspellings of pre-dictionary days as, for *ale*—aale, alle, ail, yal, yil; for *bless*—blis, blisse, blissen, etc., etc.—thus saving consultant's time.

**SCORES OF OTHER EXCLUSIVE FEATURES** make the Funk & Wagnalls Standard pre-eminently the best dictionary ever made in any language. It is not the work of a small group of men; over 250 of the world's greatest specialists joined in its making, stamping every department with authority. It is magnificently illustrated with color plates.

**FREE** Do not buy a dictionary until you investigate the Funk & Wagnalls Standard. Send for descriptive circulars and easy terms of purchase. If you will include 5 cents to pay cost of wrapping and postage, we will also send the valuable cloth-bound Booklet "Noted Names—Who's Who in History"—a hand-book packed with useful information.

**FUNK & WAGNALLS CO., Publishers**  
44-60 East 23d St. Dept. R. NEW YORK

LES  
**CLASSIQUES FRANÇAIS**  
DU  
**MOYEN AGE**

COLLECTION DE TEXTES FRANÇAIS ET PROVEN-  
ÇAUX ANTÉRIEURS À 1500

PUBLIÉE SOUS LA DIRECTION DE

**MARIO ROQUES**

Directeur adjoint à l'École pratique des Hautes Études

*Vient de paraître :*

**LA CHASTELAINE DE VERGI**

POÈME DU XIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE

ÉDITÉ PAR

**GASTON RAYNAUD**

Un vol. in-8 de VIII-31 pages.....0 fr. 80

*Paraîtra en 1910 :*

**FRANÇOIS VILLON**

**ŒUVRES**

ÉDITÉES PAR UN ANCIEN ARCHIVISTE

*Pour paraître en 1911 :*

*Le Garçon et l'Aveugle*, scène comique du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. par MARIO ROQUES.

*Philippe de Novare, Mémoires*, éd. par CHARLES KOHLER.

*Courtois d'Arras*, jeu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. par EDMOND FARAL.

*Colin Muset, Chansons*, éd. par JOSEPH BÉDIER.

*Adam de la Halle, Le Jeu de la Feuillée*, éd. par ERNEST LANGLOIS.

*Peire Vidal, Œuvres*, édit. par JOSEPH ANGLADE.

*Aucassin et Nicolette*, chantefable, éd. par MARIO ROQUES.

*Le Coronement Looïs*, chanson de geste du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. par ERNEST LANGLOIS.

*Le prix de ces volumes variera suivant le nombre de feuilles.*

**PARIS**  
**LIBRAIRIE ANCIENNE HONORÉ CHAMPION, ÉDITEUR**  
5, QUAI MALAQUAIS (VI<sup>e</sup>)

**1910**

# H. CHAMPION

Editeur, 5, quai Malaquais, 5, PARIS.

Livres neufs et anciens

**ROMANIA Tome XXXIX.** Recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures romanes, fondé en 1872, par MM. P. MEYER et G. PARIS, publié par P. MEYER, membre de l'Institut.—Paris, 20 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 22 fr. Collection complète 1,100 fr. (1909 y comp.)

**REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE FRANÇAISE ET DE LITTÉRATURE Tome XXVI.** Recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et patois de France, publié par L. CÉDAT, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon. Publie les *Études de géographie linguistique* de M. J. GILLIÉRON, Paris, 15 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 16 fr. Collection complète 365 fr.

**MÉMOIRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DE LINGUISTIQUE DE PARIS Tome XVI** en cours.—6 fr. le fascicule. Collection complète 300 fr.

**REVUE DES BIBLIOTHÈQUES.** 20<sup>e</sup> année. Recueil mensuel dirigé par MM. CHATELAIN, membre de l'Institut, bibliothécaire en chef de l'Université de Paris, et L. DOREZ, de la Bibliothèque Nationale. — Paris, 15 fr. — Départements et Union postale, 17 fr. Collection complète 295 fr.

**RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX RELATIFS A LA PHILOLOGIE ET A L'ARCHÉOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNES ET ASSYRIENNES.** Sous la direction de G. MASPÉRO, membre de l'Institut, Abonnement au volume complet.—Tome XXXII.—Paris, 30 fr.—Départements et Étranger, 32 fr. Collection complète 1,250 fr.

**LE MOYEN ÂGE.** Recueil paraissant tous les deux mois, dirigé par MM. A. MARIGNAN, M. PROU et M. WILMOTTE.—2<sup>e</sup> série, tome XIV (tome XXIII de la collection). Abonnement annuel : Paris, 15 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 17 fr. Collection complète 280 fr.

**REVUE DES ÉTUDES RABELAISIENNES.** Publication trimestrielle, dirigée par Abel LEFRANC, professeur au Collège de France, consacrée à Rabelais et à l'histoire de son temps. Tome VIII. Abonnement annuel, 10 fr. Collection complète 150 fr.

**REVUE CELTIQUE.** Fondée par H. GAIDOZ, publiée sous la direction de M. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, membre de l'Institut, avec le concours de MM. J. LOTH, doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes ; E. ERNAULT, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers, et G. DOTTIN, professeur à l'Université de Rennes, Paraît tous les trois mois. Tome XXXI. Paris, 20 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 22 fr. Collection complète 585 fr.

## Bulletin mensuel des récentes publications françaises

(BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE).—Tome XXIX. New "série méthodique," with double table constituting the only complete bibliography of the new books (works deposited by legal requirement, gifts and acquisitions).

Contains the accession numbers at the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is to be noted that contemporary bibliographers have agreed always to append the accession number to any citations from works recently published. Paris, 10 fr.—Départements et Union postale, 12 fr.—Édition sur papier pelure destinée à être collée sur fiches : 15 fr.

**VIENT DE PARAÎTRE.** Année 1909, complète. Pour volume in-8 de 1,200 pages : 15 fr.

**ATLAS LINGUISTIQUE DE LA FRANCE** par J. GILLIÉRON et EDMONT. Prochainement—35<sup>e</sup> et DERNIÈRE livraison. Complet : 875 fr. (Facilités de paiement). The price of this important work will be advanced on completion. CARTES MUETTES : Petit format : 0 fr. 15. Grand format : 0 fr. 30.

**CODEFROY. Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française** et de tous ses dialectes du IX au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. 10 vol. in 4. Presque épuisé. 505 fr.

**Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études.** (Sciences historiques et philologiques). 187 fascicules parus.—*Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.* 13 volumes parus.—*Bibliothèque de la Renaissance.* 15 volumes parus.—*Collection Linguistique* p. p. la Société Linguistique de Paris. 3 volumes parus. *Prospectus spéciaux sur demande.* —.

**G. PARIS. Mélanges linguistiques.** Complète 25 fr. — FARAL. *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge* 7 fr. 50.—J. BÉDIER. *Les légendes épiques* t. I et 2 : chaque 8 fr.

**ABEL LEFRANC. MAURICE DE GUÉRIN.** in-12 5 fr.—FRÉDÉRIC MISTRAL. *La Genesi.* Traduction en provençal, 5 fr. PAUL MEYER. *Documents linguistiques du Midi de la France* in 8 : 25 fr.

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. I — OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1910 — No. 4

---

## PETRARCH'S CONFESSIONS

*(Continued from page 246)*

IMPORTANT as are the first two dialogues for the light they shed upon the poet's inner life, his motives and doubts, the interest of the Confessions perhaps culminates in the conversation of the third and last day, during which Petrarch's love for Laura and his longing for fame are considered.

Of the woman who is the theme of nearly all of Petrarch's Italian lyrics we know almost nothing. There is a memorable record of her death on the fly-leaf of her lover's favorite copy of Virgil, and two or three more or less vague references to his passion for her in his voluminous prose correspondence. In a Latin metrical epistle he has something to say of the matter to his friend Giacomo Colonna. The Confessions, however, afford us the clearest picture of the lover turned philosopher, and no one can read them without understanding the Italian sonnets better and grasping more clearly a fundamental contrast between the mediaeval and modern theory of life.

One of the most serious of Petrarch's earlier moral conflicts was that waged in his bosom between the monk and the self-respecting lover. He was forced, if he would find rest, to reconcile, or decide between, the mediaeval ecclesiastical and the modern secular conception of man's love for woman. By the ecclesiastical or monkish view of love is meant, of course, the belief in its essential depravity and inherent sinfulness, quite regardless of the particular relations between the lover and his beloved. Petrarch, although quite averse to theology, held some of the great church fathers, especially Augustine, in high esteem, and their doctrines of the close association of sexual love and original sin were familiar to him. He was, more-

over, a priest himself and a devout adherent of the traditional faith of his church. His brother had entered a monastery and he himself wrote a little work in praise of the conventual life. On the other hand he knew his classics well, and loved and revered the authors of antiquity to whom love was no sin. He revolted by nature against the theory that the deep and permanent fascination which woman exercises over man is diabolical in its origin, as was taught by the mediaeval preachers and illustrated by many a coarse and licentious tale; and in the dialogue to which we now turn he defends with refreshing earnestness the higher and purer conception of his affection. His respect for Augustine, who consistently asserts the debasing nature of the passion, is, however, too profound to permit him in the end to reject altogether the monkish notions.

To return to the dialogue. Augustine would finally strike off two golden manacles, love and fame, whose specious glitter so dazzles the poor captive that he reckons them his most precious possessions. None of his aspirations have ever seemed to him more noble than the very ones Augustine now reproaches him for. "What have I done to you," Francesco indignantly asks, "that you should seek to deprive me of my most glorious preoccupations and condemn to perpetual night the brightest portions of my soul?" It seems to him that his Confessor is indiscriminately condemning two quite different things when he declares love to be the maddest of all forms of madness. If love is sometimes the lowest form of passion it may also be the noblest activity of the soul. He can imagine nothing happier than the attraction which a truly noble woman has exercised over him. He has never loved aught but the beautiful, and if he is mistaken in his conception of love he prefers to remain so. To Augustine's ready objection that one may love even the beautiful shamefully, he replies, with ill-timed levity, that he has sinned neither in noun nor adverb and that Augustine must prove him to be ill before he tries his remedies, since physic has often undone a well man.

Augustine expresses his frank astonishment that a person of such parts should have allowed himself to be deceived by false blandishments during no less than sixteen years past. His lady's eyes will, however, one day be closed by death, then the lover will



recall with shame his infatuation for the poor perishable body. Sickness and successive trials have already told upon her, and her lovely person has lost much of its pristine vigor. He does not question her virtues. He will grant that she is a queen, a saint, a goddess, Phoebus's own sister, if her lover will have it so. Her supreme qualities however furnish no excuse for Francesco's errors. Obviously the most virtuous may be the object of an unworthy passion.

"One thing at least I will say," Francesco exclaims, "whatever I have achieved is due to her. I should never have been what I am, if there be any distinction or glory in that, had not the scattered seeds of virtue which nature implanted in this breast been cultivated by her through my noble attachment. She restrained my youthful spirit from every shameful act . . . she led me to look toward higher things." "Is it wonderful," he continues, "that her noble fame has provoked in me a longing for a like reputation and has lightened the strenuous effort with which I pursued my object? How could I have done better in my youthful days than to please her who alone pleased me? For I cast aside a thousand seductions of pleasure in order to take up the serious tasks of life before my time. You know this well and yet you command me to forget, or love in only a half-hearted fashion, her who separated me from the vulgar company and guided me in all my chosen paths, stimulating my sluggish nature and rousing my dull intellect."<sup>4</sup>

To all this Augustine has two objections. In the first place, although Francesco's love may have saved him from minor errors, his anxiety for fame which he attributes to it has put him on the shortest road to spiritual death. In the second place, it is vain for him to maintain that he loves chiefly the soul, that he would have loved her spirit in even "a foul and knotty body (*in squalido et nodoso corpore*)," for he has but to interrogate the past to see that he has steadily degenerated since first he met his lady. She, indeed, has done all she could to keep him right. In spite of his prayers and allurements she maintained her womanly integrity, and although their ages and circumstances would have shaken the stoutest resolutions, she remained firm and unapproachable. In his effort to absolve and exalt her Petrarch of course condemns himself and so justifies Augustine's contention. Love in spite of our illusions

<sup>4</sup> The same idea is expressed in the *canzone* beginning, *Perchè la vita*.

about it is but a passion for temporal things, and nothing so surely separates man from God. Let Francesco consider its pestiferous effects in his own case; how, suddenly, his life was dissolved in tears and sighs, how he spent sleepless nights with the name of the beloved ever on his lips; how he despised his usual pursuits, hated life, fled his fellow beings and longed for sad death. Wasted and pale and restless, his eyes ever moist, his mind confused, his voice weak and hoarse,—no more miserable and distracted creature could be imagined.

"Not contented with her living face," Augustine continues, "you must forsooth seek out a famous painter<sup>5</sup> in order that you might carry about her image, fearful lest your tears might otherwise cease. And to cap your follies you showed yourself as completely captivated with the splendor of her name as with that of her person, and cherished with incredible levity everything that sounded like it. And this is the reason you so ardently desired the Imperial or poet's laurel [*laurea*], for that was her name, and from the moment you first met her hardly a song has escaped you without mention of the laurel." "Finally, since you could not hope for the Imperial you set your heart upon the poet's crown, of which the distinction of your learning held out a promise. And you loved and longed for that with as little modesty as you had longed for lady Laura herself." Francesco would object that he began his poetical studies before he knew Laura, and had coveted the laurel chaplet from boyhood, and that without the inspiration of her name he would scarcely have overcome the many obstacles and dangers which stood between him and his coronation at Rome. This, his Confessor declares, is but one of the excuses which passion always finds; it is unworthy of a serious answer. The miserable results of love have been sufficiently illustrated, of which the chief is that it separates us from God and things divine, for how can a soul bent under the burden of such evils drag itself to the one pure fountain of true good?

"I am worsted," Francesco exclaims,—*Victus sum fateor*—"all these ills which you have depicted are, I perceive, but excerpts from my own book of experience." "What am I to do?"

It is needless for Augustine to say that the subject of the remedies of love has been treated by famous philosophers and poets; there are whole books on the question. It would, too, be an insult

<sup>5</sup> I. e., Simone Memmi. Cf. Sonnet *Per mirar*.

to one who professes himself a master of ancient literature to indicate to him where these works may be found.

Cicero's suggestion, and Ovid's, that an old passion may be driven out by a new one *tanquam clavum clavo*, is not without its dangers, and, moreover, Francesco asserts that he can never love another than Laura. Then let him seek distraction in travel. Francesco replies that he has tried this resource repeatedly; while he has assigned various motives for his endless wanderings and his frequent sojourns in the country, liberty was always his real object. He had sought it far and wide but in vain, for he always carried his troubles with him. Augustine admits that a previous change of heart is after all indispensable. He would nevertheless better leave Avignon at least and betake himself to his Italy, whose skies and hills exercise over him an unrivalled fascination. He has too long been an exile from his country and himself.

"Have you looked into your mirror lately?" Augustine abruptly asks. "Does not your face change from day to day? Are there not already scattered gray hairs about your temples?" Francesco has noted these, but he sees the same thing when he looks at those of the same age about him. He does not know why people grow old sooner than they once did. Here Petrarch characteristically mentions a few instances of early gray hairs among the ancients. Augustine regards these examples as worse than irrelevant and as tending to lead one to disregard the signs of approaching death. He says impatiently that if he had referred to baldness, doubtless Francesco would have instanced Julius Caesar. Of course he would have mentioned Caesar, Petrarch replies; and if he had but one eye, he would take pleasure in recalling Hannibal and Philip of Macedon. He uses these examples, like his household furniture, to afford him simple daily comfort. "Had you upbraided me for being afraid of thunder, since I could not deny that I was, I should have replied that Augustus Caesar suffered from the same trouble. Indeed, herein lies by no means the least important reason for my cherishing the laurel, which they say is never struck by lightning."

Consider, Augustine urges in conclusion, not only the uncertainty of life and the imminence of death. "Think shame to yourself that you are pointed at and have become a subject of gossip with the common herd. Think how ill your morals harmonize with your profession. Think how your mistress has injured you in soul, body and estate. Consider how much you have needlessly suffered

for her sake. Think how often you have been deluded, despised and neglected; what blandishments, tears and lamentations you have poured out, and of the haughty ungrateful arrogance with which she received them. If there was the least indication of humanity in her conduct, how trifling it was, more fleeting than the summer breeze. Consider how you have added to her fame and what she has taken from your life; how anxious you have been for her good name, how careless of your welfare she has always shown herself. Think how through her you have been alienated from the love of God." . . . "Consider the useful and honorable tasks which you have so long neglected, the many incomplete works which lie before you and which demand your whole energy, not merely the odd moments which your passion leaves free. . . . If the honor of true glory does not attract you nor ignominy deter you, let the shame of others induce you to make a change in your life. You should guard your good name, if for no other reason, at least to save your friends the disgrace of telling lies for your sake."

"Lastly, what is it that you long for so ardently? Consider it intently, practically. Few there be who when once they have imbibed the sweet poison of desire, really manfully, I will not say consistently, dwell upon the foulness of woman's person. Their minds consequently easily relapse, under the pressure of nature, into the old habits." Forget the past. Importune heaven with your prayers and permit no day or night to pass without tearful supplication, for perchance omnipotence may take compassion upon you and bring your trial to an end.

It is only by remembering the general condemnation of the love of woman among the ecclesiastical class, which was, up to Petrarch's time, nearly synonymous with the literary class, that we can understand the general form which the discussion takes in the dialogue just outlined. It is his pure affection for a pure woman which fills Petrarch with apprehension. He consciously omits important considerations peculiar to his own case. One possible vague reference to his connection with the church occurs; none at all to the fact that the object of his devotion was, as we may assume, a married woman. If Laura was unmarried, the arguments against the attachment become still more unnatural, as measured by a modern or secular standard. Of that liaison, which resulted in two illegitimate children, no notice is taken, although it would seem a natural subject for animadversion by a confessor like Augustine. "The dialogue is

therefore," as I have said elsewhere, "a discussion of love at its best.<sup>6</sup> The arguments which Petrarch puts in the mouth of St. Augustine are mainly conventional and monastic, with some suggestions of the interference with work which a literary bachelor would be likely to apprehend. The defence, on the other hand, is purely modern, modern enough fully to grasp and describe, even to defend, one of the noblest of man's attributes against the perversions of monasticism and the current theological speculation. But Petrarch was too thoroughly conservative in everything touching religion to reject a view so systematically inculcated by the church.

Augustine now turns to Francesco's longing for fame, which, with his passion for Laura, is the most inveterate and uncontrollable of his moral disorders. This yearning beyond measure for glory among men and an undying name may block his way to true immortality. He has no more grievous fault, although he may have uglier ones. What is fame? Nothing whatever but the general talk of the multitude about one; it is but a breath and, what is worst, the breath of the crowd. "I know whom I am addressing," Augustine continues. "You ordinarily regard nothing as more disgusting than the manners and doings of the common herd. What a want of consistency that you should habitually condemn the conduct of those whose chattering so delights you, nay more, to whom you look for the very consummation of your happiness! To what end are your unceasing labors, your tireless vigils and excessive attention to study? You may answer that you are learning what will help you to live better. But you long ago learned all that was necessary for both life and death. You would, therefore, better put the knowledge you have acquired into practice; better try experience rather than laborious ratiocination, which ever opens up new and inaccessible vistas; for there is no end to vain research. Recollect farther that you have given your attention to those things first and foremost which might be expected to gratify the public, and have sought to please them by a means especially distasteful to yourself, namely, by picking out from this poet and that historian such choice bits as might tickle the ears of your listeners."

\* Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch, the First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, New York, 1898, pp. 96-97.

This accusation naturally irritates the scholar who has from boyhood scorned anthologies and favorite quotations. He cannot deny, however, that he does sometimes store up for the benefit of his friends and associates choice passages which he meets with.

"Not content with this daily occupation," Augustine proceeds, "which, although it took a great deal of time, promised you only a reputation among your contemporaries, you conceived of a fame which should reach posterity. Hence you undertook an historical work, covering the period from King Romulus to the Emperor Titus, a tremendous task requiring infinite patience and labor. Then, before this was done, infatuated by this craving for fame you set off on the wings of the poet for Africa. Now you diligently devote yourself to the several cantos of your poem by that name, without however giving up the other tasks, and so your life is divided into two great streams at least, not to speak of innumerable undercurrents. Prodigious of your most precious and irretrievable time, you write of others and forget yourself. Who knows but death may snatch the weary pen from your hand before either work is done?"

The last source of apprehension is by no means new to Francesco. He cannot bear to think of another laying hand to his *Africa*, and he confesses that in periods of bitter discouragement he has been on the point of burning the uncompleted manuscript. Augustine naturally recalls to him the melancholy truth that even if granting the most favorable circumstances he should succeed in producing a "rare and distinguished work," its fame could not reach far in time or space. Francesco impatiently asks to be spared the old trite reflections of the philosophers. "If you have any thing better to urge, pray produce it; all this sounds very fine but I have never found that it helped me. I do not ask to be God and possess eternity and fill heaven and earth. Human glory is enough for me. I do long for that. I am a mortal and I desire only the mortal." To Augustine's horrified deprecation of such doctrine and his condemnation of the rashness of those who recklessly postpone their supreme interests to their last failing years, Francesco sturdily replies: "There is a certain justification for my plan of life. It may be only glory that we seek here, but I persuade myself that, so long as we remain here, that is right. Another glory awaits us in heaven and he who reaches there will not wish even to think of earthly fame.

So this is the natural order, that among mortals the care of things mortal should come first; to the transitory will then succeed the eternal; from the first to the second is the natural progression.<sup>7</sup> After this audacious and historically remarkable statement of the Humanists' creed, Francesco humbly asks if Augustine would have him forsake his studies altogether and lead an inglorious existence, or shall he pursue some middle course. His Confessor replies that we do not live inglorious lives although we follow, not fame but virtue; for true fame is but the shadow of virtue. "Throw off the burden of your proposed *Roman History*," Augustine exclaims, "lay aside your *Africa*, which cannot increase the fame of your Scipio or yourself. . . . Turn your thoughts upon Death! Let everything about you recall your pending fate. The heavens, the earth and the sea all change, what chance that man, the weakest of creatures, should hold his own? Let the setting sun and the waning moon teach their lesson of mortality. Contemplate the graves of your friends. *Hoc iter est in patriam*."

Petrarch does not deny that this is wholesome advice, but he firmly refuses to give up his literary tasks, which he cannot with equanimity leave half done. He promises sedulously to die unto himself, and will hasten to complete his books in order to devote himself exclusively to religious contemplation. It will be seen that he found little to urge against Augustine's views, but that he nevertheless refused to follow his advice, except so far as he might do so without interfering with what he rightly considered his life's work.

Petrarch, in spite of his conventional, even ardent respect for the monkishness of his age, was after all too genuine and independent a thinker not to turn against some of its implications. He never consented to give up his secular literary pursuits or to admit that they were unholy. We have seen too how passionately he could maintain the legitimacy of this love against the aspersions of asceti-

<sup>7</sup> *Franciscus*. Est autem aliqua propositi mei ratio. Eam enim quam hic sperare licet gloriam, hic quoque manenti quaerendam esse persuadeo ipse mihi. Illa maiore in coelo fruendum erit, quo qui pervenerit hanc terrenam ne cogitare quidem velit. Itaque istum esse ordinem ut mortalium rerum inter mortales prima sit cura: transitoriis aeterna succedant: quod ex his ad illa sit ordinatissimus progressus: inde autem regressus ad ista non pateat. Ed. of 1496, Colloquium tertii diei, k (the pages are unnumbered).

cism. He frankly admits that he could never overcome the longing for personal glory which he hoped to secure by his Latin writings. The proud boasts of Horace and Ovid, who claimed immortality for their works, suggested to his eager, restless spirit something very different from the self-annihilation of the cloister. Whether he really believed such aspirations to be incompatible with Christian humility is difficult to decide. Late in life he did not hesitate to celebrate the Triumph of Glory in Italian verse. In a well-known letter to Boccaccio he vigorously dissuades him from yielding to spiritual intimidation. "Neither exhortations to virtue nor the argument of approaching death should divert us from literature; for in a good mind it excites the love of virtue and dissipates or at least diminishes the fear of death. To desert our studies shows want of self-confidence rather than wisdom; for letters do not hinder, but aid, the properly constituted mind which possesses them; they facilitate our life, they do not retard it.<sup>8</sup> Finally, in the most beautiful and touching perhaps of his letters, written but a year before his death, to his old friend Boccaccio,<sup>9</sup> he says:

"There is no lighter burden nor more agreeable than a pen. Other pleasures fail us, or wound us while they charm; but the pen we take up rejoicing and lay down with satisfaction, for it has the power to advantage not only its lord and master, but many others as well, even though they be far away, sometimes, indeed, though they be not born for thousands of years to come. I believe that I speak the strict truth when I claim that as there is none among earthly delights more noble than literature, so there is none more lasting, none gentler or more faithful."

So, without ability to defend completely the modern belief that earnest toil is presumably a far more rational preparation for death than is a paralyzing contemplation of its horrors, Petrarch still worked bravely on until the pen dropped from his hand. There is something noble and pathetic in this sturdy, unflagging industry in the face of the discomfiting suggestions of monasticism. His life transcended and belied those ideals of his age from which in his less exuberant moments he was unable entirely to free himself.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

<sup>8</sup> Ep. Sen., I. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Ep. Sen., XVI. 2.



## HONOR IN THE SPANISH DRAMA

(Continued from page 258)

A SEARCH for plays containing conceptions of honor similar to the *Celestina* proves futile until the advent of Torres Naharro. His play *Imenea*, published in 1517, treats of the *pundonor* in quite a Calderonian spirit. Imenea loves Febea and begs her to admit him to her graces. The marquis, a brother of Febea, arrives on the scene and suspects that there has been love-making. Febea finally receives her lover, and the servants guard the door; but they run away at the approach of the marquis, leaving a cloak which betrays all. The brother, offended in his honor, is going to put Febea and her lover to death. They both admit his right to do so, but they are finally pardoned. The quick suspicion of the brother and his resolve to put both his sister and lover to death are quite Calderonian, as Ticknor has pointed out. It may be added that his calmness and his reasons for putting her to death, not for vengeance but because the family has been injured, foreshadow the heroes of the dramas of almost a hundred years later. The marquis says to his sister, without anger:

Pues que os parece, señora, para tan gran deshonor, habeis sido tan guardada? Confesaos con este paje, que conviene que murais, pues con la vida ensuciais un tan antiguo linage.

When Febea begs for the life of her lover, she points out that if he is killed her wrongdoing will become public. This immediately brings to mind the great desire on the part of Calderón's characters to conceal all stains on their honor. They fear publicity more than the blemish itself.

We have, then, an early play which is striking in regard to the *pundonor*; but the question is complicated by the fact that this play was written, played and published in Italy about 1517, and I hope to prove that much of Lope's and Calderón's inspiration in regard to honor came from Italy, or at least, that Italian dramatists preceded them in their ideas about honor. While this play is built about a question of honor, the influence of this drama is greatly

discounted. "The accident that Torres Naharro's *Propaladia* was printed in Italy; the misfortune that its Spanish reprints were tardy, and that his plays were too complicated for the primitive resources of the Spanish stage: these delayed the development of the Spanish theatre by close on a century."<sup>25</sup> The *Imenea*, therefore, can hardly be said to be the source of the *pundonor* for Spanish drama. There are no plays like it for about a quarter of a century, and Ticknor's statement, quoted above, implying that ideas of honor are found in Spanish drama from Torres Naharro onward, must be modified. He is the first dramatist to introduce the *pundonor*, but there is by no means an unbroken continuation of the theme. Nor can the circumstances attending the producing of this play be forgotten. It was written by a Spaniard—in Italy.

The earliest Spanish drama which I have found, after Torres Naharro, containing strictly Calderonian sentiments in regard to honor is *El Infamador* by Juan de la Cueva, whose works were played in 1579 and published in 1588. *El Infamador* has falsely accused Elidora of murdering one of his servants and of having been his mistress. She is put in prison and her father sends her poison, justifying the act in the following monologue, which is remarkably Calderonian in its sentiments concerning honor:

Rompa la voz de mi lloroso acento  
 Las sidéreas regiones, oiga el mundo  
 Mi mal, y la crueza que hoy intento.  
 Y nadie entienda qu'en crueza fundo  
 Dar á mi hija muerte, cual dar quiero,  
 Ni que me inspira furia del profundo;  
 Que yo no tengo el corazon de acero  
 Ni nací de los riscos, ni montañas,  
 Ni me crió dragon, ni tigre fiero.  
 Hombre soy, de hombre tengo las entrañas,  
 Tiernamente, cual hombre, me lastimo  
 Y lloro mis fatigas tan estrañas.  
 Mas deste sentimiento me reprimo,  
 Viéndome por mi hija en tal afrenta  
 Que su muerte no siento, y mi honra estimo.  
 Y así aunque muera es causa que no sienta

<sup>25</sup> Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

Con la terneza que debia su muerte,  
Viendo ser ella la que así me afrenta.  
Ejemplo es este que al varon mas fuerte  
Y de mayor constancia pondrá espanto  
Y le hará dudar la estraña suerte.  
Pudo el honor de Ipodamante tanto  
Viendo su hija, de Archeloo, forzada,  
Que le dió muerte, sin oir su llanto.  
Orcamo enterró viva su hija amada,  
Porque le robó Apolo su pureza,  
Dándola así á suo honor sacrificada.

¿ Pues si destos se canta por grandeza,  
Dar á sus hijas muerte por su honra,  
Dársela yo á la mia no es crueza?  
Que no me ofenda menos, ni deshonra  
La maldad que me hija ha cometido,  
Si la nobleza de quien soy me honra.

Al fin yo estó en que muere resumido  
En la prison, pues ha de morir cierto  
Por justicia, su término cumplido.

Así será mi daño mas cubierto,  
Que no verla sacar de las prisiones  
A justiciar, el dia descubierto.

*Jornada ii.*

In this play, therefore, and in the golden age of Spanish drama which follows, we find this conception of honor. From where, however, do these sentiments come? It has been shown that honor was of great importance in the life of both Spain and Italy. But why did this particular form of literature choose the honor question for treatment? One reason is that the complications brought about by the ideal of honor are intensely dramatic and form excellent material for plays. But as has already been said, such movements in literature are generally slower in formation than this one has seemed to be. The solution of the question is to be found, I believe, in the Italian drama of the sixteenth century. Here we find the traces, the modest beginnings of the ideas of honor which were to be developed later by the cleverer Spanish dramatists to such an extent that they have been surprising to later generations.

Let us point out the parallel passages in the earlier Italian

dramas. The simile of the pure crystal is one which is common in Spanish drama to show the frailty of honor. In *La Vida es Sueño* honor is said to be

De materia tan frágil  
Que con una accion se quiebra  
—O se mancha con un aire.

Act iii.

The same idea is expressed by Dolce in his *Giocasta* (1549):

E qual tenero fior, ch'ad ogni fiato  
Di picciol' aura s'ammarrisce e muore.

Act i.

In Rucellai's *Rosmunda*—a play which saw light about the same time as the well known *Sophonisba* and which is therefore a very early drama—the following ideas on honor are found:

Io non ricuso di morir, Signore,  
Pur ch'io salvi l'onore.

Act ii.

E non è cosa alcuna sì cara  
Si debba custodir quanto l'onore,  
Il qual con molta cura e diligenza  
Si pena ad acquistar molti et molt' anni;  
Et a perderlo poi vi basta un' ora.  
Questo come si perde, a noi non resta,  
Che perder altro, ed è di tal costume,  
Ch'ei non si lassa racquisitar più mai.

Act iii.

This is worthy of a heroine of Calderon.

The king, Sulmone, in Giralaldi's *Orbecche* (1541) points out how frail a thing is honor, saying:

Nè scorno è questo, che per poca pena  
Si possa cancellar da l'onor mio.

Act iii, sc. 3.

His honor has been stained, and he exclaims:

Questi ha macchiato il mio sangue e l'onore,  
E la real corona; ma stia certo,  
Che sì nel sangue suo Sulmon le mani,  
Si bagnerà che ne sarà lavata  
Tutta questa vergogna, e questa inguria.

Act iii, sc. 3.

The stain, the washing with blood, recall Spanish sentiments, as for example in Calderón's *Médico de su Honra*:

. . . . que el honor  
Con sangre, señor, se lava.

Jornada iii.

In Sperone Speroni's *Canace* (1542) we find that the son and daughter of Eolus have had a child born to them. Eolus sends a dagger to his daughter with which to kill herself. He shows the cruelty of a Spanish father, and justifies his act by the same reasons:

Mora per nostro onore  
L'infamia del mio regno. . . . Che avendo la malizia  
De' tuoi figlioli ucciso il nostro onore.

Act iv.

The example of a husband merely suspecting his wife of unfaithfulness without any proof of her wrongdoing is furnished in Giraldi's *Arrenopia* (1563). The husband cries out against his torment in true Spanish fashion:

Se tu sapessi, che pungente spina  
Porti nel cor colui, che l'onor vede  
Macchiato de la Donna a lei congiunto,  
E che di lui la parte migliore era. . . .

Act i, sc. i.

Fra quanti affanni, e quante angosce ponno  
'Assalto dare ad una umana mente,  
Nulla ve n'ha, ch più tormenti e affligga  
L'uomo, che cura tien de l'onor suo,  
Che *sospetto*, ch'egli abbia de la moglie.

Act ii, sc. i.

The mere suspicion is significant. Calderón makes much of such a situation. In this play the husband does not reach the limit of cruelty attained by the husband in *El Médico de su Honra*. He does not kill his wife; but even this extreme form of what may be called honor-madness, which has attracted so much attention in Calderón's drama of *El Médico*, is wholly and plainly justified in Dolce's *Marianna* (1555). The heroine, Marianna, is entirely innocent and chaste; but Erode jealously suspects that she is guilty

of having broken her faith. A friend tries every argument to make Erode at least give his wife the benefit of the doubt; but he is deaf to all reasoning and entreaties, saying:

Io sono offeso nel mio proprio onore,  
E l'offesa è palese. . . . .

Act iii.

The publicity of any stain on honor has already been mentioned as being greatly feared by characters of Lope and Calderón. Erode like *El Médico de su Honra* reasons out what he should do. There is no rage, no thirst for vengeance as in the Italian *novelle*. Also, like the Physician, he loves his wife deeply. He says in a significant monologue in deciding whether he shall kill Marianna or not:

Che d'una parte mi retiene amore,  
Et d'altra la ragione mi volge e sprona:  
Nè son ben risoluto, qual di due  
Portar debba vittoria del mio core.  
. . . . .  
Ma conchiudo, che quando io non avessi  
In Marianna mia, fuor che sospetto,  
Questo ad ogni empietà devrebbe indurmi  
Contra di lei; ch' a la persona mia  
Non sol convien, che non si faccia offesa,  
Ma torre ogni cagion, ch' altri sospetti.

Act iii.

In such lines is the source, not necessarily of *El Médico de su Honra* itself, but of plays in such a cruel vein depending upon the *pundonor* for their interest. Nor is it far from such sentiments to that refinement of honor expressed in *El Galan Fantasma*:

De una condición tan frágil,  
Que en su opinion su concepto  
Bastó haber imaginado  
Que fué agravio, para serlo.

Jorn. i, esc. 2.

As for the revulsion of feeling and the protest against the hard laws of honor which occur so often in Spanish drama, the same ideas are found in Italian drama. In Tasso's *Aminta* a whole chorus of the first act contains an invective against honor. The Age of Gold is praised:

Ma sol, perchè quel vano  
Nome senza soggetto;  
Quell' idolo d'errore, idol d'inganno;  
Quel che dal volgo insano  
Onor poscia fu detto

had not come to corrupt people. Honor is personified as in Lope's *El Médico de su Honra* and is called: *di nostra natura il feo tiranno*. Guarini introduces the same subject in the *Pastor Fido*:

Quel suon fastoso e vano,  
Quell' inutil soggetto  
Di lusinghe, di titoli e d'inganno,  
Ch' Onor dal volgo insano  
Indegnamente è detto,  
Non era ancor degli animi tiranno.

Act iv.

Also we find in Ongaro's *Alceo* a similar outburst:

O che felice amare esser dovea  
Prima che questa falsa opinione  
Che da l'ignaro volgo è detta Onore,  
Entrasse ne le menti de' mortali!

Act ii, sc. 2.

The following exhortation occurs in the chorus of the first act:

Lasciate, semplicitte  
Pescatrici, gli orgogli  
E le bugiarde idolatrie d'Onore.

The other conception of honor, that held by the philosophers and set forth in their treatises, is also reflected in these Italian dramas; but it is always opposed to the so-called Calderonian conception. Aretino in the *Filosopho* ridicules the philosophical views in regard to the treatment of wayward wives. The Philosopher replies to his wife when she demands pardon:

Io con lo abbracciarti faccio segno, che di ciò ti ringrazio ex corde, conciossiachè nel chiedermi la indulgenza, ch'io ti concedo, cresce in me dignità de la clemenza; . . . io che mi son teco vendicato con il rimetterti la inguria, con che tu avessi potuto toccarmi l'onore etc. . . . Act v.

This was evidently supposed to arouse laughter, and it would be

interesting to see how a modern audience would receive a like outcome of the same situation and similar sentiments, philosophical and Christian as they may be.

Urrea points out in his dialogue that the adulterer should be given up to justice,<sup>26</sup> and Susio holds the same view.<sup>27</sup> Damonio, in Ariosto's *I Suppositi*, hearing of the downfall of his daughter, muses as to what he should do with her betrayer:

Come debb' io di così grave inguria  
Ahi lasso vendicarmi? se supplicio  
Darò a costui, secondo i suoi demeriti,  
E che ricerca l'ira mia giustissima,  
Io ne sarò da le leggi, e dal Principe  
Punito; ch' a un privato non è lecito  
Farsi ragion d'autorità sua propria.

Act iii.

Just as the confidant of Erode in *Marianna* tries to reason with the jealous husband, so Malecche, confidant of Sulmone, reflects the attitude of the authors in the treatises in *Orbecche*. He is against vengeance because penitence follows in its wake:

. . . . . E se pur questo  
Poco in voi può, che devria poter molto,  
Muovavi il vostro onor, che (com' ho detto)  
Essere non vi può se non disnore  
Così fatta vendetta. . . .

Act iii, sc. 2.

Such views are merely the reverse of those which triumph. They are introduced to make possible the dramatic conflict between two opposed forces. Although one would hardly expect to find them prevailing in Spanish literature, yet a passage in *Persiles y Sigismunda* shows that Cervantes was acquainted with the Italian philosopher's opinions:

Volved en vos (dice un personaje al marido agravido), y dando lugar á la misericordia, no carráis tras la justicia. Y no os aconsejo por esto que perdonéis á vuestra mujer, para volverla á vuestra casa, que á esto no hay ley que os obligue. Lo que os aconsejo es que la dejéis, que es el mayor castigo que podeis darle. Vivid lejos de

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 84.



ella y viviréis, lo que no haréis estando juntos, porque moriréis continuo. La ley del repudio fué muy usada entre los romanos, y puesto que sería mayor caridad perdonarla, recogerla, sufrirla y aconsejarla, es menester tomar el pulso á la paciencia y poner en un punto extremado á la discrecion, de la cual pocos se pueden fiar en esta vida . . . y finalmente, quiero, que consideréis que vais á hacer un pecado mortal en quitarles las vidas, que no se ha de cometer por todas las ganancias que el mundo atesora.

Rubio y Lluch, in commenting on this passage, ascribes the views expressed in it to the fact that Cervantes was ahead of his times; but these same opinions had been expressed by Posseвинi half a century earlier, as has been shown above. The similarity of the two passages is striking. Both authors advise the husband to live apart from his wife; both mention the custom of divorce among the ancients. In saying that the killing of a woman is a mortal sin, Cervantes recalls Torquemada and thus gives a reason more typically Spanish and one which would have more weight in Spain.

The priority of these two different conceptions of honor in Italy seems unquestionable; and we believe that the Spanish drama owes much to the Italian drama in regard to the use of the ideal of honor as dramatic material. Lope and Calderón gave this element much more prominence, sometimes exaggerating it to an absurdity; but they were better builders of plays than the Italians, and they saw

Since this article has gone to press, Dr. G. T. Northup has called my attention to the fact that Tirso, in his play *El celoso prudente*, has named his hero Sancho Urrea. Perhaps Tirso had in mind Jerónimo Urrea, the author of the honor treatise, for the Urrea of the play does not wipe out the stain on his honor with blood, but employs tactics of secrecy and silence more in accordance with ideas of Jerónimo Urrea, who states in the preface of his book that Spanish soldiers are imitating a barbarous *Italian* custom, and he is writing his book out of humanitarian motives. The change in the first names was probably made by the dramatist in order to introduce a pun on the proverb *A buen callar llaman Sancho*. Dr. Northup has also pointed out that in Calderón's *Mujer, llora y vencerás*, the *gracioso*, Patin, speaks of not understanding the "fine foreign points of honor":

Mas yo, que soy un pobrete  
Que no entiendo del honor  
Las filigranas de allende . . .

(Hartzenbush edition, vol. III, p. 582.)

plainly and made good use of the almost unlimited dramatic possibilities of the question of honor.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The subject of this article was proposed by Prof. J. E. Spingarn, to whom I am indebted for many suggestions. The quotations from *El Médico de su Honra* were furnished by Dr. G. T. Northup.

DANIEL CLIVE STUART

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

## THE DATE OF THE BIRTH OF BOCCACCIO

FOR the last thirty years the statement that Boccaccio was born in 1313 has been generally accepted. In this article it is shown that the proper statement is rather that he was born in 1313 or before July 20 in 1314. This slight revision is important for much of the chronology of the life of Boccaccio, since he dated many of his experiences in terms of age, and is of some special present interest in view of the approaching celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of his birth.

The sources of information as to the date of the birth of Boccaccio are two: a statement by Petrarch to the effect that Boccaccio was his junior by 9 years, and a statement by Filippo Villani as to Boccaccio's age at death.

The statement of Petrarch appears in the letters *De rebus senilibus*, Book VIII, Letter 1 (written July 20, 1366), and is as follows:

"sic si verum dicere solitus es, nec iuvenum more, aliquot ipse tibi quoque nunc annos subtrahis, ego te in nascendi ordine, nouem annorum spatio antecessi."<sup>1</sup>

The reading "nouem" is reliable.<sup>2</sup>

The words "ego . . . antecessi" may have any one of four connotations: first, "you were born on the 9th anniversary of my birth," second, "you were born on the 9th anniversary of my birth or on one of the 364 days following," third, "you were born within half a year of the 9th anniversary of my birth," and fourth, "you

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch, *Opera quae extant omnia*, Basle, 1581, p. 830.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. J. F. Mason of Cornell has been so kind as to inform me that the editions of the *Opera omnia* of Venice 1501 and Venice 1503 both read "nouem." Develay, who utilized for his translation the MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale and that of Toulouse, has "neuf" (V. Develay, *Lettres de Fr. Pétrarque à Jean Boccace*, Paris, 1891, pp. xviii-xix, 226). Fracassetti, who utilized for his translation the editions of the *Opera omnia* of Venice 1516 and Basle 1554, has "nove" (G. Fracassetti, *Lettere senili di Francesco Petrarca*, vol. I, Florence, 1869, pp. 2, 445). Manetti, referring to the passage about 1450, has "nouem" (A. Solerti, *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio scritte fino al secolo decimosesto*, Milan, 1904, p. 680).

were born in the calendar year subsequent by 9 to the calendar year of my birth." If the fourth connotation is the correct one, Petrarch may have had in mind the Roman civil year, beginning Jan. 1, or the year *ab incarnatione*, beginning March 25.<sup>3</sup>

The statement of Petrarch is entirely reliable. The questioning of Boccaccio's veracity is merely playful.<sup>4</sup>

Petrarch was born on July 20, 1304.<sup>5</sup> If the words "ego . . . antecessi" have the first of the four connotations indicated as possible, they mean that Boccaccio was born on July 20, 1313. If they have the second connotation, they mean that his birth occurred in the period beginning July 20, 1313, and ending July 19, 1314. If they have the third connotation, they mean that his birth occurred in the period beginning with January, 1313, and ending with January, 1314. If they have the fourth connotation and Petrarch had in mind the Roman civil year, they mean that Boccaccio was born in 1313. If they have the fourth connotation and Petrarch had in mind the year *ab incarnatione*, they mean that Boccaccio was born in the period beginning March 25, 1313, and ending March 24, 1314. These several possible meanings being considered, the proper inference from the statement of Petrarch is that Boccaccio was born in 1313 or before July 20 in 1314.

The statement of Villani appears in his *De origine civitatis Florentiae et de eiusdem famosis civibus*, Book II, Life of Boccaccio. In the first redaction of the work (written in the period 1381-1388) the statement is as follows:

"Hic diem extremam obiit anno gratie .M.CCC.V. et .LXX., etatis sue sexagesimo secundo."<sup>6</sup>

In the later redaction (written in the period 1395-1397) the statement reappears without substantial alteration, as follows:

"Hic diem suum extremum obiit anno gratie MCCCCLXX°V°, etatis sue sexagesimo et secundo."<sup>7</sup>

The MS. of the first redaction is an autograph.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A. Cappelli, *Cronologia e calendario perpetuo*, Milan, 1906, pp. xi-xvi.

<sup>4</sup> G. Körting, *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera*, 1581, p. 829.

<sup>6</sup> A. F. Massera, *Le più antiche biografie del Boccaccio*, in *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, XXVII (1903), p. 313.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

The words "anno . . . etatis sue sexagesimo secundo" mean properly "in the 62nd year of his age." In view of the fact that ordinal numerals were sometimes employed, in expressions of age, with the value of the corresponding cardinals,<sup>9</sup> it is possible that they mean "being 62 years old." Investigation of Villani's use of ordinals in expressions of age shows that it is impossible to draw a decisive conclusion as to his meaning here. There are but three cases in which it is possible to control his usage: in two of these cases the ordinal is used with its proper value, and in the third case as equivalent to the corresponding cardinal. The cases are as follows. In the same work which contains the biography of Boccaccio there appears, in the Life of Petrarch, the following passage:

"Floruit . . . ab anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quinto usque ad septuagesimum quartum, quo diem clausit extremum, aetatis suae anno septuagesimo."<sup>10</sup>

In this passage the ordinal "septuagesimo" is evidently used with its proper value. In the same work there appears, in the Life of Dante, the following passage:

"Obiit poeta anno gratiae MCCCXXI idibus Septembrium quo die Sanctae Crucis solemnitas celebratur, dierum vitae suae anno sexto et quinquagesimo."<sup>11</sup>

In Villani's Preface to his commentary on the *Divine Comedy*, Chapter IV, appears the following statement as to the birth of Dante:

"Vbi scire debemus, anno gratie millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo quinto, exeunte maio, in hanc regionem caducorum venisse poetam."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> A. Gaspary, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur*, vol. II, Berlin, 1888, p. 636.

<sup>10</sup> Solerti, p. 280. The reading is that of the second redaction (*ibid.*, pp. 82, 275). The notes, which contain the variant readings of the autograph MS. of the first redaction, contain no variants for the words quoted. In the original draft of the document the statement continued as follows: "cuius anni die prima quae fuit decima nona Julii." In accordance with a suggestion of Coluccio Salutati, Villani substituted for these words the following phrase: "et prima die anni septuagesimi primi" (G. Calò, *Filippo Villani e il 'Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus'*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1904, p. 151, n. 3).

<sup>11</sup> Solerti, p. 87. The reading is that of the second redaction. The notes contain no variants for the words cited.

<sup>12</sup> F. Villani, *Comento al primo canto dell' Inferno*, ed. G. Cugnomi, Città di Castello, 1896, p. 30.

In the comment on the first line of the *Divine Comedy* appears the following passage:

"Aiunt que, poetam annis quinquaginta sex et mensibus VI vite sue cursum, euentu uario, transegisse, opusque suum feliciter ceptitasse anno gratie millesimo trecentesimo, anno scilicet iubilei, et in die ueneris sancti; et millesimo trecentesimo uigesimo primo de hac luce migrasse. Ex quorum fractione colligitur, poetam opus suum incoasse anno etatis sue ac vite trigesimo quinto."<sup>13</sup>

On comparison of these statements it is evident that the words "dierum vite sue anno sexto et quinquagesimo" mean "being 56 years of age," and that the ordinal "trigesimo quinto" is used with its proper value.

Villani's statement as to Boccaccio's age at death is entirely reliable. The MS. of the first redaction was subjected to the revision of Coluccio Salutati, who corrected certain incorrect statements, and left this statement unaltered.<sup>14</sup> Salutati was intimate with Boccaccio in his old age.<sup>15</sup>

Boccaccio died on Dec. 20 or 21, 1375.<sup>16</sup> If the words "anno . . . etatis sue sexagesimo secundo" mean "in the 62nd year of his age," they imply that he was born in the period beginning Dec. 21, 1313, and ending Dec. 20, 1314. If they mean "being 62 years old," they imply that he was born in the period beginning Dec. 21, 1312, and ending Dec. 20, 1313. Both possible meanings being considered, the proper inference from the statement of Villani is that Boccaccio was born in the period beginning Dec. 21, 1312, and ending Dec. 20, 1314.

This conclusion is consistent with the conclusion derived from the statement of Petrarch, but is less precise. The final conclusion as to the date of the birth of Boccaccio is therefore identical with that derived from the statement of Petrarch, namely, that Boccaccio was born in 1313 or before July 20 in 1314.

The history of the statements as to the date of the birth of Boccaccio is, briefly, as follows.

Squarciafico (writing about 1465) states, without discussion,

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>14</sup> Massera, p. 303.

<sup>15</sup> C. Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. F. Novati, vol. I, Rome, 1891, p. 223.

<sup>16</sup> Körting, p. 349.

citation of evidence, or reference, that Boccaccio was born in 1313.<sup>17</sup> So also (in the 16th century) Betussi,<sup>18</sup> Sansovino,<sup>19</sup> Dolce,<sup>20</sup> and Nicoletti.<sup>21</sup> Pope-Blount<sup>22</sup> and Negri<sup>23</sup> state, without discussion, citation of evidence, or reference, that Boccaccio was born in 1314. Manni states that Boccaccio was born in 1313 "giusta la comune asserzione, e non già nel 1314, come più altri sbagliando hanno scritto."<sup>24</sup> Mazzuchelli states that Boccaccio was born in 1313. In a note he writes: "Veramente il Pope-Blount . . . e il P. Negri scrivono che il Boccaccio nacque nel 1314; ma noi lo riputiamo un errore, perciocchè veggiamo (here the statement of Petrarch is cited) . . . e ciò ben s'accorda colla comune asserzione che il Boccaccio morisse in età di LXII. anni nel 1375."<sup>25</sup> Tiraboschi states that Boccaccio was born in 1313, and adduces the statement of Petrarch.<sup>26</sup>

Baldelli states that Boccaccio was born in 1313, adduces the statement of Petrarch, and adds: "E Matteo Palmieri nel riferire all' anno 1375 la morte del Boccaccio soggiunge, *e vita migravit aetatis suae anno sexagesimo secundo* (Mann., p. 130)."<sup>27</sup> The statement of Palmieri was not written until the middle of the 15th century, and is the only reference to Boccaccio in the work in which it appears. It has no more value as evidence than the contemporary statement of Squarciafico,—that is, none at all.

Witte states that Boccaccio was born in 1313, and adduces the

<sup>17</sup> Solerti, p. 695.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 703.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 713.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 720.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 734.

<sup>22</sup> T. Pope-Blount, *Censura celebriorum autorum*, London, 1690, p. 308.

<sup>23</sup> G. Negri, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini*, Ferrara, 1722, p. 269.

<sup>24</sup> D. M. Manni, *Istoria del Decamerone di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Florence, 1742, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d' Italia*, vol. II, part III, Brescia, 1753, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. V, Rome, 1783, p. 480.

<sup>27</sup> G. B. Baldelli, *Vita di Giovanni Boccacci*, Florence, 1806, p. 370. Manni quotes the statement of Palmieri in his chapter on the death of Boccaccio. The exact form of the statement of Palmieri is: "1375 . . . Iohannes Boccaccius, vir ameni ingenii et latina patriaue facundia in scribendo celebris, e vita migravit aetatis anno LXII" (*Raccolta degli storici italiani*, vol. XXVI, part I, fasc. 64, 1903, p. 117).

statement of Petrarch.<sup>28</sup> Corazzini writes: "Messer Giovanni Boccaccio essendo nato tra il 1313 e il 1314 . . ." He gives no discussion, citation of evidence, or reference.<sup>29</sup> Landau states that Boccaccio was born in 1313, and adduces the statements of Petrarch and of Palmieri.<sup>30</sup> Körting states that Boccaccio was born in 1313, adduces the statement of Petrarch, and adds: "Damit stimmt, wenigstens ungefähr, auch Palmieri's Angabe überein, dass Boccaccio 1375 im 62. Jahre seines Alters gestorben sei."<sup>31</sup>

Crescini states that Boccaccio was born in 1313, and adduces the statements of Petrarch, Villani, and Palmieri. To the statement of Villani he refers in the words: "raccontando che il Boccaccio morì nel 1375 d'anni 62."<sup>32</sup> These words do not represent accurately the actual words of Villani.

Gaspary states that Boccaccio was born in 1313, adduces the statements of Petrarch, Villani, and Palmieri, and adds, with reference to the statements of Villani and of Palmieri: "danach wäre er nach d. 21. Dec. 1313 geboren; aber die Humanisten redeten bei diesen Bestimmungen oft ungenau, und jene meinten vielleicht 'zu 62 Jahren.'" <sup>33</sup>

Hauvette accepts 1313 as the date of the birth of Boccaccio. In his *Recherches sur le 'De casibus illustrium virorum' de Boccace* he writes, in the course of a discussion of the date of Boccaccio's letter *Miraberis, miles egregie*, which contains the words "sexagesimum annum ago": "Toute la question se réduit à savoir si l'anniversaire de sa naissance tombait avant ou après le 28 août, autrement dit, si Boccace était né dans un des huit premiers mois de 1313 ou dans un des quatre derniers; dans le premier cas, il était dans sa soixantième année le 28 août 1372. Il est difficile de rien affirmer sur ce point, il paraît cependant plus probable que Boccace était né dans la première moitié de 1313 (c., V. Crescini, *Contrib. agli studi sul Boccaccio*, p. 40-41)." <sup>34</sup> The ascription of

<sup>28</sup> K. Witte, trans. *Decameron*, Leipzig, 1827, p. xv.

<sup>29</sup> F. Corazzini, *Le lettere edite e inedite di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Florence, 1877, p. xi.

<sup>30</sup> M. Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio*, Stuttgart, 1877, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Körting, pp. 80-81.

<sup>32</sup> V. Crescini, *Contributo agli studi sul Boccaccio*, Turin, 1887, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Gaspary, vol. II, pp. 1, 636.

<sup>34</sup> H. Hauvette, *Recherches sur le 'De casibus illustrium virorum' de Boccace*, in *Entre camarades*, Paris, 1901, p. 293.



this opinion to Crescini is unwarranted. In the passage referred to, Crescini notes incidentally the possibility that Boccaccio's birth occurred early in 1313, and utilizes this possibility as one of several independent arguments against an argument of his opponents as to the place of Boccaccio's birth, but he does not indicate that he has any opinion or that there is any basis for opinion as to the part of the year in which Boccaccio was born. In *Una confessione del Boccaccio*, Hauvette states that Boccaccio was probably born in the first half of 1313, and refers to Crescini and to his own *Recherches*.<sup>85</sup>

Della Torre accepts 1313 as the date of the birth of Boccaccio, referring to Crescini.<sup>86</sup> In the course of his work he writes, without discussion, citation of evidence, or reference: "giacché, come è noto, egli nacque *dentro la prima metà* del 1313."<sup>87</sup>

Hutton transfers and abbreviates Crescini's statements as to the date of the birth, and gives the date as 1313 in the text of his work and in his Chronological Appendix. In a note, however, he attacks the reliability of the statement of Petrarch, suggesting that Boccaccio may have lied to Petrarch as to the year of his birth, selecting a year in the period of his father's residence in France in order to be consistent with certain passages of disguised autobiographical narrative in the *Filocolo* and the *Ameto* in which it is implied—perhaps falsely, according to Hutton—that he was born in France.<sup>88</sup> The veracity of the story of Boccaccio's birth in France was definitively established by Crescini.<sup>89</sup>

E. H. WILKINS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

<sup>85</sup> Hauvette, *Una confessione del Boccaccio*, trans. G. Gigli, Florence, 1905, pp. 16-17.

<sup>86</sup> A. Della Torre, *La giovinezza di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Città di Castello, 1905, p. 1.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>88</sup> E. Hutton, *Giovanni Boccaccio*, London, 1909, p. 9, n. 5.

<sup>89</sup> Crescini, pp. 1-44.

## THE DEVIL AS A DRAMATIC FIGURE IN THE SPANISH RELIGIOUS DRAMA BEFORE LOPE DE VEGA

(Continued from page 312)

HELL was usually represented on the stage as a cave. In (III) Ynbidia, after urging Cain to kill his brother, says, ll. 166-7:

Yo me voy para la cueva  
de Satan terrible y fiero.

In (XVIII) Bobo asks Culpa where she lives, and she replies, ll. 156-7:

En la cueva que mirais  
es mi posada.

In (XIV) after Lucifer, Satanas and Caron have determined to summon Género Humano before God, Lucifer says, ll. 131-2:

Pues, sus, sin mas detener  
Entremos en el ynfierno.

The cave evidently sloped downward. In (XVIII) Captividad threatens the Bobo with prison and he objects, saying, l. 194, *No bajaré*, and again, l. 200, *Que no he gana de abajar*. In l. 443 Captividad says to Bobo, *Ea, baja tu aca, patan*.

The cave was dark. In (IV), ll. 283-4, Abel says as he is carried to Hell:

O que grande escuridad  
despoblada de alegría!

Schack quotes from a manuscript work entitled *Ceremonial de la Santa Iglesia de Huesca* the following passage concerning the representation of Hell:

Item á 15 de Enero de 1582, por mandato de los señores del Cabildo, dí á su platero ciciliano ciento diez y seis sueldos para hacer una boca de infierno y unos vestidos y cetros y otras cosillas para la representación de la noche de Navidad como parece por una cuenta de su mano. Mas le dí por su trabajo que estuvo diez días ó más ocupado en hacello ochenta sueldos por las dos partidas, 190s. . . . Mas pagué á un escopetero por los cohetes y duxidores que hizo para la dicha representación ocho reales, y más pagué de encordar dos

orgueñas para la dicha fiesta, 8s. por las tres partidas LXXVIII sueldos.<sup>12</sup>

In (IX), l. 439ff., Hell is represented as a medieval fortress:

*Satanas.* Dejadme subir a mi  
juntamente con mi paje  
a la torre el omenaje,  
que si alguno aca viniere,  
descreo de mi linaje  
si en llegando no muriere.  
Yo hare quanto pudiere  
con coraje y sin rreyertas.

*Lucifer.* Entrad y cerrad las puertas,  
atracad bien los postigos,  
y esforçaos bien, amigos,  
que las pendencias son çiertas.

In the *Auto de la Resurreccion de Christo*, pub. by Rouanet, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, l. 210ff., la Ynocencia de Adan relates the scenes in Hell after Christ had freed the damned souls:

Mas, como el señor entro,  
el demonio s'escondio  
debajo de unos tiçones,  
y el quebronos las prisiones,  
y ansi a todos nos solto.

And again in the same play, ll. 218-24:

Con dos puntapies  
dio con las puertas en tierra.  
Luego vierais por el suelo  
diabros, qu'es cosa que enbaça  
el contarle, juro al cielo!  
Hasta el diablillo cojuelo  
se escondio en una hornaça.

In (XXIII) we have a fairly complete description of the tor-

<sup>12</sup> *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*, Vol. I, p. 383-4. It is likely that the rockets were carried by the devil. In the English Morality, *Castle of Perseverance* (1400), the Devil was provided with fireworks consisting of gun powder in tubes and carried on different parts of the body. In Heywood's *Play of Love* (1553), "The Vice cometh in running with a huge tank on his head full of squibs fired." See L. Cushman, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

ments which await the souls of the damned, some of which may be reminiscences of the Inferno of Dante. It is impossible to say whether the various objects were represented on the stage but it is likely that some crude representation was attempted. Diabo, the boatman of Hell, addresses as follows the various characters who appear before him:

- p. 273.           Veis aquellos fuegos bien?  
                   Allí se coge la frol.  
                   Veis aquel gran fumo espeso,  
                   Que sale daquellas peñas?  
                   Allí perdereis el vueso,  
                   Y mas, Señor, os confieso  
                   Que habeis de mensar las greñas.
- p. 276.           Veis aquella puente ardiendo,  
                   Muy lejos allén del mar,  
                   Y unas ruedas volviendo  
                   De navajas, y heriendo?  
                   Pues allí habeis de andar  
                   Siempre jamas.
- p. 279.   *Rei*    Y por mar he de pasar?  
           *Diabo*   Si, y aun tiene que sudar;  
                   Ca no fue nada el morir.  
                   Pasmareis:  
                   Si mirais, dahi vereis  
                   Adó sereis morador  
                   Naquellos fuegos que veis:  
                   Y llorando, cantareis  
                   "Nunca fue pena mayor."
- p. 286.           De ahí donde estais vereis  
                   Unas calderas de pez,  
                   Adonde os cocereis,  
                   Y la corona asareis,  
                   Y freireis la vejez.<sup>18</sup>
- p. 290.           Vuestra Señoría irá  
                   En cien mil pedazos hecho;

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, XXI, 16-18:

Tal, non per fuoco ma per divina arte  
 Bollia laggiuso una pegola spessa  
 Che inviscava la ripa da ogni parte.

Y para siempre estará  
En agua que herverá,  
Y nunca sereis deshecho.

p. 292. Oyes aquel gran ruido  
Nel lago de los leones?  
Despertad bien el oído:  
Vos sereis allí comido  
De canes y de dragones.<sup>14</sup>

pp. 295-6. Veis aquellos azotar  
Con vergas de hierro ardiendo,  
Y despues atanazar?  
Pues allí habeis de andar  
Para siempre padeciendo.<sup>15</sup>

The Devil is represented as the arch enemy of Mankind and the instigator of all evil actions. The chief motive for this enmity was that man had been redeemed by Christ, while the devils were still condemned to suffer. This element is most clearly shown in (XIV), which represents Lucifer laying claim to Mankind before God. Hostility to man is also shown in (XV) and (XVI), in which Lucifer, Carne and Mundo appear as witnesses against Mankind and tell of his sins. In the trial scene of (XV) Lucifer maintains that man deserves no mercy, ll. 316-25:

Se que por lo cometido  
contra Dios, su padre eterno,  
tiene justo merescido  
muchas vezes el ynfierno,  
si justicia ubiese avido.

Se que aquesta es la verdad,  
y que no meresçe el Honbre

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Inferno*, XIII, 124-9:

Diretro a loro era la selva piena  
Di nere cagne bramose e correnti,  
Come veltri che uscisser di catena.  
In quel che s'appiattò miser li denti,  
E quel dilacerârò a brano a brano;  
Poi sen portâr quelle membra dolenti.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Inferno*, XVIII, 34-6:

Di qua, di là, su per lo sasso tetro  
Vidi dimon' cornuti con gran ferze  
Che li battean crudelmente di retro.

aya del Dios piadad,  
y lo firmo de mi nonbre  
y que soy mayor de hedad.

In (II) Lucifer shows resentment and jealousy against Mankind, who he fears will take his place as ruler of the world, ll. 51-55:

En grande tristeza bivo,  
viendo tan gran crueldad!  
Muy grande agravio rreçibo  
que me haga Dios captivo  
y de al hombre libertad.

and ll. 81-85.

Yo, por solo un pensamiento,  
del çielo ynpireo fui hechado  
sin aver mas miramiento;  
y un hombre pobre, anbriento,  
piensa rreynar en mi estado?

In (III) Lucifer rejoices at the sin of Cain, and adds, ll. 366-70:

. . . no avra ninguno  
que no me llame su rrey  
por serviçios a mi ley,  
y quando se escape alguno  
sera ver bolar un buey.

Hostility to Mankind is found throughout (XX), and especially in the challenge sent by Lucifer to Honbre, ll. 307-13 and 317-86. In (VI), ll. 16-30, Satan expresses his joy over the sins of men:

A mi gran contento no hallo su ygual.  
O gozo gozoso, estraño, cunplido!  
pues todas las partes donde e residido  
las hallo viçiosas, y su golfo tal  
que esta todo ciego, liviano, perdido.

Sus yntinçiones del todo dañadas,  
usuras y logros, andar y bullir;  
todos metidos en un mal bivar,  
de tratos muy feos, de que mis moradas  
con poco trabajo las pienso hinchir.

Y pues diligencia y astucia e tenido,  
no me conviene de oy mas descansar,  
mas siempre bullir; correr, trafagar,  
hasta que al hombre de Dios mas querido  
con desubidiencia le haga pecar.

The Devil also shows hostility to Christ, for through him man had been redeemed. Because of this enmity, he is obliged to flee before the sign of the cross. In (X) San Christobal asks Satan why he had turned aside from the road, and Satan replies, ll. 193-207:

Pues, amigo, as de saber  
qu'el que vino a padecer  
hizo mucho mal a mi.

Este fue Dios verdadero  
que tomando carne humana  
estuvo en cruz en madero  
y hizo a mi su prisionero,  
rrecobrando la mançana;  
y quando veo la señal  
de cruz do quiso morir,  
mira tu mi grande mal,  
que no solo me e de apartar,  
mas aun tengo de huir:  
y aquesta fue la rrazon  
que deje aquel buen camino.

Not only is the hostility of the Devil directed against Christ and Mankind, but also against all those who live a holy life. In (XI) the Devil, disguised as a maiden, tries to tempt a holy bishop. In (XIII) we have a trial scene before Christ in which Angel tells of the piety of Santa Bárbara and the Devil tries to refute the account of her virtues. In (XXVI) Satanás, Mundo and Carne appear as the accusers of all righteous men.

A special function of the Devil is to carry to Hell the souls of the wicked. We learn the reason for this in one of the scenes of (IV). Lucifer is ordered by the Angel, after the death of Abel, to be the jailor of Mankind until the redemption, ll. 233-41:

Oye, infernal dragon,  
Cancervero:  
nuestro Dios, rey verdadero  
a quien se deve servir,  
te embia con mi ha dezir  
que seas su carcelero,  
y que tengas prisionero  
so tu mano  
a todo el linage humano.

In (XXIV) and (XXV) the devils act as the instrument of the Divine will, and carry to Hell the unwelcome guest at the wedding of the King's son.

The Devil often shows great pride, and does not hesitate to compare himself with his Creator. In (XIV) he proposes that Christ be the lord of the righteous, while he will remain master of the wicked, ll. 679-80:

sed vos señor de los buenos  
y yo señor de los malos.

In the same play, Satan boasts of the evil which he has caused in the Church, ll. 81-90.

Quien a rrebuelto çiudades  
y levantado el Lutero,  
sino yo, con mis maldades  
encubriendo las verdades  
del alto Dios verdadero?

Quien metio en Yngalatterra  
esa seta luterana,  
y en Flandes, Francia, y su tierra,  
sino yo, por pura guerra,  
y aun aca en aquesta Yspana?

In (XIX), ll. 319-21, Demonio says to Verdad:

Porque heres tan porfiada,  
y no quies rreconocer  
mi soberano poder?

In his struggles with the righteous the Devil is always defeated, usually through the intercession of Christ or one of the Virtues. In (XIX) Demonio threatens Verdad and finally attacks her, but is driven away by Justicia. In (XXI) Demonio tries to gain possession of Alma, who however is saved by Christ. The Devil is defeated in (XIV) and is ordered by Christ to return to Hell, ll. 886-90:

Y tu, caudillo dañado,  
buelve a tu eterna prision  
do seras atormentado  
como malaventurado  
en perpetua subjeçion.



In (XI) the Devil is confounded through the intercession of San Andrés.

The Devil shows bitter disappointment when his evil designs are defeated. In (VIII) Lucifer shows deep humiliation after the resurrection of Christ, ll. 1102-1106:

No a tres días bien cunplidos,  
mira quanto es mi dolor!  
que tenia a mi sabor  
todos quantos son naçidos  
desde el grande hasta el menor.

In (XXVII), p. 387, the Devil, in despair at his failure to vanquish the Fraile, exclaims:

¡Ó triste de mi corrido!  
¿Por qué, infierno, no me tragas?  
Mi poder todo escarnido,  
Fué á vencer, vengo vencido,  
Herido de nuevas llagas.

And in the same play, p. 388, Diablo exclaims in disappointment to Mundo and Carne:

¡Ó cuán poquito valemós  
Con el que es bueno y derecho!  
Cuanto más le acometemos,  
En más llamas nos ardemos,  
Alumbrando en su provecho.

The Devil shows fear on certain occasions. In (XVI), when Lucifer appears as a witness against Mankind, he says that he would have fled had he been able to do so, ll. 569-73:

Justiçia, yo soy venido  
para mi dicho dezir,  
y si pudiera huyr  
y no fuera conpelido,  
procurara no venir.

In (IX) Redención tells Lucifer that Christ had redeemed Mankind, and Lucifer replies, ll. 349-52:

Mira que dezis, hermosa!  
Sed criada y bien cortes,

porque no me faltan pies,  
si quiero hechar a huir.

In the same play, Lucifer speaks of his fear of the cross, ll. 429-32:

Si no tuvieras la cruz,  
yo te hiziera andar lista!  
pero quitame la vista  
esa soberana luz.

In only a few of the Spanish religious plays does the Devil appear simply as a comic character, and the comedy element results from the nature of the punishment for his misdeeds. The best example of this is found in (VIII). Lucifer enters in the form of a dragon, in despair at the redemption of Mankind. San Pedro, San Juan, Santo Tomás and San Phelipe enjoy his discomfiture and make sport of his appearance. They then play with him *el juego de hoces*, in which the apostles form a circle about Lucifer, who is obliged to play the part of the bull, and the game begins thus, ll. 1142-48:

*San Pedro.* A! gusano de mal nonbre,  
di a publicas bozes  
de do vienes, honbre.

*Lucifer.* De hoces.

*San Pedro.* Y, dinos, que pides?

*Lucifer.* Coçes.

*Santo Tomas.* Chicas, o grandes?

*Lucifer.* Como mandardes.

The apostles carry out his wishes with good will until Lucifer falls exhausted. This game was probably popular among children at the time, but I have not found any other reference to it. The scene is a good example of the coarse humor which served to enliven the religious plays.

The Devil character was also used to create comic scenes with the Bobo. In (VI) the Bobo enters the service of the Devil as page, and only escapes with great difficulty. In (XVIII) after the Bobo is imprisoned in the cave of Hell, he tries to warn others against the persuasive words of Culpa and Captividad. In (VII) the Bobo

engages in a wrestling match with the Devil in which the latter is defeated. The costume of the Devil, to which reference has already been made, also furnished a comic element.

It may be said in conclusion that the Devil in the Spanish religious plays differed but little from the same figure in the other literatures of Europe, but the character of the Devil was not as fully developed in the Spanish religious drama as in the French *Mystères*. Only by exception does he play a comic rôle, and the influence of this figure is limited to the religious plays, for I have not been able to find any trace of the influence of the character of the Devil upon the secular drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Devil and *Gracioso* have no element in common.

*Note.* I wish to rectify two mistakes which occur in the first part of this article. P. 305. In No. XIV the sentence in favour of mankind was pronounced by Christ, not St. John. P. 306. The name of the Devil, Cancerolro should be Cancervero.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

## A BOCCACCIO ANALOGUE IN THE OLD FRENCH PROSE TRISTAN

OF the fourteen pages which are covered by the narrative of Tristan's ancestry in Löseth's analysis<sup>1</sup> of the Old French prose *Tristan*, nine are given to the story of Chelinde, including the adventures of the characters whose fates are interwoven with hers. This ancestress<sup>2</sup> of the great hero of romance was a daughter of the King of Babylon and her first husband was Sadoc, great-nephew of Joseph of Arimathea. In view of the elaboration and intrinsic interest of the story, one may fairly say that it constitutes much the most important element in the strange medley of incidents that make up the narrative in question. Now, the influence of the metrical romance, *Athis et Prophlias*,<sup>3</sup> and of the legend of Oedipus<sup>4</sup> on the adventures of Chelinde has already been recognized by different scholars, and the importation of a riddle *motif* from a certain type of fairy-tales in the case of the giant episodes is too obvious to require comment;<sup>5</sup> but another influence of perhaps even greater importance appears to have escaped observation thus far and it is to this source of the first part of the prose *Tristan* that I now wish to call attention.

<sup>1</sup> E. Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, Paris, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> She lived two hundred years before Tristan, see Löseth, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Löseth, p. 7, note 4, and P. Rajna, *Fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*, pp. 598 ff., 2d edition, Firenze, 1900. On the date of this romance (probably the beginning of the 13th century) see L. F. W. Stael von Holstein, *Le roman d'Athis et Prophlias, étude littéraire sur ses deux versions*, pp. 112 ff., Upsala, 1909. Part I (which alone concerns us) was edited by A. Weber, Stoefa, 1881. Prof. A. Hilka of Breslau has in preparation an edition of the whole poem.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. W. Röttiger, *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung*, p. 27, Hamburg, 1897, and M. A. Potter's *Sohrab and Rustem*, p. 95, London, 1902. In the same place Röttiger points out some other *motifs*, common in the literature of stories, which have influenced the prose *Tristan*. G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, Abt. I, p. 1007, sees the influence of the story of the Emperor Coustant (Constant) in the Sadoc episode, but the Oedipus legend, I believe, sufficiently explains the features of the narrative he refers to.

<sup>5</sup> On this *motif*, so common in folk-tales, see F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 10, 406, II, 506, III, 496, and, in general, the numerous examples indicated in the Index to that work under *Riddles*.

The story of Chelinde is as follows:

Chelinde, daughter of the King of Babylon, has been promised in marriage to the King of Persia. On the voyage to the kingdom of her intended husband, she is shipwrecked on the coast of England (!), all on board the ship perishing except herself. Sadoc, great-nephew of Joseph of Arimathea, finds her on the coast, conducts her to the castle of his brother Nabusardan, and a few days later has her baptized and marries her. One night Sadoc is detained in the forest, having been wounded in a boar-hunt, and Nabusardan, taking advantage of his absence, ravishes his wife. Sadoc is brought home and during the period of his convalescence, observing Chelinde weeping, he finds out the wrong which she has suffered. He accordingly slays his brother and escapes with his wife in a ship but they are overtaken by a storm. An old man on board warns the pagan crew that the storm is due to the presence in the ship of some one who has committed a crime.<sup>6</sup> One of the sailors, who is familiar with the arts of sorcery denounces Sadoc as the criminal and they throw him (Sadoc) overboard. He swims, however, to a rock in the sea which is inhabited by a hermit, once a knight of the Round Table. Sadoc lives here three years, supported mainly by bread which heathen sailors leave him in passing. They will not remove him from the rock, however, because he is a Christian.

To return to Chelinde: The day after the storm she was landed in Cornwall, and there, still grieving for Sadoc, against her own wishes she was forced to marry Thanor, the pagan King of Cornwall. The King has a prophetic dream—namely, that he is killed by a lion whilst he is pursuing a leopard, which is also killed by the lion. He seeks an interpretation of the dream from a magician who was a descendant of Virgil. The magician tells him that the dream means that he is to be slain by a son of Chelinde, and that the leopard represents Sadoc, who is not really dead. Accordingly, when Chelinde gives birth to a son shortly afterwards, the King takes it out into the forest himself and exposes it to die, but Madule,

<sup>6</sup> For this Jonah *motif* Professor G. L. Hamilton refers me to the similar passage in Thomas' *Tristan*, I, 38, ed. J. Bédier, Paris, 1902. Cp. also Bédier, *ibid.*, note 1. There is a misprint, however, in his reference to R. Koehler. It should read: K. Warnke's *Lais de Marie de France*, 2d ed., pp. cli ff.

wife of a knight named Nicorant, follows the King secretly and saves the life of the boy. With the consent of her husband she brings him up as her own son and they give him the name of Apollo.

One day Thanor comes upon Pelyas, sovereign of the neighboring kingdom of Leonois, in a forest where the latter had lost his way, following a stag. He takes him home and that night gives him a bed in the chamber which he and his wife are occupying. It is a hot night and Thanor rises after a while and goes to the window where he converses with a chamberlain. Pelyas attacks them with his sword. Thanor, in his fright, falls out of the window into the sea. Pelyas, however, slays the chamberlain, throws him into the sea, and then gets into bed with Chelinde, who had been asleep during the fighting and now imagines that this is her husband. Before day Pelyas makes his escape to his own kingdom, taking a ring from Chelinde's finger with him. In the meanwhile, Thanor had been rescued by two fishermen, who leave him on the coast of Leonois. There two knights who recognize him as King of Cornwall shut him up in a fortress, and when Pelyas, imagining that Thanor was dead, declared war on Cornwall to get possession of Chelinde, they tell him of what had happened. Thereupon Pelyas binds them over to secrecy, being ashamed of his own ingratitude towards the man who had befriended him.

In Cornwall, the queen is now imprisoned on the charge of having been the cause of the chamberlain's death and the disappearance of the King. Palades, a brother of Thanor, consults a wise man concerning the affair and on his advice sends for Sadoc. Learning from this same wise man the true history of the matter, Sadoc accuses Pelyas before the King of Gaul, who is at this time the suzerain of both Cornwall and Leonois. In the trial by combat which follows Sadoc vanquishes Pelyas, but spares his life on condition that he will set Thanor free and stop the war.

Notwithstanding that he owes his liberty to him, Thanor is afraid of Sadoc, so the latter leaves Cornwall for Leonois. King Pelyas hears of his presence there and is anxious to show his gratitude to him for having spared his life. On his arrival in Leonois, Sadoc goes to the city of Albine and spends the night in a temple. As it happens, another man has taken refuge in the temple the same

night, after having killed his wife and her lover, whom he had discovered together. The men who come to seize the murderer get hold of Sadoc by mistake and he offers no resistance, since he thinks that Pelyas is merely avenging himself on him for the liberation of Thanor. According to the custom of the country he has to stand on a platform in the public view for three days and three nights before the date of the execution. Pelyas sees him there and would like to deliver him, but the laws of Leonois do not allow this privilege even to the King, although where there are two criminals condemned to die, he has the right to pardon one of them. When Luce, the son of Pelyas, learns of his father's distress at the approaching execution of Sadoc, he takes matters in his own hands, goes off and kills the father of the murdered man at whose instance Sadoc had been arrested, and joins the latter on the platform for criminals. Pelyas now can pardon either his own son or Sadoc, but gratitude to the man who had spared his own life carries the day over even parental affection and it is Sadoc that he pardons. Luce is taken out to the rock from which condemned criminals are thrown, but in passing through a forest on the way thither the party is attacked by a giant, who carries off Luce to his den and compels him there to marry his daughter.

Pelyas is still in love with Chelinde and eager to get possession of her, and Sadoc, who does not yet know her real identity, offers to aid him in fulfilling his desire. He succeeds in capturing her, whilst she is taking part in a hunt, and one of his men bears her off to Pelyas, who marries her forthwith. A recognition, however, now takes place between Sadoc and Chelinde and they are determined to escape from Pelyas; so Sadoc goes to the King and begs him for some recompense for his great services. Pelyas imprudently promises anything he desires. Great is his astonishment when Sadoc demands Chelinde herself, as his reward,<sup>7</sup> but he is bound by his promise and surrenders her accordingly, whereupon the re-united couple fly from the land without delay. They soon fall into the hands, however, of the giant who had already captured Luce, and have to answer correctly a riddle, very much like the

<sup>7</sup> This incident, as Prof. G. L. Hamilton suggests to me, is, no doubt, an imitation of Thomas' *Tristan*, I, 170, ed. J. Bédier, Paris, 1902. The Irish harper thus wins Iseult. Cp. too Bédier, *ibid.*, p. 168, note 1.

famous one in Apollonius of Tyre, or be killed on the spot. But Sadoc is successful in his solution and so the giant merely carries Chelinde and himself off to his cave.

Sometime after this Pelyas encounters this same giant in the forest and they have also a riddle-match with life as the stake. Pelyas solves the riddle proposed to him by the giant, but the giant would have failed, if Sadoc had not come to his assistance. As a reward for this service, the giant sets Sadoc and Chelinde free, but keeps Pelyas captive, because, as he says, he likes such intelligent men as companions. Sadoc and Chelinde now make their way to a castle owned by an enchanter and there they remain fifteen years and more.

During the course of these years Apollo, the son of Sadoc and Chelinde, had grown up at King Thanor's Court and had distinguished himself by his bravery. One day, however, he imprudently lets Thanor know the story of his birth and the King, seeing that Nicorant and his wife had defeated his design in exposing Chelinde's infant child, kills Nicorant at the first opportunity. Apollo is under too great obligations to the King to revenge his foster-father, so he merely leaves the country. He too meets now the riddle-proposing giant and they have a match similar to those already related. Apollo answers the giant's riddle correctly, but the latter is non-plussed by Apollo's. Very naturally Pelyas refuses to aid his captor, so the giant loses his life as the stake and all parties return to the castle of King Pelyas.

Pelyas now renews the war with Thanor but is soon killed in battle, whereupon peace is declared. Quarrels between the surviving leaders break out afresh, however, and Thanor kills Sadoc and Luce, but is himself killed by Apollo, who succeeds Luce as King of Leonois. Being requested to marry by his subjects, Apollo selects the widow of King Thanor, not knowing that she is in reality his own mother.

About this time St. Augustine, the missionary, appears on the scene and reveals the true relation of Chelinde to Apollo. Chelinde denies his assertions furiously and intends to have him executed. The night before he is brought to the stake, Apollo has a dream which prefigures the terrible death which is awaiting his wife. On



the following day Chelinde makes St. Augustine mount the pyre, but the fire will not burn. Chelinde, however, is struck dead on the spot by a thunderbolt.

The impression of intricacy which the above narrative makes on the reader is due to the fact that the romance-writer, exceeding the measure of even the Elizabethan dramatists, has interwoven here at least four originally separate stories. Apollo's share in these transactions is, of course, in all essentials, taken directly from the legend of Oedipus. In so far as her fate is connected with his, Chelinde manifestly plays the role of Jocasta, and even Tiresias has his counterpart in St. Augustine. On the other hand, the episode of Sadoc's arrest by mistake, his exposure on the public platform before the proposed execution, the sacrifice which the son of Pelyas makes to save him, is derived either from *Athis et Prophilias* or from some other form of the well-known oriental story on which the most interesting part of that romance is based—only in its original form the person who pays a debt of gratitude by offering himself in the place of the condemned man is not the son of the King but the King himself, who, it may be remarked, is a lover of the wife of the condemned man, just as Pelyas here is a lover of Chelinde. The giant who proposes the riddles with life as the stake is so well known in fairy tales that we need not linger over his share in the narrative. Now, if we deduct these elements from the story of Chelinde, everything else in it can be derived from the source which is the especial subject of this paper—the story, namely, which forms the basis of the Seventh Novel of the Second Day of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.<sup>8</sup> This story may be outlined as follows:

The Sultan of Babylon has been aided in a war by the King of Garbo (Algarve) and in gratitude gives him in marriage his beautiful daughter, Alatiel. He sends her to her intended husband with a large retinue by sea, but she is shipwrecked on the island of Majolica and here on the sea-coast she is found by a nobleman with only a few of her attendant women still alive. This nobleman, Pericon da Visalga, takes her home and soon falls in love with her, although he is unable to communicate with her, owing to the difference of their languages. For a time she repels all of his

<sup>8</sup> See *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, I, 181 ff. (17 vols., Firenze, 1827-34).

advances, but he prepares a feast and having got her under the influence of wine achieves his desire. After this they live together for some time. Pericon has a brother, however, named Marato, who also falls in love with Alatiel and determines to get possession of her. So one night he slays Pericon and carries off the princess on a ship. At first she laments this change in her fortunes bitterly, but finally becomes reconciled to it. Two of the officers of the ship, however, succumb to the influence of her beauty and agree to despatch Marato, which they accomplish by shoving him overboard one day as he stands looking out to sea, unsuspecting of danger. The murderers now fall out over their prize and one of them kills the other, being at the same time severely wounded himself. He lands, however, safely at Chiarenza in the Morea and takes Alatiel with him to an inn in the city. The news of her extraordinary beauty comes to the ears of the prince of the Morea and he takes possession of her and lives with her as his wife. A friend and relative, however, of the prince of Morea—namely the Duke of Athens—hears of his cousin's good fortune and comes to see the wonderful princess. He too falls desperately in love with her, like everyone else, and plans to murder his relative and carry off Alatiel. Accordingly, he engages the assistance of the prince's chamberlain and is hidden along with a companion in his cousin's bedchamber one night. The night being hot, the prince rises and goes to the window overlooking the sea, to get the breeze. The Duke comes upon him unobserved, runs his sword through him and throws his body out of the window, where it remains undiscovered for several days among some ruined houses on the seashore below. At the same time, his companion, carries out the part in the plot assigned him and treacherously slays the chamberlain, so as to remove the only witness of the murder besides his master and himself. Alatiel has slept through the whole affair, so that when the Duke gets into bed with her, she thinks that it is her husband. Before morning, however, he takes her off to his own country, establishing her in a villa on the sea, some distance from Athens. Having already a wife, he is afraid to bring Alatiel to the capital itself. Later on a brother of this wife falls in love with the fair stranger and, under pretext of revenging the wrong done his sister, seizes her and

carries her away. Even after this still other adventures await the heroine of the tale and altogether she passes through the hands of nine men before she is finally restored to her father. The resemblance of the story of Chelinde however, ceases with the episode of the Duke of Athens. At this point in the prose *Tristan* the influence of *Athis et Prophlias*<sup>9</sup> sets in. Suffice it to say, that on the advice of an old retainer of the family, Alatiel in Boccaccio's tale conceals from her father the extraordinary series of adventures of which she has been the victim and relates, instead, that the four years of her absence she had spent in a nunnery. She is now again sent to the King of Garbo but with better success, and he receives her as his bride without the least suspicion that he is not her first lover. The cynical humor of this conclusion, which has nothing corresponding to it in the *Tristan* episode, would seem to stamp it as the invention of Boccaccio.

Despite differences between the two stories which are too obvious to need pointing out, the truth of the assertion which I made above is, I believe, sufficiently manifest. Take away the elements derived from *Athis et Prophlias*, the legend of Oedipus and the riddle-proposing giant of the fairy-tales<sup>10</sup> and we have as the basis of the episode of the prose *Tristan* substantially the tale of the *Decameron*. Let us enumerate the points which the two stories have in common:

A pagan princess, the daughter of the ruler of Babylon, is betrothed to another pagan monarch and is sent to him by sea. She is shipwrecked, however, on an island before she reaches her destination. She is found in an exhausted condition on the sea-coast by a nobleman who takes her home to a castle and lives with her as his wife. (In the *Tristan*, the castle is his own; in Boccaccio it is his brother's.) Here the finder's brother falls in love with her and there is a fatal conflict between them over her. (In the *Tristan* the brother is slain, in Boccaccio, the finder.) The survivor flies with

<sup>9</sup> Boccaccio has himself elsewhere used the *Athis et Prophlias*—in *Decameron*, X, 8. Cp. Pio Rajna, *Fonti dell 'Orlando Furioso*, p. 601, 2d ed., Firenze, 1900.

<sup>10</sup> The influence of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (to which we have allusions in the first paragraphs of the prose *Tristan*) may be responsible for Sadoc's life on the rock. Cp. H. O. Sommer's edition of that romance, p. 89. Washington, 1909.

her by sea, but members of the crew (for different reasons in the two stories) throw him overboard. (In the *Tristan* he swims to safety, in Boccaccio he is drowned.) When she comes to land, she is forced to marry the ruler of the country in which she lands. A friend of this ruler, however, determines to get possession of her, and to do so, carries into execution a plot, which is identical in the two stories in almost every detail. The only differences are: first, that the chamberlain, although in both versions, he loses his life as a consequence of the plot, does not conspire against his master in the *Tristan*; secondly, that in the *Tristan* the victim of the plot is not killed, when precipitated from the window. After this episode, as has already been remarked, Boccaccio and the *Tristan* diverge. What, now, are the relations of Boccaccio and the Old French romance with respect to this story? If there is any borrowing in the case, Boccaccio, of course, must be the borrower, for the *Tristan* is a work of the thirteenth century<sup>11</sup> and the life of the great Italian fell wholly in the fourteenth century. I will say at once that I do not believe that Boccaccio derived his tale from the prose *Tristan*. It seems incredible that he should have selected from the long narrative of Chelinde's adventure in that romance just these incidents as the basis of a separate tale. On the other hand, there can be no reasonable doubt that the author of the prose *Tristan* derived the incidents we are considering, as he has everything else in the episode, from some earlier source. If this is so, the two writers evidently drew from a common source, which, as far as I am aware, is no longer in existence. Indeed, this *Tristan* episode is the only close analogue to Boccaccio's masterpiece which has yet been pointed out.<sup>12</sup> The story of Antheia in the *Ephesiaca*<sup>13</sup> of the Greek

<sup>11</sup> E. Löseth, p. xxiv, puts it between 1215 and 1230. Boccaccio lived 1313-1375.

<sup>12</sup> For the literature relating to the sources of this tale see A. C. Lee, *The Decameron, its sources and analogues*, pp. 36-8, London, 1909. The opinion of Lami there cited, that Boccaccio's tale was based on incidents that actually occurred between 1315 and 1320 is, of course, untenable in view of the connection between this tale and the prose *Tristan*—a thirteenth century work. E. Du Ménil, *Histoire de la Poésie Scandinave*, p. 346, note 1, Paris, 1839, follows Lami.

I may add that I have followed up all the clues furnished by Lee's references, but none of the stories he cites, as it seems to me, resembles Boccaccio's except in a very general way.

<sup>13</sup> See the edition in *Erotici Scriptores*, pp. 183 ff., Paris, 1856.

novelist, Xenophon, which was once regarded as constituting Boccaccio's source for this tale—so even by Landau<sup>14</sup>—bears really only a very general resemblance to that of Alatiel. The individual adventures are different, and, besides, the heroine of the Greek romance preserves her chastity throughout. What I have said of the *Ephesiaca* applies also to the other analogues, that have been suggested.<sup>15</sup>

With the materials at hand, it is, perhaps, impossible to reconstruct the original story. It is safe to say, however, that the sensuality and cynical humour which characterize the tale in the *Decameron* were introduced by Boccaccio and the number of lovers through whose hands the heroine passes—nine in all—is probably due (although this is not certain) to these qualities of the Italian author. In the *Tristan* the number is five, but in the cases of Sadoc, Thanor and Pelyas there are two periods of cohabitation each, so that by the substitution of entirely new characters it would be easy to make the number eight. In the later incidents, in regard to which the two stories are different, Boccaccio is more likely to be nearer the original, since, as we have seen, the influence of *Athis et Prophilias* here begins to affect the narrative in the prose *Tristan*. He may well have invented, however, some of these later incidents. The same uncertainty must hang over any discussion as to which of the two versions represents the original story most correctly in the divergences which they exhibit with respect to that part of the narrative where in the main they agree. For instance, the part played by the philosophers or astrologers in the prose *Tristan* may

<sup>14</sup> Cp. Marcus Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 296, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1884. Some earlier scholars, however, had already rejected this view; see Lee, p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> See Lee, loc. cit. Most of the stories cited by Lee are hardly parallel at all, e. g., that of *L'abbesse qui fut grosse*—which, besides, as Prof. G. L. Hamilton justly observes, is not a *fabliau* but a *miracle de Notre Dame*. For literature of this particular story see Toldo in Herrig's *Archiv*, vol. 118, pp. 74 ff. I have no doubt that the common source which I have assumed above for Boccaccio and the *Tristan* episode was of oriental origin. In both the heroine is oriental and the story starts from the East. The author of the *Tristan* brings this heroine to England, obviously to connect her with the story of Tristan. In Boccaccio the action is kept in the East (including the eastern Mediterranean). Moreover the stories cited by Lee which show similar *motifs* to Boccaccio (none of them, to be sure, very close) are all oriental.

have belonged to the original story and have been rejected by Boccaccio in accordance with his customary rationalistic spirit, or, on the other hand, this feature of the *Tristan* may have been due to the influence of innumerable similar incidents in mediaeval stories.<sup>18</sup> To say that it reads as if it were original is merely to state a subjective impression, which has nothing of the nature of proof. In view of the uncertainties of the problem, I think it best not to pursue this line of discussion any further.

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

<sup>18</sup> It is worthy of notice, perhaps, that in the prose *Tristan* no use is made of the ring which Pelyas drew from Chelinde's finger (p. 6). It would seem that this ought to have played a part subsequently in some recognition scene. Have we here a detail which was so used in the original story? Professor G. L. Hamilton has called my attention to the *Conte del Graal*, ll. 530 ff. (where Perceval's mother, among other things that a knight should do, bids her son always take a ring from a lady, if he can) as proof that this detail need not involve a subsequent recognition scene. He is probably right, although the situation implied there is hardly parallel to the one in our text. On the other hand, in certain works containing passages that show a close resemblance to the incident in our romance, the ring obtained under these circumstances does lead up to recognition scenes. So in Terence's *Hecyra* (cp. ll. 839 ff.), Pamphilus, after violating Philumena in the dark, takes a ring from her which serves in the end to bring about a recognition. Similarly the jewels in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, III, 9, and its derivatives. Cp. Lee's notes, pp. 101 ff., to this tale. See also the newly discovered fragments of Menander's *Epitrepontes*, ll. 657 ff. —*Four Plays of Menander*, p. 126, ed. Edward Capps, Boston, 1910—and the story of Heracles and Auge, cited by Capps, p. 126, note. In these last cases, the hero leaves a ring with the woman.

## BARTHELEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

*(Continued from page 289)*

### VI

ALTHOUGH engaged in much literary work at this time, Aneau did not neglect his teaching. From the time that he assumed the chair of principal, Fortune seemed to smile upon the Collège de la Trinité. The Consulate took greater interest in its welfare, and granted without hesitation the requests made by the beloved principal. But unfortunately, success has even its disadvantages; and amongst those that beset this institution is one that demands our attention for a moment.

The reputation of Lyons as the city of enlightenment, the great book-centre of Europe, the home of the most progressive and learned of scholars, had made of it the Mecca of all those of more or less pronounced liberal views. And with their arrival, there arose in profusion private schools in which oftentimes heterodox doctrines were taught. It is true that many of these institutions already existed in Lyons at the time when the Collège de la Trinité was founded: in fact one of its principals, Claude de Cublize, was called from the Ecole de la Bombarde: but with the accession of Aneau their number rapidly increased. The persecuted humanists felt without doubt that a city which would protect a man, known to possess liberal ideas, in the face of a most conservative and inflexible clergy—that such a city would afford them perhaps a shelter from the storm that was impending. But their presence unfortunately menaced the interests of the college: their teachings were certainly not in harmony with the firmly established tenets of the Catholic faith; and the more austere dignitaries of the church hastened to take advantage of this opportunity to emphasize the peril to which the city was exposed by not placing the college under their immediate supervision. All of which tended to cloy Aneau with the radical doctrines emanating from Geneva.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A former professor of the Collège de la Trinité, Jean Pelisson, who was at this time principal of the Collège de Tournon, complained bitterly of these

Furthermore, the Collège de la Trinité, unlike the Collège de Tournon—which was endowed by the Cardinal de Tournon mainly for the instruction of scions of noble families—was dependent, to a large extent, upon the support of the general public, inasmuch as many, if not the majority, of its students were from the poorer classes. If then a part of this support were not forthcoming, these pupils would be the first to suffer, and the main purpose of the founders of the college would be defeated. We can therefore understand why the Echevins of Lyons were so anxious to suppress these mushroom institutions. So on the 22nd of March, 1540/1, at the request no doubt of the authorities of the Collège de la Trinité, the following resolution was passed by the Consulate:

“Pource que plusieurs petites escolles se mectent sus parmy ceste ville pour les jeunes enfans au détriment du colliege nouvellement érigé en ceste ville, grant et manifique, qui a esté grans deniers à bastir, il a esté mys en termes de obtenir lectres pour abolir lesd. petites escolles, mais par faulte de nombre n’y a esté autrement ordonné.”<sup>2</sup>

In 1540, after Aneau had submitted his formulary, the Consulate granted him, according to the established custom, a lease of the college for three years. But before it expired in June, 1543, it was renewed, this time for six years with an annual salary of one hundred *livres*. The Echevins were aware that they had finally secured a man especially fitted for this position, one who commanded the love and respect of his students and who was learned enough to exert a marked influence upon his fellow citizens. Accordingly in 1544, we find that the city authorities paid to

“Mre Barthelemy Aneau, principal régent du colleige de la Trinité dudict Lyon, la somme de cent livres tourn., à luy ordonnée par led. consulat durant six années, commençant au jour Saint Jehan Bapte. mil Vc XLIII, desquelles six années ceste est la IIe *gens pestilentieux*. “Pires encore,” he writes, “estoint les pédagogues qui, de tous costés, venoient se loger à Tournon, pour le grand bruit du collège, comme envoyés de Genève, et qui avoient tant fait par leurs simulations et dissimulations sataniques, qu’ils avoient gagné des plus grosses et des plus riches maisons en tous estats de ces pays, et en emmenoient les enfans d’icelles audit Tournon pour être enseignés audit collège.” Cf. my article on *Jean Pelisson de Condrieu* in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1910, pp. 113–125.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives communales de Lyon, Actes Consulaires*, BB 58, fo. 148 vo.



payée, affin que led. principal se puisse mieulx entretenir et donner bonne instruction et enseignement aux enfans estans aud. colliege.”<sup>8</sup>

This may appear to be a remarkably small salary for a man of the reputation of Aneau, but when we remember that the tuition exacted from each student amounted to *deux sols six deniers* a month, or that a round trip from Lyons to Mâcon cost less than a franc,<sup>4</sup> we can readily see how great was the purchasing power of money at that period. In addition to his salary, Aneau had at his disposal the tuition paid by the students; and as it is reasonable to suppose that the attendance at the Collège de la Trinité was not inferior to that of the sister institution at Tournon (*i. e.*, from 1200 to 1600 pupils), his total income was indeed quite comfortable.<sup>5</sup> But out of this, of course, he had to pay his regents: it was partly through them that the college acquired its reputation which attracted so many students. Realizing that the more scholarly the regent, the more he would add to the fame of the institution, Aneau sought the best men he could possibly obtain. We can

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, CC 956, fo. 89, “Compte des deniers communs, 1544.” On the 3rd of July, 1544, this act was ratified: “Passé mandement à maistre Barthélemy Agneau, principal du colliege de la Trinité, de la somme de cent livres tournois à luy ordonnez par forme d’avance pour faire ses provisions pour l’entretènement dudict colliege sur ses gaiges ordinaires de cent livres tournois à luy accordez pour sa retenue et bail dudict colliege, et pour ceste présente année qui fynira à la feste Saint Jehan Baptiste mil cinq cens quarante cinq.” *Actes consulaires*, BB 61, fo. 342. The order for the payment of this sum in 1545 is thus conceived: “A mre. Barthélemy Aneau, recteur et principal du colliege de la Trinité érigé nouvellement en lad. ville, la somme de cent livres tourn., à luy ordonnée par forme d’avance pour ses gaiges ordinaires de semblable somme qui luy furent accordez à sa retenue lors qu’il fut mys principal et se chargea dud. colliege, et ce pour la troiziesme année qui finyra à la feste St. Jehan Baptiste prouchain venant. Et laquelle advance luy a esté faite par cy devant pour faire les provisions nécessaires pour l’entretènement dud. colliege.” *Ibid.*, CC 963, 1545.

<sup>4</sup> Demogeot says that (in 1540) 13 *sous 2 deniers* were equivalent to 41 *livres de pain blanc*. In 1838 that amount of bread was worth 7 francs. Cf. *Lyon Ancien et Moderne*, Lyons, 1838, p. 412. Du Verger and Canappe, two former principals of this college, received 40 and 60 francs a year respectively. Cf. my article on the *Collège de la Trinité*, *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1909, pp. 140, 149, etc. Jean Pelisson was paid a salary of *deux cens livres tournois* a year to act as principal of the Collège de Tournon, but apparently had no right to the tuition. Cf. my article on *Jean Pelisson*, *ibid.*, 1910.

<sup>5</sup> The Consulate reserved also quarters in the college buildings for the principal and his regents, so that they would have no rent to pay.

easily understand then why he was able to keep in the Collège de la Trinité such capable men as the poets Charles Fontaine and Christofle Milieu, and the well-known Scotch humanist Florent Wilson (latinised as *Volusenus*), who were his regents at this time.<sup>6</sup>

We have already noted that, in the formulary of 1540, Aneau made provision for a *dispenseur ou proviseur* and a cook who were to attend to the nourishment of the pupils of the college. Not realizing perhaps that there would be any important increase in the number of *pensionnaires*, or boarding-pupils, he made no mention of where or how the bread was to be obtained. He was depending without doubt upon the *four banal ou communal*, where the inhabitants of the section of the city in which it was located were accustomed to secure their bread. But he soon found that along with the larger enrolment of *pensionnaires*, there was a great increase in the number of *martinets*, or day-pupils, who took at least one meal a day in the refectory of the college.<sup>7</sup> It was obviously difficult for the *four banal* to satisfy this sudden influx of keen appetites; and therefore Aneau was forced to make a complaint to the Consulate. In order to relieve this unfortunate state of affairs, the Echevins ordered, on the 13th of September, 1544, "faire un four au colliege de la Trinité pour cuyre le pain dudict colliege et non pour autres."<sup>8</sup> At the same time they thought it opportune, in accordance with the request of the principal, to make all necessary repairs on the college buildings. Early in 1545, this work was completed, and the Consulate paid to

"Mathieu Penet, dict Michelet, maçon, la somme de cinquante neuf livres tourn . . . tant pour ung fourt par luy fait au colliege de la Trinité pour cuyre le pain nécessaire pour la nourriture du Mre. régent et pensionnaires dud. colliege . . . que pour certaines autres reparations faictes en icelluy colliege pour l'utilité d'icelluy."<sup>9</sup>

The Echevins, however, were not the only ones interested in the

<sup>6</sup> For Charles Fontaine, cf. the scholarly dissertation of Dr. R. L. Hawkins of Harvard University, in the Harvard library. I shall treat Milieu and Wilson in another place.

<sup>7</sup> According to Demogeot (*op. cit.*, p. 411) the college was only an *externat* at first, but after 1536, the number of classes was increased and buildings were constructed for the *demeurance des commensaux*.

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. Com.* BB 63, fo. 85.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, CC 963.

success of the college. The Confrérie de la Trinité had watched its growth and development with much solicitude ever since it was deeded to the city in 1527. Numerous largesses were made by this benevolent society to the city institution for the benefit of the children of the indigent *confrères*. Among the most important of these gifts was the one of 60 *livres* made in the year 1544, which was continued for three years. This was but another indication of the esteem in which Aneau was held by his fellow citizens. According to this interesting document, which deserves to be quoted in full, in

“L’an mil cinq cens quarante quatre, estans corriers les sires Phelippes Seneton, Arnault Arconsy, Adam Rael, Guillaume Regnault, Pierre Maistre, Pierre Seue, et Christofle Rauasse, sur la requeste faicte par plusieurs paouures confrères de la Sainte Trinité, et auoir ouy l’aduis de plusieurs notables confrères de lad. confrarie, fut ordonné que des deniers de ladicte confrarie seroit baillé à Maistre Barthelemy Aneau, recteur du colliege de la Trinité, la somme de soixante liures tourn. pour enseigner aux lectres les paouures enfans des paouures confrères d’icelle confrarie qui n’ont de quoy paier le maistre. Lesquelz paouures enfans seront enuoyez par messieurs les corriers de lad. confrarie qui se enquerront diligemment; et desquelz paouures enfans sera par ledict recteur faict vng rolle affin de les recognoistre quant besoing sera. Et pour l’année commancée à la feste de la Trinité, mil cinq cens quarante quatre, et finissant à la feste de la Sainte Trinité de l’an mil cinq cens quarante cinq, fut ordonné qu’il seroit auancé audict recteur, la somme de soixante liures tourn., et a esté continué le paiement de ladicte somme par trois ans, et jusques l’on cogneust que pour raison de ladicte somme n’estoit faict aucune gratuité aux enfans desdictz paouures confrères.”<sup>10</sup>

It was during this same year (1544), that Christofle Milieu (*Mylaeus*), one of the professors of the Collège de la Trinité, was preparing his well-known commentary on the origins of the city of Lyons, which consists mainly of citations from various classical and other historians.<sup>11</sup> Realizing that his work would have greater

<sup>10</sup> *Registre de la confrérie de la Sainte-Trinité*, fo. 46, *Bibl. de Lyon*, ms. 355 (3056). For Seneton, cf. my article on the *Collège de la Trinité*, *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1909, p. 148. Pierre Seue is, without doubt, the *échevin* of that year. Cf. my article on the *Family of Maurice Scève*, *Mod. Lang. Publications*, 1909, p. 474. For the above document, cf. also Guigue, *Le Livre des Confrères de la Trinité*, Lyons, 1898, p. 54.

<sup>11</sup> *De Primordiis claris-/simae vr-/bis/Lugduni/Commen-/tari-/vs./ . . . Lugduni apud Seb./Gryphium./M. D. XLV./4to., 39 pp., Bibl. nat. L7k4325. In*

chance of meeting with the favor of the public if the name of a prominent scholar were connected with it, Milieu requested Aneau to prepare the dedicatory verses which would show that he gave it his approval. Yielding to the author's request Aneau composed the following quatrain which is addressed to the city of Lyons (verso of title-page) :

En tibi imago tui, Lugdunum, *γνώθι σεαυτὸν*  
 Quale olim fueris, quale sies hodie.  
 Olim doctrinae praestantis alumna: uideto  
 Ne sit ab antiquo degenerare pudor.

Early in the following year (1545), the kind-hearted principal, ever solicitous of the comfort of his pupils, made a petition to the Consulate, which was granted forthwith. The stone pavements of the class-rooms afforded great discomfort, especially to the little children, during the winter. Accordingly, Aneau requested the Echevins to have them covered with wood (*i. e., poster or plancheier*) ; and, on the fifteenth of January, 1544/5, it was resolved by the Consulate that

"des depostz et boys appartenant à ladicte ville et qui sont restées (*sic*) des boulevards et autres bastimens, l'on fera poster les classes du colliege de la Trinité qui sont pavées de pierres et rendent grand froydeur aux petis enfans."<sup>12</sup>

But before the end of January, 1545, the plague began to ravage the city. It was therefore absolutely necessary to close the doors of the college. So on the 27th of February, an order to that effect was passed by the Consulate, "pour le regard des martinets qui vont et reviennent audit collège; et quant aux pensionnaires, on les tiendra serrés aud. collège jusqu'à la feste de Pâques, et jusqu'à nouvel ordre."<sup>13</sup>

this copy, the following note, written in an eighteenth century hand, is attached to one of the pages: "Le 7e 7bre. 1761 j'ay preté à Mr. Tolozan avocat du Roy pour huit jours, les deux pièces suivantes: 1°, le Traitté fait par les échevins de Lyon avec Barthel. Aneau, de Bourges, pour le Collège de la Trinité, 1558; 2°, le contrat de fondation dud. collège par Mrs. les coners. et échevins de Lyon au profit des PP. jésuites du 14e. 7bre. 1567. On me les a rendus, et ils sont dans une liasse avec d'autres papiers concernant le collège. Ce 9e. Xbre. 1763."

<sup>12</sup> *Actes consulaires*, BB 63, fo. III.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. also Péricaud, *Notes et Documents*, Lyons, 1838. According to Ducange, a martinet is an *écolier vagabond*, that is, an *externe*.

This untoward event, it seems, had a rather depressing effect upon the college. Many of its pupils were diverted to the Collège de Tournon and other neighboring institutions. And from this time on, it appears that Aneau was more and more dissatisfied with his position. His petitions to the Consulate for assistance now become more numerous. The upshot of it all was his resignation, which, as we shall see, was due principally to lack of funds to run the college satisfactorily. But before undertaking the subsequent history of the institution, let us return for a moment to consider the literary work accomplished by Aneau up to this time.

## VII

It is only in recent years that we have begun to understand the real purport of the Renaissance in France. Formerly many of the most vital problems which taxed the ingenuity of the humanists were almost entirely overlooked. Ideas which were once supposed to be the essential product of this great movement are now known to have either antedated its inception or to have occupied a place of secondary importance. Thus it was believed for years that Ronsard and Du Bellay were the first to reveal "la belle antiquité" to the educated inhabitants of France. "Quant à la littérature latine," says M. V. Le Clerc, "peu s'en fallait qu'on ne l'eût déjà au XIVe siècle, telle que nous l'avons aujourd'hui. Ce mot trop légèrement employé de renaissance des lettres ne saurait s'appliquer aux lettres latines: elles n'ont pas ressuscité parce qu'elles n'étaient point mortes."<sup>14</sup> We know that the rhetorical school of poetry, which flourished toward the close of the Fifteenth Century, was well acquainted with all the Latin authors of the Golden Age. What the Renaissance taught literary France was a greater appreciation of the masterpieces of Latin literature.

Furthermore, it was also maintained that the main purpose of literary criticism during the Renaissance was the justification of poetry. Nevertheless the attitude of the *Grands Rhétoriciens*, for example, differed *au fond* but slightly from that of the Pléiade and

<sup>14</sup> *Histoire litt. de la France*, XXIV, p. 326. For a study of the rôle of Latin literature during the reign of Charles VI, cf. A. Thomas, *De Joannis de Monsterolio vita et operibus*.

its followers. Jean Bouchet, a leading member of the rhetorical school, wrote as early as 1516 in his *Temple de bonne renommée* (ff. XLVIII vo. and XLIX ro.) that under the art of poetry,

"qui est de tres hault priz  
Plusieurs sauoirs y sont souuent compriz  
Cest assauoir science historialle  
La naturelle et aussi la morale  
Philosophie et lentropologie  
Geographie, et la philologie. . . ."

For Bouchet, says M. Hamon, "la poésie approche du divin; le travail du poète ressemble au travail de Dieu, lequel a *tout fait par compas*."<sup>15</sup> According to this *rhétoricien*, the poet should have, in addition to moral and other qualities, an almost universal knowledge. In solitude alone can he enter into communion with the muses. That such a man holds the highest place in the esteem of all worthy people is obvious from the fact that those who speak ill of him, "sont ignorants, ignares et menteurs."<sup>16</sup>

How closely this conception of the poet—though not so nobly expressed—approaches that of Ronsard! And yet Bouchet was not alone in holding to this ideal of poetry: his colleagues as well as his predecessors expounded the same doctrine.

In this as well as in many other respects, the Pléiade merely restated, in a more concise and forcible manner, ideas which, as Aneau points out in the *Quintil Horatian*, were already trite to many. A careful examination of its numerous phases shows that the Renaissance was after all a quite natural evolution that was slowly taking place. In the same manner Rousseau postulates doctrines that were advanced a half-century earlier by the Abbé de Saint-Pierre and his contemporaries.

If then the Renaissance does not represent, as we were formerly inclined to believe, a violent literary revolution, what, we may ask, was being added to the general development of culture at the time when Aneau was beginning to acquire a reputation as a *littérateur*—in other words, during the years immediately preceding the publication of the *Deffence et Illustration* of Du Bellay? We have already

<sup>15</sup> *Un Grand Rhétoricien Poitevin, Jean Bouchet, par A. Hamon*, Paris, 1901, p. 214.

<sup>16</sup> *Temple de bonne renommée*, fo. XLIX ro.

called attention to the importance attached by the younger generation to a more extensive use of the mother tongue.<sup>17</sup> Some ten years or more before the appearance of the Du Bellay's famous manifesto, a strong patriotic feeling for the national language was extending throughout the whole country. Such a movement would naturally attract the attention of a schoolmaster ever anxious to please his patrons, upon whom he was dependent to a great extent for his existence. But Aneau was in addition farsighted enough to realize that French would inevitably replace Latin in literature as well as in fields of erudition. So he was quick to take advantage of the opportunity afforded him, and sought at once to stimulate the use of French amongst the pupils of the city institution, which was naturally far more in touch with actual life than any religious school could possibly be. But to attain this end, it was necessary to have text-books in French; and as they were all written in Latin, translations would have to be made. In his formulary, Aneau stated that *bon lionnois* was preferable to *mauvays et barbare latin*, and he realized also without doubt that the pupil could more easily and accurately acquire Latin after he had thoroughly mastered his native tongue.

But in the accomplishment of this task, Aneau was aware that he would expose himself to severe criticism. On the one hand, the pedants and scholiasts insisted upon a line of demarcation between themselves and the uninitiated, and would ridicule any effort to place the classics within the reach of the general public. On the other, the dignitaries of the church, fearing a decrease in the number of students in the clerical institutions as a result of such a movement—which might also entail a decline in benefits—viewed with suspicion the productions of these unselfish humanists.

Furthermore, it was not an easy matter to secure capable men willing to sacrifice themselves in an undertaking so greatly disdained. No one cared to lay himself open to the accusation of being unable to write Latin—an unpardonable sin in the eyes of the schoolmen. Even the bellicose Peletier du Mans was finally forced to yield to criticism and write his mathematical works in Latin. So the only way open was for Aneau to do the work himself; and he

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the formulary of Aneau, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, p. 203.

was willing to weather the storm. He became thereby one of the pioneers in this field, in which he was excelled by few, if any, of his contemporaries. And this method of instruction proved so successful that in 1558, Jean François de Gabiano, a Lyonnese printer, proudly stated in the preface of a small French-Latin dictionary that "avons imprimé cetuy petit dictionnaire des mots françois tournez en latin à la requeste de Maistre Barthelemy Aneau."<sup>18</sup>

In the selection of texts for translation, Aneau was guided by the value of the moral or political ideas which they contained. He preferred, of course, the classical authors, but, when necessary, he did not hesitate to turn to the great Latinists of contemporary date—to Erasmus, Thomas Morus, Alciat, Gesner, and others, who treated questions more in sympathy with the spirit of the times. Aneau's aim in education was to develop intelligent, moral men who would devote themselves to the uplifting of humanity; and few more beautiful examples could be found than those just mentioned.

While accomplishing his task, Aneau had to overcome a great difficulty—that of rendering the carefully polished Latin phrase in the rough and unstable French of the early sixteenth century. He realized that any attempt to rival the prose of the original was utterly impossible. At first, his aim was very modest: he sought merely to make a careful literal translation. To justify such a rendition, he states, in a prefatory quatrain in the *Comedie ou Dialogue matrimonial*, that though Horace does not require it, he does not forbid it either:

En translatant, mot pour mot rendre, Horace  
N'oblige point, ne le deffend aussi.  
Qui le peut faire: en a il moins de grace?  
Si c'est mal faict, mal tourné suys ainsi (fo. Aii, ro.).

But a year later in the translation of the epistle of Cicero to Augustus, his intention is to make a freer version in a simple easy prose, exempt as far as possible from the over-ornamentation and verbosity to which translators, especially of verse, were then addicted. In a prefatory note to Mellin de Saint-Gelais (Dii, ro.), he writes as follows:

<sup>18</sup> Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VII, p. 198.



"Si d'adventure quelque fois ceste epistre venoit en vos mains, vous plais la receuoir à l'interinement de sa preuue, ou condemnation, comme son iuge: vous, qui en Eloquence et Poesie Francoise tant de vos predecesseurs hereditaire que nayue de vous mesme, entre les excellens de nostre temps heureux estes tres excellent. En laquelle tournant, j'ay fuy longs enuironnements (dicts periphrases) braues affectations, escorcheries, et mots enflez, et ay suyuy (sans eloigner la diction Rommaine) purité et propriété de la Francoise, et principalement le droict fil de parolle, selon l'ordre de nature: le quel la langue Latine mesle et entrelasse pour la collocation de ses membres, et la Francoise le suyct: et en est plus belle, plus naturelle, et plus aisée à estre entendue."

How clearly he foresees the possibilities of French prose! Is it astonishing that he was vexed at the pretentious phrases of Du Bellay, who, with the ardor of youth, claimed for the *Pléiade* the *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoise*? In the *Quintil Horatian*, Aneau wished to administer a rebuke to the ambitious young poets by showing that the way, in this field as well as in poetry, had already been blazed years before by modest and unassuming scholars.

Understanding Aneau's purpose in making these translations, it is well for us to examine more closely his works in order to see whether he was successful in the accomplishment of his task.

## VIII

The first of these two translations is the *Comédie ou dialogue matrimonial*,<sup>19</sup> which was intended to serve as an *exemplaire de paix en mariage*. The original work was by Erasmus—the *Uxor Memphigamos*, of which Aneau's rendition into French is *La femme mary plaignant*. The dedicatory preface is addressed to a well-

<sup>19</sup> *Comedie ou Dialogue matrimonial, Exemplaire de Paix en Mariage, extrait du devis d'Erasmus, trās/laté de Latin en Francoys: duquel/est le tiltre./ Uxor Memphigamos, C'est à dire:/La femme mary plaignant./ . . . /1541./ On les uend au Palais, en la gallerie par ou/on ua à la Chancellerie, es boutiques de Jehā/Longis, et Vincent Certenas libraires./* 8 vo. of 28 unnumbered leaves, italics, signed A-C by iiiii, D by iii, Bibl. nat., Rés. Yf 4354. Du Verdier I, 259; Catalogue Soleinne, I, no. 378; Brunet, II, 1041. It seems that this work was published simultaneously by Denys Janot, Paris, 1541, 8vo. of 28 unnumbered leaves, 22 lines to the page, signed A-C by 8, D by 4. According to M. Emile Picot, there was a copy of this edition in the library of M. le comte de Legnerolles, but I have not seen it.

known lawyer at Chalon-sur-Saône, Guillaume du Martheray, "à la requeste duquel fut tourné en françoys." "Petit livret," says the poet to his work,

"Petit liuret, asses rude tourné,  
 Tourne tes uers, uers Chalon fais un tour,  
 Tour ne scay plus, pour mieulx estre atourné,  
 Tourné, poly, à la plane, ou au tour  
 Autour de cil tien toy donq' (sans retour)  
 Qui te requist: et pour qui es en uoye  
 Si luy diras, l'Aneau tout rond m'enuoie  
 Par deuers uous (monsieur de Martheray)  
 Priant que l'oeil de uostre esprit m'enuoie,  
 Si ie uous plaist, à uous m'arresteray (fo. Aii, ro.)."

The numerous rhyming tricks with which these verses are strewn do not necessarily signify that the author is still an adherent of the school of Crétin. They should not be taken too seriously. Aneau is merely trying to secure the approbation of this distinguished lawyer, and has therefore adopted the usual form of the clever compliment, such as a Marot or a Mellin de Saint-Gelais would be inclined to write.

But when we turn to the *Prémonition au lecteur*, we find ourselves at once in the presence of the teacher and moralist. Aneau doubtless selected this work because he felt that it would benefit not only his pupils but especially their parents to whom he was so grateful for repeated favors. He states first that this dialogue "est fait à la doctrine tant des hommes, que des femmes ioinctz par le sacrement de mariage," for in such an interlocution "sont distinctement et abondamment escriptes les choses, lesquelles conuient l'une et l'autre partie cognoistre et souffrir, par mutuel amour et alterne patience pourtant (selon la parolle Apostolicque) la charge l'un de l'autre, duquel estat de mariage n'est nul plus beau ne plus saint." But we can only attain to this ideal "si l'amour des esperitz conioingt les corps." So in this dialogue are introduced "deux femmes parlantes"—and he adds slyly, "selon que bien est leur coustume"—"lesquelles sont de bien differente nature, et diuerses meurs." The character of each of these women is indicated by their names: the first one being called Eulalie, "nom de

femme uulgar aux Allemands, est interpretée de Grec en Francoys, bien parlante." The other, Xanthippe, "signifiant cheual roux, c'est à dire, beste de mauuais poil," was the wife of Socrates, known to history as a "femme querelleuse, de mal engin, et de ceste lignée italienne, laquelle porte le surnom de *malatesta*."

Next comes the translation of the dialogue (fo. Aiii), of which the fundamental idea is, as we may surmise, that a wife can manage her husband more easily by anticipating his desires than by quarreling with him. Aneau follows too closely the text of Erasmus as his awkward and unimpressive rendition shows. He is apparently more preoccupied with a desire to carefully translate the elegant Latin phrase of Erasmus, than he is with the force and flexibility of his French. A citation or two will suffice to show the quality of his effort. The two women meet apparently in the street, and after they have exchanged greetings, Xanthippe remarks that Eulalie is more "belle et iolye" than ever, and wishes to know who has presented her with such beautiful clothes. To which Eulalie replies,

"D'ont conuient il, que les femmes honnestes  
Recoipuent dons: prennent presentz cheriz,  
Fors seulement de leurs propres maris?

X.: O que tu es heureuse, et en repos  
D'auoir trouué un si loyal espoux!  
I'aymasse mieulx auoir prins un fol (las!)

Quand i'espousay mon mary Nicolas.  
E.: Pourquoi cela? et pour quel grand desdaing,  
Conuient il mal entre nous si soubdain?

X.: Ne conuiendra par le DIEV immortel,  
A tout iamais avec un homme tel.  
Regarde: au lieu d'habitz pour tout l'an beaulx (Aiiii)  
Comme ie suys dessiré en lambeaulx,  
Il souffre bien sa femme ainsi courir,  
Aller, trotter: Mais ie puisse mourir,  
Le plus souuent, si ie n'ay tresgrand honte  
De sortir hors, quand ie descendz ou monte  
En lieu public, et les aultres ie uoy,  
Qui ont maris plus pauures que ie n'ay  
Comme elles sont braues, et mieulx en pointc."

Perhaps the most characteristic verses of the poem are those with which Eulalie closes the dialogue :

“De blasmer mon mary  
 Deuant les gents, en presence d’aultruy,  
 Surtout gardoie, aussi nulle querelle  
 Hors la maison, dire ou porter, car elle  
 Est plus en paix facilement remise,  
 Quand entre deux seulement est commise.  
 Mais s’il y a quelque cas, ou danger  
 Que l’on ne peut supporter ou changer,  
 Par enhorter, ne par douceur refraindre  
 Plus ciuil est se douloir, et complaindre  
 Vers les parentz du mary, que les siens  
 Les plus prudentz, les plus anciens.”

If Aneau’s poetical translation is stiff and unwieldy, his prose effort is much more successful. The *Oraison ou Epistre de M. Tulle Ciceron a Octaue, depuis surnommé Auguste Caesar* was translated in 1542.<sup>20</sup> After the dedicatory preface, which, as we have indicated above, is addressed to Mellin de Saint-Gelais, there is (Dii vo.) a *dixain sur l’epistre suiuiante escripte par Ciceron peu auant sa mort*, which is conceived as follows :

Le Cygne chante, approchant de mort l’heure ;  
 Le pourceau crie, ayant de mort doubtance.  
 Le Cerf legier mourir innocent pleure ;  
 L’homme gemit : craignant la consequence.  
 Ainsi chantant, en douceur d’eloquence,

<sup>20</sup> *Oraison ou Epistre de M./Tulle Ciceron, a/Octaue, Depuis/surnommé/ Auguste Caesar, tour/née en Francois./ On les vend a Lyon en la rue Merciere /par Pierre de Tours./ 1542./* In-8 de 8 ff. non chiff., car. goth., sign. D iiii, Bibl. nat., Rés. pX45. Nicéron (XXII, pp. 170-7, Paris, 1733), following La Croix du Maine, gives 1543 as the date of publication of this work. This is no doubt a typographical error. Among the MSS. of the library of Lyons is a very interesting copy of the *Oraison*, bound with a copy of the *Lyon Marchant*, both written in a nineteenth century hand (no. 1038, *Catalogue de MSS. de la Bibl. de Lyon*, Paris, 1900, vol. II, p. 901). On a fly-leaf is the following note by M. Cochard : “Très rare . . . La copie qu’on voit ici de ce livre n’est pas plus connue que l’original. Elle a été achetée 95 livres chez Techener en 1829. Elle vient de la bibl. de M. Langs, de Londres.” The city library possesses a printed copy purchased by M. Coste for 900 livres at the Soleinne sale (*fonds Coste*, II, 734). For another copy of the *Lyon Marchant*, cf. the same *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 501, also in a nineteenth century hand (no. 1617).

Ainsi criant, en exclamation,  
 Ainsi pleurant, en triste affection,  
 Ainsi plaignant son innocent desin,  
 Marc Ciceron en derniere action  
 De Cygne, Porc, Cerf, et homme eut la fin.

The Epistle itself is very brief, filling only seven pages and a half, and is rendered in a very easy manner. In fact, Aneau's prose compares quite favorably with any contemporary work. It is true that many of the Roman legal, military, and other terms are scarcely recognizable in the strange garb of the sixteenth century, yet this is not exceptional. We find similar anachronisms, for example, in Peletier's translation of the Odyssey. A few lines will suffice to give an idea of the vigor of Aneau's style:

"Quelles choses auant que tu les demandasses: plus grandes que tu ne les voulois, et plus d'aduentage que tu n'en esperois: ne te a donné le Senat? Il te a donné les hallebardiers: affin qu'il eust un deffenseur avec autorité, et non pas affin qu'il te armast à l'encontre de soy mesme. Il t'appella Empereur: attribuant à toy icelluy honneur, pour auoir repoulsé l'armée des ennemys: non pas pour ce que icelle armée fuyante, defaicté par sa propre tuerie te nommast Empereur (fo. Diiii vo.)."

And the translation closes with the following words:

"Toutes lesquelles choses (si par aultre ne sont) meantmoins par moy briefvement leur seront rapportées: car si estant vif ces choses fuyr ie ne puy: j'ay deliberay (*sic*) avec icelles fuyr la vie."

It is indeed a long step from the rounded and well balanced phrases of Cicero to the rocky and unstable sentence of Aneau, but after all are not works of art like men in that they resemble the period in which they are created? Their value is only relative. "Le critique," says M. Haag, "qui jugerait de l'art égyptien d'après les principes de l'art grec ne commettrait pas une plus grande faute, que celui qui fait abstraction des temps et des lieux pour apprécier le mérite d'un artiste ou d'un écrivain."<sup>21</sup> So in passing judgment on the work of Aneau, we must not fail to take these facts into consideration. He cannot be separated from his *milieu*. His works are, according to M. Cochard, "marqués au coin d'un goût assez bon pour le temps et empreints de cette érudition classique qui

<sup>21</sup> *La France Protestante*, 2nd ed., 1877-1888, vol. 1.

était alors à la mode." <sup>22</sup> He is but one of many who are adding their quota toward the development of a firm and beautiful prose. Not a genius, he belongs distinctly to his time; and, as Sainte-Beuve has well shown, it is in the secondary authors that we find a faithful picture of the life of a period. It is that above all which renders Aneau interesting. <sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Cochard, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>23</sup> The volume closes with the *Vers de Corneil Seuer Poete Romain, sur la mort de Ciceron, tournez en vers Francois, iouxte les Latins* (ff. Dvii ro., and Dviii), a mediocre effort of which a few lines will suffice to give an idea:

ICelluy chef iadis si bien orant  
 Pour les grādz gēs, presque encore spirāt,  
 Fut mis au crocq, en son lieu Sanatoire  
 D'ond tous raut par celle mort notoire.  
 Comme si seulle en ce public dommage  
 De Ciceron mis a mort fust l'image.  
 De luy Consul l'ors viennent es pensées  
 Les actes grandz, les bendes amassées  
 Des conuiez, l'alliance surprinse  
 Des nobles gens, le crime, et l'entreprinse.  
 Le vengeance de Cethege puny  
 Aussi reuient Catilin forbanny  
 Par son faulx vueil. Qu'ont profité faueur?  
 Et cōpaignie, et vieulx ans pleins d'honneurs?  
 Son eage aussi aulx sacrez ars donnée?  
 L'honneur du siècle vne seulle journée  
 A emporté. Et en court Palatine  
 En plain Senat, de la langue latine  
 Frappée en dueil la tres triste eloquence  
 Par vn seul coup a perdu la loquence.

JOHN L. GERIG

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

(To be continued)

LOS YERROS DE NATURALEZA Y ACIERTOS DE LA  
FORTUNA, BY DON ANTONIO COELLO AND  
DON PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA<sup>1</sup>

THIS play has only recently been included in the list of Calderón's dramatic productions. Hence it has never been made the subject of a special study, although it merits attention both for its own sake and its undoubted relationship to Calderón's masterpiece, *La vida es sueño*. A brief account of the play and the autograph manuscript in which it is preserved may therefore be of some interest.

Mesonero Romanos and Barrera both state that this piece was written by Antonio Coello in collaboration with his younger brother Juan.<sup>2</sup> This ascription of authorship was generally accepted until Señor Paz y Melia pronounced it the joint work of Antonio Coello and Calderón.<sup>3</sup> Both of the first mentioned authorities unfortunately neglect to state their reasons for attributing a portion of the play to Juan Coello, but as Barrera mentions having seen a print of the same, it is probable that he accepted without question some statement of authorship therein found.<sup>4</sup> Although he mentions the autograph MS., then in the Osuna library, it is not probable that he studied it carefully. Certainly this MS. offers no evidence that Juan Coello had a hand in the writing of the play; quite the contrary. Señor Paz y Melia thinks that Act I is probably written in the hand of Antonio Coello; Act II, he says, is entirely in that of Calderón; both these hands, and no others, appear in Act III. My own observation is confirmatory of this opinion. Comparison of the autograph MSS. of *El*

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my thanks to Señor Paz y Melia for the very obliging assistance he has rendered me in the preparation of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mesonero Romanos *Catálogo cronológico y alfabético, Dramáticos contemporáneos de Lope de Vega*, vol. II, p. liv; Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, p. 547.

<sup>4</sup> That this print is very rare is indicated by the fact that it is not to be found in the British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ticknor collection, nor Hispanic Society Library. I have not yet succeeded in finding a copy. Barrera, as usual, does not state where he found the print.

*mágico prodigioso*, that of *La selva confusa*, that of *Troya abrasada* (Acts II and III), with the second hand of this play has convinced me that the parts in question were penned by one and the same individual. Whatever the evidence upon which Mesonero Romanos and Barrera based their attribution, it cannot be as trustworthy as that afforded by the original MS.

This MS. is now in the possession of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. It bears the catalogue number 14,778. In Paz y Melia's catalogue, it is number 3,542. It consists of 56 quarto folios. On the cover of Act I, besides the title given above, occurs the name Don Antonio Coello, the only author which the MS. names. This act shows but one hand. It is probably, though not certainly, that of Coello. The second act, written wholly in Calderón's hand, begins with the words *Jhs Maria Joseph*. As is well known, Calderón usually began each act with this pious formula, although such was not his invariable custom. For example, the words stand before each act of the *Mágico prodigioso*; they do not occur in *La selva confusa*; they introduce Acts II and III of *Troya abrasada*, and do not stand before Act I of that play, which was the work of Zabaleta. In *Los yerros de naturaleza*, the formula appears only in this one place; for although Calderón contributed Act III, he did not begin that act.

After this formula comes the following title, which, as will be seen, differs slightly from that given by Coello: *Daños de naturaleza y aciertos de la fortuna*. Next comes this *reparto*:

Polidoro .....	} Sa. Autora.
Matilde .....	
Tabaco .....	Veçon.
Federico .....	Liñan.
Fisberto .....	Autor.
Sigismundo .....	Salbador.
Filipo .....	Nauia.
Rosaura .....	Bernarda.
Policena .....	Ana Maria.
Criados .....	Marcos y Matias.

The fact that the *reparto* stands, quite contrary to custom, before Act II rather than before Act I, would seem to indicate that



the second of the two collaborators was in closer touch with the actors and had general oversight of the staging of the piece. Perhaps Calderón had been commissioned to provide a play, and in order to fill the contract quickly, he farmed out part of the work to Coello. The *reperto* of *Troya abrasada* is likewise in Calderón's hand, although in that case, it stands before Act I, which he did not write.

The identification of some of these actors is easy; that of others difficult or uncertain. The player who took the comic part of Tabaco is beyond question Juan Bezón the celebrated *gracioso* whose real name was Gregorio de Rojas, a half brother of the famous Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla.<sup>5</sup> The *graciosa* of the cast is almost certainly Ana María de Peralta, wife of the former and commonly called La Bezona.<sup>6</sup> The Liñán mentioned may be Domingo Liñán, whom we know to have been playing during the years 1633 and 1634.<sup>7</sup> Salbator is probably Salvador de Lara, though possibly Jaime Salvador.<sup>8</sup> I can find no record of an actor named Nauia. The identity of Bernarda is likewise doubtful. She may be Bernarda Gamarra, Bernarda Ramírez, or Bernarda Villaroel.<sup>9</sup> The Marcos of the cast is probably Marcos de Herrera, and Matías, I take to be Juan Matías Molina.<sup>10</sup> When there is so much uncertainty regarding the identification of so many members of the cast, the task of determining definitely the identity of the *autor* and *autora* is rendered very difficult. They may, perhaps, be Cristóbal Avendaño and his wife María Candau. Avendaño died shortly after the time when this play was produced, and his widow married a Salvador de Lara, who, as already said, may be the Salvador of the cast. We know that Bezón and his wife Ana María were with Avendaño in 1632, and with Francisco López in 1636. They may have left their old company as a result of their manager's death. We know that Bernarda de Villaroel was with Avendaño in 1622, and that Marcos de Herrera and Juan Matías

<sup>5</sup> Rennert, *The Spanish Stage* (New York, 1909), p. 435.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 505.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 501, 593.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 479, 565, 593.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 494, 520.

were in his company in 1632. While the above cast may represent the troupe of another manager, it seems most probable that the *autor* in question was Avendaño, although there are insufficient data to prove the fact.<sup>11</sup>

As has been stated, the whole of Act II, is in Calderón's hand. Coello's or, at all events, the first hand, begins in Act III, with the 28 verses of Filipo's introductory monologue. At this point Calderón's hand begins again and continues through the next four folios, ending abruptly in the middle of a scene. From here on the other hand continues to the end. Calderón, therefore, contributed only about a quarter of this act. At the end are to be found the following *licencias*:

Vea esta comedia Don Geronimo de Villanueva. En Madrid á 4 de Mayo de 1634. Esta comedia está escrita como de dos tan grandes ingenios. Puedese representar.

D. Geronimo de Villanueva.

It will be observed that the censor, who was doubtless in a position to know, distinctly states that the play is the work of two authors, thus confirming the evidence of the hands. It is therefore highly improbable that Juan Coello participated as a third collaborator. Calderón's signature, however, nowhere appears. It was his usual custom to affix it at the beginning or end of those plays which were entirely of his own composition. As is well known, he was completely indifferent to those plays which he wrote in collaboration. None of them is included in the list of comedias he prepared for the Duke of Veragua. In the present instance, it is doubtful whether he cared to have it known that he was one of the joint authors. The fly-leaf mentions the name of Coello alone, just as that of the *Troya abrasada* mentions only the name of Zabaleta. So far as Calderón was concerned, *Los yerros de naturaleza* appears to have been a bit of pot-boiling, written for profit and nothing more. The part written by Calderón shows a greater number of corrections than that contributed by Coello, so that Calderón's portion appears to be a *borrador*; that of Coello a *tras-*

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *Tirso de Molina* (Madrid, 1893), p. 202, for the list of actors who composed Avendaño's troupe in 1632. Data as to its make-up in 1634 are wanting.

*lado*. In spite of some evidence of hasty writing, the style of Act II attests to Calderón's authorship. Numerous passages have the genuine Calderonian ring. One of these I shall quote by way of example:

Sobre aquese mirador,  
cuyo contorno de piedra  
las lazadas de las flores  
el rio de plata argentan,  
estaba, siendo ¡ay de mí!  
arbitro su gran belleza  
entre la tierra y el agua  
de la hermosa competencia,  
con que la playa de vidro,  
con que de carmin la selba,  
o con matices se rrica  
o con espuma se encrespa.  
La inconstancia de las olas,  
de las ojas la violencia,  
que en verdes golfos y açules  
vnas con otras se enquentran,  
o su gran melancolia  
que á tanto extremo la fuerça  
la enajenaron de suerte  
que, desvanecida y ciega,  
o ella furiosa se arroja  
o vencida se despeña.  
Cayo, pues, del mirador  
donde su rrara velleza  
como sol murio en las ondas,  
sin que de quantos pasean  
el terrero uno pudiese  
ayudarla y socorrerla.  
Tanto que de su cadaver  
el agua ufana y soberbia  
se entregó, desbanecida  
de que á sus espumas buelba  
la Venus, y que despumas  
vna nazca y otra muera.  
Y como la noche ya  
estiende sus alas negras,

y aqui el rrio se desata  
con tan rrapida violencia,  
no fue posible.

Calderón's portion of the play is much more poetical than Coello's. Most of Coello's plays were written in collaboration. He assisted Calderón in the writing of at least three other plays: *El privilegio de las mugeres*; *La fingida Arcadia*; and *El pastor Fido*. Montalbán was a third partner in writing the first of these. The date is 1623.<sup>12</sup> Moreto contributed one act toward *La fingida Arcadia*. Inasmuch as *El pastor Fido*, to which Antonio Solís y Rivadeneira also contributed an act, is a *fiesta real*, Hartzenbusch thinks that it may have been written after Calderón's retirement from the secular stage in 1651. He states that the piece was written prior to 1656, when the work was printed for the second time.<sup>13</sup> As Coello died in 1652, Hartzenbusch should have mentioned that year as the last possible posterior date. Antonio Coello was one of those friends with whom Calderón maintained the closest literary relations, and the date of *Los yerros de naturaleza* proves that their literary partnership was continued over a considerable number of years.

The following is an abstract of the plot of *Los yerros de naturaleza*: Act I.

The scene is the Court of Poland. At the shout "*Viva Polidoro*," the Infanta Matilde enters, beside herself with jealous rage. The courtiers vainly strive to calm her. She refuses to state the nature of her annoyance to any save her aged and trusty guardian, Filipo. The rest withdraw and she proceeds to tell her story. It appears that Manfredo, King of Poland, had died leaving his throne to his only daughter Clorinele (also written Clorilene and Clorine). Civil war resulted and the faction which prevailed was that headed by Conrado, brother to the late king and Matilde's father. To give to his usurpations the color of legality, he promulgated a Salic law debarring females from the throne of Poland. Clorinele was bestowed as a bride upon Filipo. By her Filipo had two children, Sigismundo and Rosaura. Conrado had by his wife twin children, Matilde who was the first born, and Polidoro a son. The two children are exactly alike as regards

<sup>12</sup> *Comedias de Calderón* (ed. Hartzenbusch), vol. IV, p. 667.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 678.

personal appearance, but different in disposition. Matilde is brave, ambitious and virile; Polidoro, good-natured and weak. This at least is how Polidoro appears to his sister; but as the play proceeds, the reader perceives that he is only to a slight degree less violent and tyrannical than Matilde herself. There is much inconsistency throughout in the portrayal of Polidoro's character. The lion, king of the beasts, has claws; the rose, queen of the flowers, has thorns; a king of men, too, so argues Matilde, should make his rule respected by aggressive action. This she thinks Polidoro cannot do. Nature has made a capital error in lodging the manly soul in the female body, and the effeminate nature in a male body. The very sight of Polidoro, the mere sound of his name, stirs Matilde to fits of jealous passion. Conrado, engaged in a war against Moscovia, had taken Polidoro with him. Conrado had perished in battle and to-day Polidoro is returning, an applauded victor, to claim his throne. This is more than Matilde can endure. She hints at a plot against her brother, and is about to solicit Filipo's aid when interrupted by the entrance of Sigismundo.<sup>14</sup> The latter tells his father that Polidoro has remarked his absence and urges him to go out and greet the victor. Filipo complies and the two go, leaving Matilde alone. In an impassioned soliloquy she hints at a love at variance with her ambition. The Count Fisberto, entering, learns that he is the object of that love. This unexpected news flatters rather than pleases him, for his flame is Rosaura, whom he continues to worship in spite of her scorn. Fisberto urges Matilde to go forth and greet her brother. This she haughtily refuses to do.

Next comes a comic scene between Tabaco, Polidoro's servant, and Policena, Rosaura's maid. Much ridicule is heaped upon the then still novel habits of smoking and snuff-taking.<sup>15</sup> Tabaco is bearer of a *billet-doux* from his master to Rosaura. Rosaura enters, tearing up a similar missive just received from the love-lorn Fisberto. Policena sensibly urges her mistress to treat Fisberto

<sup>14</sup> The interrupted narrative was a device employed by all the dramatists of the time, but it is especially common in Calderón's writings. It is to be found in nearly all his plays. So far as the plot is concerned, the influence of each collaborator probably extended beyond those portions of the play that he personally wrote. In a play of such complexity, there must have been consultation and careful planning before pen was set to paper. In *Auristela y Lisidente*, twin sisters are rivals for a throne. In that instance, there is doubt as to which is the elder.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the article by Julio Monreal, *Los tomatabaco en el siglo XVII*, *Almanaque de la Ilustración Española y Americana* for the year 1886. (Cited by Bonilla in his edition of the *Diablo cojuelo*, Madrid, 1910, p. 235.) In *Céfalo y Pocris*, Calderón introduces a clown of the same name.

with more kindness, for his intentions are honorable, whereas a marriage with the king is scarcely to be counted upon. But Rosaura shows so clearly that she favors the king, that Tabaco, who has been in hiding, now emerges from behind the arras and declares that her lover is without the door, only awaiting an opportunity to enter her apartment. Enter Polidoro with Federico his confidant. While the lovers are talking, Filippo comes in. The intruders start to hide, but it is too late. Filippo roundly berates Polidoro for his conduct. This rebuke incenses Polidoro, who answers that by making Rosaura his mistress he, a king, is sufficiently honoring her. Filippo, angered, replies that his children are Manfredo's grandchildren, and, as such, have a better claim to the throne than has Polidoro himself. Polidoro's reply is to strike the aged Filippo. Sigismundo enters in time to see this. The king and his attendants withdraw. Rosaura declares that all the love she once bore the king has, as a result of this action, turned to hatred, and, if her brother will not avenge the wrong, she will do so herself. Sigismundo promises to kill Polidoro. Filippo urges him not to do so, quoting the familiar doctrine that a king cannot offend. It will be seen that he has now shifted his ground. Sigismundo assents to this, but contends that he, not Polidoro, is Poland's legitimate king and that therefore the blow, coming from an inferior, is doubly an affront. Seeing no other way to restrain his rash son, Filippo shouts "Treason!" and forces Sigismundo to postpone all thought of vengeance and run for his life. Filippo's chief concern is that people shall consider the incident of the blow a mark of disrespect (*desaire*) merely and not an insult (*agravio*). The question hinges upon whether one should or should not consider Polidoro the lawful king. Such technicalities, growing out of the observance of the point of honor, possessed a singular interest for Calderón, as everybody knows. He devised the most extraordinary situations, involving his heroes in dilemmas where they sadly needed the services of a lawyer to tell them the proper course for a man of honor to pursue. Such quibbling as that of Filippo here is especially characteristic of Calderón and betrays his influence, yet in at least one respect Filippo and Sigismundo do not act in accordance with the usual Calderonian code. Neither father nor brother makes any attempt upon the life of the dishonored Rosaura. If Calderón had had the writing of the first act, the plot might have developed differently.

Although Filippo considers the blow a mark of disrespect and not an affront, he nevertheless feels that the case demands some sort of satisfaction, the more so as his daughter's honor is also involved. An open vengeance would imply that he considered the

blow an affront, consequently his vengeance must be of a subterranean sort. At this psychological moment, Matilde returns to resume the interrupted conversation. She bluntly asserts that Polidoro must die. Filipo objects that such a murder would be useless, as Matilde would still be ineligible to rule in accordance with the terms of the Salic law. Matilde then reveals the whole plot. She plans to feign her own death, while secretly murdering Polidoro. After this has been accomplished, she will come out of hiding, and, assuming her twin brother's name and garb, rule in his stead. Fate must right the wrongs of nature, and she herself proposes to compel the fates. Filipo, who sees in this plot an opportunity to aid Matilde, to whom he is devoted, and also to satisfy his private grudge, readily promises co-operation. But loyalty and lust for vengeance are at war within him. He secretly tries to devise a way to reconcile the demands of both.

Act II. Rosaura now begins to lend a willing ear to Fisberto's suit. Polidoro, who is jealous, commissions Tabaco to bear her a letter. If he returns with an answer, he is to receive a reward of 1,000 crowns whether the reply be favorable or otherwise. Polidoro mysteriously cautions Fisberto not to aspire too high. Fisberto naturally supposes that the king suspects him of paying court to Matilde, and, to allay the monarch's suspicion, makes a formal demand for Rosaura's hand. The effect of this is not what he had anticipated, but Polidoro is spared the embarrassing necessity of making a reply by reason of a sudden uproar which has arisen within the palace. Filipo enters and announces that Matilde is dead. In reality, she has pushed a slave into the water to make a splash and has then concealed herself, pretending to be drowned.<sup>16</sup> The next step in the plot was to be the murder of Polidoro; but Filipo's loyalty will not permit him to go that length; his vengeance will be sufficient if he can but deprive the reigning monarch of his throne. Meanwhile, Sigismundo has been living in concealment in the vaults of a ruined castle hard by. He issues forth at night, hoping to meet Polidoro. While concealed in a balcony, he overhears the latter confess to Federico that he is jealous of Fisberto. Lacking an opportunity to slay the king, Sigismundo escapes. His departure is noticed, and Federico and Fisberto, who has just arrived, disobey the king's express orders and go in quest of the intruder, leaving Polidoro unprotected. Filipo and Matilde seize this opportunity to bind and gag him. Filipo carries him away, while Matilde, donning his attire, begins to reign in his stead. Throughout the piece, one actress played the rôles of Polidoro and Matilde. In this, the only scene where the twins appear together

<sup>16</sup> The heroine of Lope's *Esclavo de Roma* employs the same stratagem.

on the stage, the part of Polidoro is momentarily taken by a supernumerary. Federico and Fisberto return from their search, bringing with them a man captured in the purlieu of the ruined castle. This man had requested to be led into the king's presence, stating that he had matters of grave import to communicate. He now stands before Matilde, his face concealed by his cape.<sup>17</sup> The situation is tense, for the audience must have thought that the mysterious stranger was Sigismundo. But the spectators were soon undeceived. The stranger casts aside his disguise and one sees that it is Filipo. He privately assures Matilde that her brother is dead and his body concealed. In reality Polidoro lies a prisoner in the vaults of the ruined tower. There now ensue several incidents somewhat analogous to the ingenious confusions of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. The courtiers take up with Matilde the interrupted conversation which they had begun with Polidoro. Matilde, seeing the danger of discovery, picks a quarrel with Federico, Polidoro's confidant, and banishes him to his estates. Fisberto, whom she loves, is now made favorite. The luckless Tabaco is the next to offend the "king" by making derogatory remarks about the supposedly deceased Matilde. The latter in a rage threatens to throw Tabaco from a balcony. The *gracioso* now hands Matilde a letter which he had succeeded in obtaining from Rosaura, and claims the promised reward of 1,000 crowns. Instead, he receives a severe drubbing at the hands of the virago in male attire. The letter informs Matilde that Rosaura is about to give herself to Fisberto the man she herself loves! Naturally, her jealousy is aroused but the peril of her situation forces her to dissimulate.

Act. III. Filipo is eager to inform Sigismundo of the recent *coup d'état*, lest by mistake the latter offer violence to Matilde, thinking her to be Polidoro; but Sigismundo's lurking-place cannot be discovered. Matilde treats with unmerited severity three worthy petitioners. It is now evident that the ruler of Poland is a tyrant of the worst sort. The kingdom groans beneath the yoke, and the oppressed subjects begin to show signs of revolt. In order to break off the threatened match between Fisberto and Rosaura, Matilde continues the suit begun by Polidoro, and offers to make Rosaura Poland's queen.<sup>18</sup> This situation appeals to Filipo's sense

<sup>17</sup> In Act II of *Troya abrasada*, one of the acts written by Calderón, Sinon is led blindfolded into Priam's presence, and then by a very similar *coup de théâtre* reveals his identity.

<sup>18</sup> This is a very common motive in Spanish plays. In Tirso's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, for example, Doña Juana interferes in the love affairs of her faithless lover by donning male attire and winning the love of her rival. The



of humor, but Rosaura, not being in the secret, is disposed to take matters seriously. But the end is at hand. Sigismundo contrives to gain an entrance into the palace. He stabs to death Matilde whom he mistakes for Polidoro. As he leaves the room, he encounters Filipo who is at first horrified at the deed, but almost immediately recognizes that his son is merely the instrument of Divine Providence. Father and son now secretly restore Polidoro to his palace. At first the latter wonders whether he is not dreaming.<sup>19</sup> Have not all his past grandeurs been illusion? Is not the existence he has led for twelve days in the castle crypt the only reality he has ever known? As he asks himself these questions, a startled multitude of his subjects overruns the palace. Recognizing Federico among the throng, Polidoro greets him with his wonted cordiality, much to the latter's surprise. All present now demand an explanation. Filipo alone holds the key to the enigma. He explains all. Polidoro has been wonderfully chastened by his late experiences. He is awed by the mysterious ways of Providence, and resolves henceforth to be a model sovereign. He makes an auspicious beginning by pardoning all his enemies. He rights the wrongs done Filipo and his family by making Rosaura his wife and Sigismundo commander-in-chief of his army.

This résumé of the plot is sufficient to show that *Los yerrores de naturaleza* is reminiscent of *La vida es sueño* or vice versa. The parallels occur both in the portions originating with Coello, and in those which are attributable to Calderón himself. More than any of his contemporaries, the latter poet was prone to self-repetition. This inveterate propensity of his has been commented upon by many critics but by none more happily than by James Russell Lowell:

"I am quite conscious how much sameness there is in him, and yet there is endless variety too, and if his horizon be not of the widest, heat-lightnings of fancy are forever winking round the edges of it. Partly, perhaps, the charm is in the language and the verse, which slips along thoughtless as a brook. There are greater poets, same situation occurs in Lope's *Anzuelo de Fenisa*. In Calderón's *Afecto de odio y amor*, Cristera promises to bestow her hand upon the knight who shall slay her enemy. The one who wins the right to marry her turns out to be a woman. Many more instances might be cited.

<sup>19</sup> It would be superfluous to cite the words uttered by Heraclio and Leonido when they are restored to their original estate after a brief period of rule. The analogy which *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira* offers to *La vida es sueño* has often been noted.

but none so constantly delightful. His mind is a kaleidoscope, at every turn making a new image of the same bits of colored glass—cheap material enough but who cares? Not so cheap either when one comes to think of it, for these are fragments from painted windows, deepened in hue with incense fumes and thrilled through and through with organ and choir. Well, it is a comfort that there *used* to be poets, at any rate, only it is a despair to see how easily they did it.”<sup>20</sup>

Calderón, then seldom employed an incident, dramatic situation, or figure of speech once without using it again or many times. His was a talent for arrangement and combination rather than for invention. It is of interest to inquire just how these two plays parallel each other.

First of all, they have in common three names, Sigismundo, Rosaura, and Clorilene. The last character is merely referred to in both plays. The name had been made popular by Suárez de Mendoza y Figueroa's novel *Eustorgio y Clorilene*. Sigismundo is not a common appellation in Calderón's drama. Aside from the two plays in question, it occurs only in his *Afectos de odio y amor*, although it is occasionally to be found in the works of other authors both before and after his time. The name Rosaura, too, is equally rare in Calderón. Besides these plays, I find it only in *El mejor amigo el muerto*. Rosarda is of more frequent occurrence. Nevertheless, these were all stock names and their use in this play would in itself be of no significance. But taken in connection with other and stronger points of resemblance, the choice of them does not seem to have been accidental.

Matilde and Polidoro, although lacking the external roughness of some of Calderón's other monsters such as Segismundo in *La vida es sueño* and Heraclio and Leonido in *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*, were in all other respects identical. Matilde is haughty, violent, and tyrannical. She attacks and threatens the *gracioso* just as in the other play Segismundo berates the *criado*.

Si en tu vida  
me entras aquí ¡vive el cielo!  
que te echo por un balcon.

<sup>20</sup> *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (New York, 1894), vol. II, p. 413.

Compare this with Segismundo's threat:

¡Y vive dios!  
si os poneis delante vos,  
que os eche por la ventana.<sup>21</sup>

In the second case a murder ensues, in the first it does not; yet Matilde had previously murdered a female slave and plotted her brother's destruction. Polidoro, too, for all he is called a weakling, makes an attempt upon the honor of Rosaura, just as Segismundo did upon that of the other Rosaura. In the one play, the aged Filipo intervenes to save his daughter, just as the elderly Clotaldo appears to save his in the other. Polidoro strikes Filipo; Segismundo tries to murder Clotaldo. Both Polidoro and Segismundo, after brief reigns, are spirited away and imprisoned in castle vaults. Each comes to regard his brief period of rule as a dream; each is thoroughly chastened by the experience, and later, upon being restored to the throne, undergoes a change of heart and becomes a just and humane monarch. Coello, who wrote this portion of the

<sup>21</sup> Curiously enough, Professor Schevill, *The Comedias of Diego Ximénez de Enciso*, PMLA, vol. XVIII, p. 205, quotes an exactly similar passage from the 1773 version of *El príncipe Don Carlos*, to show the resemblance which that play offers to *La vida es sueño*. Since then, Dr. Crawford has made the interesting discovery that this particular version was written not by Enciso but by Caffi-zares, MLN, vol. XXII, p. 240. The genuine Enciso version, licensed in 1633, still offers many interesting parallels. Schevill holds that Calderón's play followed Enciso's. This opinion though probable, has not been positively demonstrated. As for the threat to throw an offending individual through a window or down from a balcony, that is a very conventional manifestation of anger in the works not only of Calderón, but of other dramatists as well. In *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*, Leonido says:

¿ No tiene  
este palacio ventanas,  
por donde, volando, vuelva  
más presto?

In *Troya abrasada*, Casándra thus addresses Elena:

Tan ciega estoy  
que podra ser que mi vana  
altivez su yra os advierta,  
y si no acertais la puerta,  
salgais por vna ventana.

Cf. also Moreto, *El defensor de su agravio* (ed. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe), p. 505 c.

play, fails to bring out the thought that this life is merely a dream, and that it therefore behooves one to prepare for the awakening into the reality of the life to come. The main thesis of *La vida es sueño* is therefore lacking in *Los yerros de naturaleza*.

Nevertheless, the play has some slight claim to be classed as a philosophical drama. Its thesis is this: Man proposes but God disposes, one of the main thoughts of *La vida es sueño*. Basilio sought to cheat the fates by an ingenious subterfuge. Matilde strove to remedy what she conceived to be an error of nature. But fortune, which as Calderón uses the word, is only another name for Divine Providence, thwarted the designs of both. When Basilio tampered with destiny, he accomplished nothing but the hastening of his own overthrow. Matilde endeavored to alter the course of nature, and thereby brought about her own death. But, on the other hand, Segismundo overcame his baleful horoscope in the only way in which, according to Calderón, one can overcome it, by means of an assertion of his own free-will in the direction of righteousness.

Porque el hado más esquivo,  
la inclinacion más violenta,  
el planeta más impio,  
sólo el albedrio inclinan,  
no fuerzan el albedrio.

And when the fates intervene to restore Polidoro to his throne, he, too, by an effort of the will changes his whole nature. But it would be conveying a false impression to insist too much upon the moral lesson contained in this play. The plot was the matter of supreme importance to the poets who wrote it. Their object was to amuse, and earn money. The moral is barely touched upon. One cannot but regret that Calderón rather than Coello did not write the conclusion.

That the two plays under discussion are mutually related, seems to me self-evident. To which of the two should be awarded the honor of priority? Professor Buchanan, to cite only the latest one who has attempted to determine the date of *La vida es sueño*, thinks that piece was written between August 1, 1631, and November 6, 1635.<sup>22</sup> The latter date is the time of the licensing of the

<sup>22</sup> *La vida es sueño* (ed. Buchanan, Toronto, 1909), p. 101.

first part of Calderón's printed plays. The play, then, may well have appeared a number of years before this. *Los yerros de naturaleza* was licensed May 4, 1634, and was probably written almost immediately before that date. I see no positive proof that the Coello-Calderón play was written after *La vida es sueño*, although it is highly probable that such was the case. At all events, the new evidence afforded by this play will serve to lend force and plausibility to the contentions of those who would assign to Calderón's masterpiece an earlier date than the extreme posterior limit mentioned.

GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

## MISCELLANEOUS

### A DESCRIPTION OF VAUCLUSE: A NOTE ON PETRARCH TOPOGRAPHY

THE river on which Petrarch saw his lady Laura and her companions (Sonnet, *Dodici donne*), has been variously identified<sup>1</sup> as the Coulon, the Rhone and the Durance. Professor Francesco Flamini in his recent book, *Tra Valchiusa ed Avignone*,<sup>2</sup> thinks the river is the Sorgue. He gives various reasons, among others that the Rhone would be too swift for such a boating party, that the Durance is not a navigable river, but that the Sorgue is navigable and at the same time gentle enough for a pleasure party of this sort. A chapter from a manuscript<sup>3</sup> in the National Library of Florence is interesting not only as giving testimony to the navigability of the Sorgue at a period but little later than that of Petrarch, but especially for its accurate description of the fountain of Vaucluse itself. The chapter in question follows, printed according to the text of the manuscript:

Nelle parti di Provenza ae uno picholo e bellissimo paese et magnio, dovizioso di molti beni, il quale si chiama Venisi,<sup>4</sup> nel quale ae un chastello chessi<sup>5</sup> Val di Chiusa. Di costa a questo chastello escie una grandissima e maravigliosa fontana, e di grande abondanza d'aqua chiara come el cristallo, dolcie e buona, senza nullo

<sup>1</sup> The Rhone or the Durance are suggested in *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca, con note di Tassoni, Muzio e Muratori*, Roma, 1821; the Coulon, in *Il Petrarca con l'espositione d'Alessandro Vellutello*, Vinegia, 1554. Most commentators do not try to identify the river.

<sup>2</sup> *Tra Valchiusa ed Avignone. La scena degli amori del Petrarca. Note di topografica Petrarchesca*; in Supplemento no. 12 al *Giornale Storico della Letteratura italiana*, Torino, 1910, pp. 135-136.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Magliabechiano XXI, 135. This chapter (fol. 58v) is the last one of a section entitled *Di pietre ed altre chose belle*, which is appended to a bestiary, called in the table of contents of the volume, *Isidoro della natura degli animale in volgare*. The manuscript is of the fifteenth century. The writer intends to publish later a critical edition of this bestiary.

<sup>4</sup> The Comtat-Venaissin (Comitatus Venaissini, comté de Venisse, comté Venaissin), of which the capital was Venasque, and later Carpentras.

<sup>5</sup> Some such word as *chiama* is evidently omitted.

sapore; la qual fontana escie d'una altissima montagna dirocata a maniera d'uno diritto muro, nella quale roccha sopra essa fonte naschono e figliano aguglie, falchoni, sparvieri e ogni uciello di ratto, e di molti altri salvatichi uccelli. La quale fontana gietta per uno pertugio di pietra di questa roccha fatto a maniera d'uno largo pozo chavato giuso profondo, che chon alchuna lunghezza di corda mai non vi si toccho fondo. La fontana gietta il verno, cioe sei mesi dell'ano,<sup>6</sup> e poi non gietta; ma, a pie di lei nelle rocche di chosta, a sette fontane, sue figliuole, che mai non finano di gittare. Questa colle sette son tutte una, e fanno un fiume sì grande che mena ogni grande navilio charicho. Il fiume si chiama la Sorga e corre XV miglia e mette ne Rodano.

M. S. GARVER

YALE UNIVERSITY

#### A NOTE ON SAINT-GELAIS AND BEMBO

MODERN criticism has well established the fact that the intellectual debt of Europe to Italy, during the Renaissance, was not a matter of general ideas or "influence" only, but that the fruit of Italian brains was as frankly booty as the Italian *objets d'art* with which returning French armies first piqued the taste of their countrymen. Modern scholarship is, piece by piece, discovering stolen Italian treasures embedded in French, English or Spanish literature; and even the casual student of the sixteenth century can hardly fail of such occasional discoveries. Perhaps an especial interest attaches to the earlier instances of literary pilfering. Such an early example—and an example which has, I believe, so far escaped even the acute eye of M. Vianey—is a *huitain* of Saint Gelais' included in the MS. belonging, at the time his poems were edited by Blanchemain, to the Marquis de la Rochetulon. According to Blanchemain, this MS. contains only Saint Gelais' juvenilia, and should be dated about 1535, fifteen years, that is, before the members of the *Pléiade* made barefaced literary theft the vogue. The *huitain* in question<sup>1</sup> runs as follows:

<sup>6</sup> The water, in reality, usually rushes out from the grotto only for some days in March and April, and in October and November. During the rest of the year the river is fed by a number of streams coming from the rock below. Cf. Fredrik Wulff, *Petrarch at Vacluse*, 1337-1353. With plates and a map. Lund, 1904, p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres* (Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, Paris, 1873), vol. III, p. 84. It is numbered XCI.

Quand j'eu mon feu decouvert à ma Dame  
 Et attendu, de demain à demain  
 Bien longuement, response de ma flamme,  
 A la parfin son vouloir inhumain  
 Me presenta sa froide et blanche main.  
 Ha! dès alors j'entends bien la façon:  
 Sans me respondre, elle dict bien à plain  
 Que je suis feu et qu'elle est le glaçon."

The source of this poem is a sonnet by Bembo, which, however, opens with an allusion of which Saint-Gelais failed to make use. From Saint-Gelais' poem the reader will probably gather that the lover was awaiting a reply to a written declaration of his passion when the lady's chilly proffered hand gave him his *coup de grâce*. Bembo presents the situation somewhat differently. The lover has seized the opportunity of declaring his love as if merely in jest, although with a warmth his lady understands:

Io ardo dissi; e la risposta in vano,  
 Come 'l gioco chiedea, lasso cercai:  
 Onde tutto quel giorno e l' altro andai  
 Qual uom, ch' è fatto per gran doglia insano.  
 Poi che s' avvide ch'io potea lontano  
 Esser da quel pensier, più pia che mai,  
 Ver me volgendo de' begli occhi i rai,  
 Mi porse ignuda la sua bella mano.  
 Fredda era più che neve: nè 'n quel punto  
 Scorsi il mio mal: tal di dolcezza velo  
 M' avea dinanzi ordito il mio desire.  
 Or ben mi trovo a duro passo giunto;  
 Che s' io non erro, in quella guisa dire  
 Volle Madonna a me, com' era un gelo."<sup>2</sup>

The lover has clearly taken advantage of one of those social games, now relegated to the nursery or the school-room, which so delighted the courtly circles of sixteenth century Italy, and which are seriously reported by authors like Castiglione or Guazzo. The editor of the *Classici Italiani* offers two explanations of it nearly contemporary with Bembo. One is from Quattromani's letters:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Sonnet XXII *Rime*. (Soc. Tipografica de' classici Italiani, Milan, 1808),

<sup>3</sup> Found "nelle lettere." I have not been able to verify the citation. The *Opere*, vol. II, p. 26.



"Giocandosi ad un gioco ch'è detto del segreto, dove l'un dice una parola all' orecchio all' altro, e poi si manifestano le parole dette. Il Bembo, che sedeva presso la sua Donna, disse: Io ardo. La Donna non potè rispondere al Bembo, perchè la ragion del gioco nol chiedea, ma parlò all' orecchio a quello che seguia dietro a lei; indi a molti giorni porse la mano al Bembo. Prende dunque il Poeta questa cosa per risposta e dice che la sua Donna volle inferire: Se tu ardi, io sono un ghiaccio, e ritorce ed accomoda ogni cosa molto leggiadramente."

The other commentary, Ludovico Dolce's, describes at greater length the "game of the secret" which has descended to modern children as "scandal."<sup>4</sup> The players, having taken their places,

"a guisa di corona, l'uno dice nell' orecchio al altro alcune parole che sono corrispondenti, e così l'uno all' altro di mano in mano insino che non resta poi alcuno. Di poi il primo recita le sue parole, e così fa il secondo, il terzo, e gli altri, in guisa che se forma un ragionamento continuato ch'è bello ad udire."

Bembo obviously refers to a game perfectly familiar at the time, at least to Italians, a game which has not yet died out. Ignorance of it is, then, the least likely explanation of the fact that an Italianate like Saint-Gelais ignored the allusion and contented himself with the main theme which it was designed to adorn. It is more probable that he omitted it because he was generalizing an incident which it attached to a particular occasion. Or he may have felt that this ornament had too little connection with the real matter of the poem to be, in fact, an ornament, since Bembo, content with his opening allusion, makes no further reference to it, nor connects it with the closing incident, upon which the whole sonnet turns. In such esthetic scruple, modern taste is likely to approve Saint-Gelais.

C. RUUTZ-REES

GREENWICH, CONN.

British Museum possesses an edition of 1714. *Lettere diverse. Il IV libro di Virgilio in verso toscano. Trattato della Metafora, etc. . . . Alcune poesie toscane e latine.* Edited by Matteo Egizio, Naples. B. M., 10905 CCI.

'Found "nel *Dialogo de' colori*," *Dialogo . . . nel quale si ragiona delle qualità, diversità, proprietà dei colori.* Venice, 1565. I have not been able to verify the citation. The game is mentioned earlier than this in the *Cento Gioche* of Innocenzo Ringhieri, Venice, 1553, p. 86.

## RUMANIAN PLEOAPĂ AND POPOR

*Pleoapă*, 'eyelid.'

Rumanian *pleoapă* has the meaning of Latin *palpebra*, but the form is strangely different. In correcting Körting's mistakes with regard to Rumanian, Densusianu says: "*pleoapă* reste une énigme, puisqu'on ne peut l'expliquer par *palpebra*," *Romania*, 1904, 283. Here the specialist has fallen into error himself; every step of the development has fairly close parallels in Rumanian. Illustrations of the principles involvd can be found in Tiktin's *Rumänisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1905).

By reason of the consonants following *e*, this vowel became strest: *palpébra*. Rumanian commonly forms *ie* from strest open *e*; but this change is lacking after *r*. As there is no trace of an *i* in the derivativ of *palpebra*, we may assume that its *r* was put before *e*, when the stress was well establisht. We find the same change of stress and displacement of *r* in *întreg* < *integrū*, where *r* has kept *e* from becoming *ie*.

The sound *l* may, like *r*, undergo displacement. It is put next to *t*, if one is near it, as *paltin* < *platanu*, *pătlagină* < *plantăgine*. Otherwise it passes toward the beginning of the word, as *chiag* < *\*clagu* < *coagulu*, *plop* < *pōpulu*. In accordance with this principle the word *pleoapă* has initial *pl*.

The sound *l* is so much like *r* that it may cause its elimination. In *ciur* < *cribru*, *fereastă* < *fereastră* < *fenestra*, *preste* < *prespre* < *per-super*, one *r* has caused the other to disappear by eliminativ dissimilation. The same result is due to *l* in *altă* < *altera*, and in *pleoapă* < *palpebra*.

In *preste* for older *prespre*, *t* was formd by dissimilation. In the derivativ of *palpebra*, *p* underwent dissimilation, tho of a different kind: *p..p..b* became *p..b..p*. For such interchange of voiced and voiceless sounds, compare Italian *bontade*, *contrada*, *strada*, beside normal *-ate* < *-āte*, *-ata* < *-āta*; and French *fade* < *\*favde* < *\*vavde* < *vapidu*, *pigeon* = *\*pibiōne* for *pipiōne*.

Latin *b* was changed to *v* after a vowel in Rumanian. Thus in the derivativ of *palpebra* the consonants became *pl..v..p*, the *r* being lost as stated above. Before considering the change of *v* to *o*, we must examin the development of the vowels.

After a consonant, Rumanian regularly forms *ă* (a sound like English *u* in *but*) from pretonic *a*. But if the next vowel is *e*, it may change *ă* to *e*: *beserecă* < *băserēcă* < *basilica*, *femeie* < *familia*, *perechie* < *paricula*. The *e* remains even when the following *e* is altered: *lepădare* < \**lepedare* < *lapidăre*. Therefore we find *e* in *pleoapă*, altho the stress *e* is lost.

Rumanian replaces stress *e* by *ea* where the next vowel is *ă*: *creadă* < *crēdat*, *întreagă* < *integra*, *neagră* < *nigra*, beside *cred* < *crēdo*, *întreg* < *intēgru*, *negru* < *nigru*. But after a labial we find *a* insted of *ea*: *masă* < *mēnsa*, *pară* < *pīra*, *vază* < *videat*. In accordance with this, *pleoapă* < \**plevāpă* has stress *a* for original *e*. The final *ă* is normal, after a consonant.

In Portuguese, stressless *e* (<*i* and *e*) is generally sounded as *i* or an *i*-like vowel; and stressless *o* (<*u* and *o*) is regularly sounded as *u*. Likewise in Rumanian we find *i* < *e* < *i*: *biserică* < *beserecă* < *băserēcă* < *basilica*, *lacrimă* < \**lacremă* (whence the variant *lacrămă* with normal *ă* for *e* after *r*) < *lacrima*. These analogies allow us to assume *u* < *o* < *u* in cases like *altul* < \**altrolo* < *alteru'llu*, *negru* < \**negro* < *nigru*. In two words we find *o* < *u*, preservd by passiv assimilation, or by variable stress. One of these is *popor*, now stress on the second vowel, as explaiend below. The other is *acoló* (now also *acólo*) < \**accu'lloc*, in which the ferst element, apparently *eccu* modified by *hăc*, is the same as that of *acum* < \**accu-modo*. Both *o* and *u* ar found as stressless representatives of Greek upsilon in *preot* and *preut* 'priest,' *martor* and *martur* 'witness.' Likewise Rumanian *au* < *au* seems to hav past thru *ao*. In the derivativ of *adauget*, written *adauge* in some grammars, Tiktin givs *ao* several times, so that the *o* can hardly be a misprint (*Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, § 231, p. 194). The Banat dialect has *aor*, *graor*, for literary *aur* < *auru*, *graur* < *gra(c)ulu*, according to Popovici, *Recherches expérimentales sur une prononciation roumaine* (*La Parole*, 1903, 233-322).

These few fragments of evidence show that in Rumanian, as in Italian and western Romance, stressless Latin *u* became *o*. We may therefore assume that secondary *u* cood also become *o*. Secondary *u* was formd from *b* after a vowel; also from Latin *v* (the semivowel *u*) in the same position, if we suppose that this

sound followed the usual Romance development in Rumanian. When the derivativ of *b* or *v* stood between vowels, it was generally assimilated and absorbed, as *cal* < *caballu*, *nuăr* < *nūbilu*, *scrie* < *scribit*. This development is regularly found where the two vowels were the same or nearly alike (*e . . i* or *i . . e*); also where one of them was stressed and labial, and usually where the second was stressless. Where the second was stressed and unlike the first, we find a trace of the original consonant: *avere* < *habēre*, *luare* < *levāre*. The latter seems to have passed thru *\*loare* < *\*leoare* < *\*leuare*, the stressless *e* being assimilated to *o*; while in *treerare* < *\*teorare* < *tribulāre* the reverse change took place, because the *e* was half-stressed.

If we admit that *o* was the regular derivativ of *b* and *v* between vowels, or at least between open vowels (Rumanian *a*, *e*, *ă*, *o*), the whole development of *pleoapă* < *\*plevapă* < *palpebra* may be called normal. The order of the various changes is not clear; it may have been as follows: *\*palbepra*, *\*palbrepa*, *\*palbepa*, *\*plabepa*, *\*plăvepă*, *\*plevepă* (or *\*pleveapă*), *\*plevapă*, *\*pleuapă*. The final difference between *pleoapă* and *luare* < *\*leoare* can be explained in three ways.

The utterance of the consonant-group *pl* requires more effort than simple *l*; hence the first syllable may have had a slightly greater stress in *pleoapă* than in *\*leoare*, and thus kept *e* unchanged.

In the Hispanic tongues, Latin intervocalic *d* was often lost: Portuguese *crê*, Spanish *cree* < *crēdit*, Port. *ninho* < *\*nio* (but Span. *nido*) < *nīdu*. At a much later period the verb-ending *-des* commonly lost *d* after a vowel: *deis* < *dedes* < *dētis*, Span. *veis* (but Port. *vêdes*) < *veedes* < *vidētis*. In spoken Spanish the loss of *d* is now going on, as *estado* > *estao*. Hence it is possible that *\*leoare* and *pleoapă* were formed at different times, and that *\*plevapă* lost *v* too late for its vowels to be assimilated.

Rumanian forms *oa* < *o* under the same conditions as *ea* < *e*. Altho *ea* and *oa* now rhyme with *a*, it seems probable that the stress was at first *éa*, *óá*. These would naturally become *eá* and *oá* later, with the stress on the opener vowel as in the general Romance development of *filiolu*, *muliere*. The stress *óá* was usual in the seventeenth century, if we can trust the texts given by Tiktin; these make systematic use of accents, and regularly have medial *óá*, beside an

initial *óá* with the stress-mark displaced because of the breathing (*Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, p. 189). If we assume the stress *óá* (<*o*) for the time when *o* was developd in *pleoapă*, the countless cases of *óá* wood hav produced *óá* in this word. But in the various forms of the verb *\*leoare*, stress *a* had a grammatic meaning and was kept stress by the influence of all the other *a*-verbs. Thus the two cases ceast to be parallel and developd differently; the two stressless vowels of *\*leoare* were contracted to *o*, which became *u* before the original stress was restored in *pleoapă*.

If the stress-displacement *vá*>*óá* once existed in *pleoapă*, it is paralleld by an eqwally remarkable change that occurd in *popor*.

### *Popor*, 'folk.'

*Popor* seems to be connected with Latin *populu*, but its stress is on the second *o*. For this reason Tiktin says the origin of the word is "?" (*Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, p. 215). The stress may be explaiend as a case of assimilation. Rumanian has another noun meaning 'folk,' with the same inflection, the same vowels and the same stress as *popor*, namely *norod*, of Slavonic origin. It can scarcely be douted that the stress of *popór* is due to the influence of *noród*. If this is admitted, the rest of the development is not hard to understand.

Latin *singulu* makes Rumanian *singur*, so that we miht expect *\*popur* from *populu*. But as shown above, Latin stressless *u* past thru *o* before reaching Rumanian *u*. Therefore the erly form was *\*popolo* or *\*poporo*. The final *o* became *u* as usual, and is dropt in modern Rumanian unless protected by an enclitic (*poporul*<*popolu'llu*). As the medial *o* had no such inflectional value, it escaped the general change of stressless *o* to *u*. It may hav done this because of passiv assimilation, which cood preserv stem-vowels but not inflections. Passiv assimilation, whereby one vowel keeps another from changing, is common in connection with the development of *ă* from *e* after a labial; this occurs when no palatal vowel follows: *numără*<*numerat* but *numere*<*numeret*, *păr*<*pîru* but *pere* = *\*pîrae*. In the following table, which shows how passiv assimilation may hav acted, unsettled stress is indicated by two accents.

classic Latin	<i>eccum illoc formōsum populum</i>	
late Latin	*acoló	*formoso *popolo
medieval	*acoló	*fromosu *póporu
erly Rumanian	acóló	frumosu *póporu
modern Rumanian	acóló	frumosu popóru

Sl. narodŭ

\*narodu

due to nărodu

due to norodu

The assimilation of *ă* to *o* is normal in *norod*, being found in other words of Latin and Slavonic origin.

E. H. TUTTLE

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

### A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GHOST: THE DEVENTER PETRARCH OF 1494

For nearly a century and a half, there has been more or less speculation as to the existence of a Dutch edition of Petrarch's *Opera* of the year 1494. Reference to this edition may be found (to mention only a few of the most important bibliographers) in Hain, 12747; in Panzer, I, 362 [in Jansen, 319]; in Campbell, 391; in Visser, X, 39.<sup>1</sup> All these citations go back to a common source: Maittaire, *Annales Typographici*, 1719-1741, V, pt. II, p. 544. The failure of booksellers and cataloguers ever to discover any such edition has led scholars, as for example Hortis, to suspect some error of printing or observation behind Maittaire's reference. This guess in all its vagueness has in turn been taken up by a long series of bibliographers. We find in Professor Robinson's article a scientific statement of the situation, in a return to the original citation in Maittaire.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, this ghost of Deventer has so persistently beset bibliographers and students of Petrarch and of incunabula in general, that we are tempted to take this opportunity of consigning it to a much deserved repose. The story is one of errors in compilation, not without a certain intricacy and interest.

The first serious attempt to wrestle with the problem was in the *Catalogue of Petrarch Books* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1882) of Professor Fiske, who very cleverly suggested that the original error

<sup>1</sup> Visser, *Naamlyst van Boeken*, Amsterdam, 1787; Campbell, *Typographie Néerlandaise*, La Haye, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *Petrarch's Confessions*, in this review, vol. I, p. 232, note 1.

proceeded from the following passage in Maittaire, I, pt. II, p. 787:

F. Petrarchæ Opera. fo. Basil. 1494.

Liber metricus Faceti Morosi. 40. Davent. 1494;

with the comment: "The whole story if this supposed Deventer edition may have originated in a careless reading (by either Visser or Panzer or both) of the following lines occurring in one of Maittaire's lists." Now, Visser at this time was not accessible to Professor Fiske, though he afterwards added this valuable book to his Petrarch collection. But Panzer's reference was justly suspicious to him for the following reason: Panzer misprinted the correct reference to Maittaire: II, p. 544, instead of vol. V, pt. II, p. 544. Not being able to discover this citation in Maittaire, Professor Fiske was led to believe that the latter never made such a reference; so that his brilliant guess itself remained an hypothesis, based of course on false premises.

No one apparently has thought of comparing the citation in Maittaire I, pt. II, 787, with that in V, pt. II, 544; nor of noticing the nature of the first citation. It occurs in a list which Maittaire entitles: "Catalogus librorum quos a Viro Cl. PM. mecum seriùs paulò communicatos suis locis inserere, prælo me diutius morantem urgente, non licuit." So that one would expect either that in succeeding volumes (this one was published in 1733) this edition of Petrarch would be noted in its proper place, or at least that it would figure in Maittaire's index. And sure enough, the mention of the Deventer edition in V, II, 544, refers back by page number to the "F. Petrarchæ Opera, Basil. 1494" of the first citation. Whereby it becomes clear that the references are actually one and the same, and that Professor Fiske's hypothesis is the true one. That is, in a moment of distraction, either Maittaire or his printers or his copyists reproduced the place reference of the work immediately below the *Basil.* of the Petrarch edition. *Unde tanti labores.*

The early failure to detect the slip is doubtless to be explained by the great gap that intervened between the publication of the parts of Maittaire's work. Some libraries (e. g., Cornell and Columbia) have only vols. I-III; others may have possessed only IV

and V. But the main responsibility for the perpetuation of the error rests with Panzer, who had both citations before him.<sup>3</sup>

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

# A MENTION OF THE RETURN OF KING ARTHUR IN FOUCON DE CANDIE

THE following passage is to be added to the large number that mention the awaiting of the return of King Arthur.<sup>1</sup> It is cited from *Foucon de Candie*, MS. 774 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 138 r°. The Saracens are holding a council of war. A leader says of the French warriors that they will not go away:

Ne s'en torneront mes ainz auront blé meür,  
Se tant volez atendre com Breton font Artur;  
Mes pendons nos escuz as batailles du mur,  
Et movons enquenuit quant plus fera obscur,  
Si ralons veür Cordes et la terre Fabur.

Compare this passage with another typical one from *Garin le Lorrain*, quoted by Ferdinand Lot in *Etudes Historiques du Moyen Age dédiées à G. Monod*, 1896, p. 211:

Nous sommes viex et chenu et flori,  
La soie grace nous vaura moult petit,  
Com as Bretons qui desirent toudis  
Le roi Artu, qu'est dou siecle partis.

RAYMOND WEEKS

<sup>3</sup>The verification of the reference in V in the Lenox library, I owe to my good friend Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi, of Columbia University.

<sup>1</sup>See R. H. Fletcher: *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, especially those of Great Britain and France, in Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Ginn & Co., Boston, vol. X, 1906, pp. 100-107, 120, 138, 143, 146, 165, 167, 188, 197, 202, 207, 219-223, 232, 239. Also, by the same author, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. XVIII, pp. 87, 94.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Les Obres del Elegantíssim y Genial Poeta del Amor, Ausias March.* Ara per quarta vegada estampades, durant lo glorios Renaximent de les Lletres Catalanes. Barcelona. A despeses de N'Alvar Verdaguer. MCMIX, pp. 438.

This reprint of the works of Ausias March, issued in 2500 copies in ordinary paper, and 200 in fine linen paper, consists of the text of the poems, a glossary, two appendices of bibliographical notes, an index of authors mentioned, and additions. While we may welcome this volume as a new proof of the devoted interest shown by the Catalans in their literary past, we must say at once that it is unsatisfactory in every other respect. The editor, whose name appears nowhere in the volume, leaves us in ignorance both in regard to the object of his edition and the principles underlying his work. With a single and unimportant exception, however, the text of the publication proves to be an uncritical reproduction of the editions of 1864, 1884 and 1888 which, as is well known, in their turn are mere reprints of the older editions of the sixteenth century (the Library of the Hispanic Society of America, it may be said in passing, possessing those of 1539, 1543, 1555, 1560, 1562, 1579). None of the thirteen manuscripts in which the works of Ausias March are now extant, and the most complete of which, dating probably from 1542-1543, is accessible in the National Library at Madrid (no. 2985, cf. Pagès, *Romania* 36, 207), nor the investigations of recent critics have been consulted by the editor, as may be seen from a few typical cases. The *endreça* of no. ii of the *Cants de Mort* is omitted in the present edition (p. 228) as in its precursors, though the editor's distinguished countryman Milá y Fontanals in 1865 (*Obras*, iii, p. 186) had called attention to the fact that it contained the name of the person to whom the poem is addressed, Antoni Tallander, also called Mossen Borra, the clown of Alphonse V of Aragon, to whose old age the Castilian Villasandino alludes in a poem composed as early as 1412 (*Canc. de Baena*, no. 65, st. 8). In no. ii of the *Estramps* (*Qui de per si ne per Deu virtuts usa*), stanza 27 (p. 319 of the present edition), we still read: *no contra fa la taula de Perusa*, though Pagès in the article above referred to (p. 211) shows that we have in this passage a reference to the Eugubine Tables discovered in 1444, and that the correct reading must be: *no contrafa la taula de Peruça*. . . . The Glossary, in which proper names are also included, while needlessly registering a host of well-known words and verbal forms such as *abrassa*, *absenta*, *consegre*, *Aristotil*, *Bachus*, etc., omits some very important and less familiar ones. Such is the case with *Far* in the phrase *Deçà lo Far* (p. 176) referring to the light-house of Valencia (see Pagès, *ib.*, p. 215), *Perusa* (*Peruça* = *Perugia*), the oft-recurring *senyals* of the poet's mistress, *Lir entre carts* (Lily among Thistles), *Planch de seny*, and *seguida*, a metrical term used in the sense of *endreça* (as p. 178, 213, 309) of which the present writer will have occasion to speak elsewhere. The Bibliography is scarcely more satisfactory than the other parts of the work under review. Besides lacking in critical arrangement, it is made up of a good deal of insignificant matter in

place of which one would like to see, among other things, a mention of such important manuscripts as the one cited above (no. 2985, also omitted by Massó Torrents in his *Catalogue of Catalan Manuscripts found in the National Library at Madrid*), the *Cancionero Catalan de la Universidad de Zaragoza* (published in 1896 with the exception of the poems of Ausias March) and the *Cançonier de obres enamorades* (no. 595 of the *fonds espagnol*) of the Paris Library, which Mr. H. C. Heaton is preparing to edit. It is to be hoped that Amédée Pagès will in the near future redeem his promise, made a long time ago, of giving the student of Catalan literature a critical edition of the works of the Valencian singer.

H. R. LANG.

*Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age.* Par EDMOND FARAL (187<sup>e</sup> fascicule de la Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes). Paris, H. Champion, 1910. Pp. x + 339.

The volume of Mr. Faral is dedicated to Joseph Bédier, and is worthy of its dedication. The author proves himself a scholar of high competence. He indicates that he has made a genuine and first-hand study of the medieval poets, tracing his way thru multiple obstacles, and attaining conclusions which appear sane and sound. In several cases, a fresh aspect of some literary genre makes itself felt from his careful investigations. While it may be said that a number of grave questions connected with his subject remain unsettled, the fact stands that there is no chapter in his work which is lacking in actual interest, or which seems superficial.

Before offering a brief analysis of the first part of Mr. Faral's study, I beg to commence by drawing attention to Appendix III, which provides in chronological order a vast series of Latin and French documents bearing witness to the life and condition of the jongleurs. This list in itself is "worth the price of the volume" for the light it sheds on medieval popular literature, and on the usage of the Latin *joculator*, the French *Jongleur*, and equivalent terms. In English literature, the *geogler*, *juggler* (cf. Shakespeare: "nimble jugglers that deceive the eye") seems never to have rivalled with the nobler *minstrel*, but rather to have corresponded to the German *Gaukler*. In the first part of his treatise, Mr. Faral fails to establish a neat distinction between *jongleur* and *ménestrel*, and he suffers later from this lack, for he is guilty of virtual anacronisms in his use of these words. He may have been led to this from considerations of style. In any event, he applies at times the word *ménestrel* too early: pp. 62, 78. Again, in the chapter on Rutebeuf, the author's employment of *ménestrel* causes him to assume at times an awkward attitude.

An idea of the charm and interest of the book may be obtained from the titles of three chapters of the first part: I: *Origine des Jongleurs*; II: *L'Eglise contre les Jongleurs*; III: *L'Eglise favorise certains Jongleurs*. According to Mr. Faral, the jongleur descends directly from the Roman *minimus*.<sup>1</sup> His argument appears perfectly defensible, tho it places him in direct opposition to the views of Gaston Paris, who said: "... de bonne heure, il y eut une classe spéciale de poètes et d'exécutants. Ces hommes, héritiers en partie des *scôpas* francs, s'appelèrent en français *joglers*." In view of the dedication of his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the interesting studies by P. S. Allen, appearing in *Modern Philology*.

volume, it is needless to state that Mr. Faral sides with the author of the *Légendes Épiques*, and looks with disfavor on the ancient theory of epic evolution as formerly proposed by G. Paris and P. Rajna.

Chapter II contains precious remarks on the legend of Golias<sup>3</sup> (we wonder that Villon's name nowhere occurs here). The third chapter discusses the famous Latin charter of Thomas Cabham, the English clerk of the close of the 13th century. This is the document to which Guessard and L. Gautier attach such importance. M. Faral professes to regard the document more lightly, yet he is under its influence, and cites more than once its concluding words: "Sunt autem alii, qui dicuntur jocolatores, qui cantant gesta principum et vitam sanctorum, et faciunt solacia hominibus," etc. (the entire charter or penitential is quoted in the note on p. 67). Mr. Faral neglects to comment on the term *jocolator*, which, in the document, certainly appears to possess some dignity.

The second part of the book: *Le Règne des Jongleurs*, makes instructive and delightful reading. His first chapter of part second offers a classification of the jongleurs: he himself feels that the title he has chosen for this chapter is perhaps not "tout à fait rigoureuse, mais elle a une réelle valeur explicative." The next two chapters bring most interesting information concerning the *Jongleurs et le Peuple*, and the *Jongleurs aux Cours seigneuriales*. The fourth chapter: *Les Ménestrels*, has already been slightly criticised at the beginning of this review. Mr. Faral cites here Jouglet and Pinçonnet as types of the minstrel, whilst Rutebeuf (Chapter VIII) figures as the type of the jongleur. The author finds necessary to defend somewhat his choice of Rutebeuf for this rôle. His defence is ingenious, and shows a real insight into and sympathy for the character of Rutebeuf.

With chapter IX: *Les Jongleurs et les Genres littéraires*, we arrive at what may be called the quintessence of the book. The vast and profound knowledge of the author enables him to offer here more than one new perspective. His chief attention, of course, is claimed by the chansons de geste. He insists on separating the names of the known writers of chansons de geste into two categories: *jongleurs* and *ménestrels*. If we feel that this division merits some censure, we cannot refrain from approving the skill he shows in placing the lives of the saints on one side, as counterparts to the strictly epic poetry. Again, he considers the *lais et romans bretons* as the work of the *ménestrels*, and the *fabliaux* as mainly that of the *jongleurs*. On pp. 211-13, the author considers the contributions of the jongleurs to history and to dramatic literature.

The third part of the work is devoted to the darker period of the decadence of the jongleurs. Even here, says Mr. Faral, the jongleurs "restent les maîtres du genre comique." Students of the drama will note in this part the originality of the author, who does not agree with the views, for example, of Petit de Julleville, but rather maintains the co-existence of two separate currents, one serious, the other comic. He denies the possibility of the development of an inherent comical element in the *Mystères*. The conclusions of the author are most startling as seen in his final chapter: *Les Jongleurs, le Mime et le Théâtre régulier* (pp. 231-51). He notes and explains every step which was taken by the dramatic muse. Mr. Faral leads his reader to the juvenile spectacle of the *danse mimique*, examines with him the musical ensemble of medieval literature,

<sup>3</sup> A valuable article, entitled *Familia Goliae*, was published by John M. Manley, in *Modern Philology*, V, pp. 201-09.

passes thru the intermediate dramatic monolog to the dialog performed at first by one and the same actor.\* The author shows in convincing manner that, when the regular stage is reached, the jongleur recedes more and more from view, his name deteriorates in dignity, yet his influence persists in the farce. While Petit de Julleville asserted that no relation whatever existed between the jongleur and the modern *comédien*, Mr. Faral is of the opinion that: "les comédiens du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle sont les descendants directs des jongleurs." He firmly believes in a genuine tradition which runs from the Middle Ages to Molière. The immortal poet did not hesitate to make vigorous use of the patrimony of the ancient jongleurs.

While the critic may not agree with all of the new and, at times, startling views of Mr. Faral, he cannot help feeling that they must henceforth be reckoned with by every serious student of medieval literature. It will require a great fund of knowledge and no small amount of courage for one to attack the author's conclusions.

M. J. MINCKWITZ

MUNICH

*La Difunta Pleiteada, Estudio de Literatura Comparativa.* POR MARÍA GOYRI DE MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Madrid, Librería General de v. Suarez, 1909. 8°, 70 pp.

In the days of the Renaissance, women played a part in the academic life of Spain. When the famous humanist Nebrija was unable to conduct his classes, his daughter is said to have taken his place and to have represented him worthily. An equally charming example of the Spanish woman's co-operation in scholarly matters, within the domestic and academic circles, appears in our own days in the case of Sra. María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, the wife of the clever philologist of the University of Madrid. She has recently published an interesting treatise within the domain of Comparative Literature, in which she discusses the history of a theme important because of its treatment in two Spanish plays of the Classic period, and in the Spanish tale and ballad. In the ballad form it is common to all three of the peninsular languages, Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan.

The theme in question has three chief elements: (1) a wife is buried as dead; (2) she is saved from her living tomb by a lover, who had had a promise of marriage from her before her father compelled her to marry the other man; (3) with this other man (the husband) the lover has now a lawsuit (or dispute) for the possession of her. It is obvious that in the first two elements the theme has certain relations to that of Romeo and Juliet.

For Sra. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal the ballad treatment, presenting factors apparently primitive, is properly the objective point of study. She refers to or prints variants of the ballad found all over the peninsula, and then, analyzing the traits common to them all, seeks to make clear the essential elements of the original ballad. This she discovers to be as follows: Doña Ángela (the name varies), the fairest woman of her time, is wooed by many men of high degree. Among them all she prefers Don Juan de Castilla and they plight their mutual

\*Mr. Faral has treated this last literary genre in a separate monograph of value: *Mimes Français du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris, Champion, 1910.

troth. But the maiden's father, desirous of marrying her off advantageously, promises her to a rich merchant of Seville (or some other place), and Don Juan, learning of this, goes off to the Indies (or to Perpignan) to try to forget her. During his absence the marriage occurs, but the bride dies on the wedding-day. At the end of nine months (the time varies, extending even to seven years), Don Juan returns and, passing before the house of his beloved, sees at the window a young girl dressed in mourning and from her learns of the death of his beloved and the place of her burial. He runs to her tomb and, with the aid of a hermit (or sacristan) whom he enlists in his service, raises the flagstone over it. He finds the buried woman as fair as when she was alive. Overcome by grief, he is about to stab himself on the spot, but the Virgin, to whom he has always been devoted, stays his arm and revives Doña Ángela. As the lovers go forth from the church they encounter the merchant (this trait is in only two of the variants), who demands his wife. The lover refuses to give her up and a suit is started in the chancery of Granada (or Rome, or Valladolid), the outcome of which is favorable to Don Juan.

For this story of the ballad form Sra. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal finds a truly Spanish historical germ in an event in the life of an authentic Don Juan de Castilla of Madrid, who lived in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. During his absence from home, his wife was buried as dead, and some time afterward it was found that she had revived in the tomb, only to die a real and more awful death. But this historical occurrence had none of the novelesque traits of the visit to the tomb by the lover and of the subsequent suit (or dispute). However, we find all the important traits combined in an account of two lovers of Burgos, given as historical by Luis Zapata, in his *Miscelánea* of about 1590. Zapata is far from being a trustworthy historian and the chances are that he relates as real what he derives only from fiction sources (and, in particular, from the ballad), for he cites only an unknown version as his informant.

For Sra. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal the dénouement of the ballad is a mere variant of a novelesque theme which is widely diffused. The fundamental element in the dénouement is the suit (or dispute). This is found in Oriental tales, e. g., in the *Tutî-Nameh*. In the Occident we see the theme of the buried woman used twice by Boccaccio, viz., in a story in the *Filocolo* and in the *Decameron*, IV, 10. Although the outcome differs in these tales of Boccaccio from that which prevails in the Spanish traditions, still they possess the essential features of the latter: the lover removing from the tomb the beloved woman and then disputing (debating) with her husband. This particular feature, it must be said, is somewhat disguised by Boccaccio.

Dismissing from detailed consideration—as not having the feature of the suit (dispute), which the authoress stresses particularly—the Romeo and Juliet story of the Italian *novellieri* Massuccio Salernitano, Luigi da Porto and Bandello, and of the playwrights Lope de Vega (*Castelvines y Monteses*) and Shakspeare, as well as a tale of the Italian Giraldis Cinthio and legends recorded by Child for Servian, Russian and Turkish territory, she passes in review other accounts which present closer analogies. One of these is the Italian poem (15th and 16th centuries) *Ginebra degli Almieri*, studied by Rajna (*Romania*, XXXI). This lacks, in its extant form, the incident of the lover's visit to the tomb, but Sra. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal gives a good reason for supposing that an earlier

Italian form of the story had it. All the traditional elements are brought together, although not with the same arrangement as in the Spanish ballad, by Bandello (*Novelle*, II, 41) in his story of Gerardo and Elena, which he declares to be based on fact, and this story provided the plot for the Spanish play, *La difunta pleitada*, whence comes the title of the present treatise. Like La Barrera and Chorley, Sra. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal regards this drama—often attributed to Rojas y Zorrilla—as one of Lope de Vega's and gives more valid reasons for her contention than had been done by those critics. She also makes quite plausible the argument that the *Varios prodigios de amor* of Rojas, which also treats our tradition, is only an elaboration of Lope's piece. From Bandello's tale, furthermore, there was derived the story of Camilo and Lucrecia told in prose by the Spaniard Matrás de los Reyes in his *Menandro* (printed in 1636). Thus it is that we have in Spanish the ballad, two plays and a prose tale, as well as the account given by Zapata, all of which develop the same matter, and the plays and the tale hark back to Bandello. Now it has been stated by Miss Bourland (*Revue hispanique*, XII) that the Spanish ballad came directly from Bandello. From this view Sra. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal dissents. She thinks that the ballad and Zapata's account represent one and the same version and that this is independent of Bandello. "The close resemblance," she says, "discoverable between both proceeds from the fact that these two accounts are those most faithful to the popular tradition. Thus, both contain combined the three essential traits which are isolated in the other versions: (1) They preserve the promise of the lady to marry the man who takes her from the tomb. . . , (2) the visit of the lover to the lady's tomb. . . , (3) the final suit (dispute). . . . The Spanish ballad is, among all these versions known to me, the one most faithful to all the traditional elements. It is probably anterior to Bandello. The case of the wife of Don Juan de Castilla, buried alive in Santo Domingo, called forth this versified redaction of an old theme which, in the form of a tale, may have been current in the tradition of the Peninsula.

It is to be noted that Sra. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal qualifies her statement with regard to the relative dates of the ballad and Bandello's story. This shows commendable prudence, for Bandello's influence in the Spanish peninsula was, in all probability, rather large, and it has not yet been subjected to the research that it demands. A monograph on the subject is much needed. When dealing with Zapata, she mentions the fact that he knows of a happening declared by him to have occurred at Florence, and this happening is like in its nature the story which he recounts of the lovers of Burgos, to which he prefaces it. The tale of what happened in Florence she believes him to have obtained from oral tradition. She may be right. Certainly Zapata's account of the Florentine event varies much from Bandello's story in its details and result, but, as she herself seems to imply (p. 50 f.), Zapata's Florentine story accords in many ways with the Italian *Ginevra* story. The real relation of Zapata to the *Ginevra* could hardly be investigated with profit, because Zapata's account of the Florentine event is extremely brief. Were it possible to examine more fully into it, we might find that the ballad, if it owes nothing to Bandello, at least is of ultimately Italian origin. But all this is only speculation.

Taking all in all, Sra. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal shows herself to be a scholar with a strong grasp of leading facts, which she states clearly and upon

which she bases solid arguments. On this account we have deemed it well worth while to set forth at length the nature and contents of her treatise.

J. D. M. FORD

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*Œuvres Poétiques.* A. HÉROËT. Edition critique, publiée par F. Gohin. Paris, E. Cornély, 1910.

An excellent edition. The biographical notice with which the volume opens adds little to what was already known of the poet's life. Of a serious, reflective nature, Héroët, unlike the greater part of Renaissance writers, left behind no information concerning himself or his ancestors. Born about 1492, at Paris, of an "ancient and illustrious family" (his father, Jean Héroët, was the treasurer of Louis XII), he perhaps studied in his native city, devoting his attention especially to philosophy, and to Plato in particular. In 1524 he was a pensioner of Marguerite de Navarre. His epitaph of Louise de Savoie was written in 1531, the *Blason de l'œil* in 1535, the *Androgyne de Platon* as early as 1536, and *la Parfaicte Amye*, his best known work, was published in 1542. By this time Héroët had become a conspicuous figure in court and literary circles, the friend of Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, and perhaps of Etienne Dolet and Rabelais. Not later than 1543 he took holy orders, and in 1552, thanks doubtless to the influence of his relative François Olivier, Chancellor of France, became Bishop of Digne (Basses-Alpes), which position he held until his death in 1568.

M. Gohin's bibliography of Héroët's works is carefully compiled, stress being placed on the importance of the two editions from the press of Etienne Dolet (1542, 1543), perhaps the only ones published with the author's sanction.

The text of Héroët's principal poems (*la Parfaicte Amye*, *l'Androgyne de Platon*, *Aultre invention extraicte de Platon*, and *Complaincte d'une dame surprise nouvellement d'amour*) is reproduced from the first edition: *La Parfaicte Amye, Nouvellement composée par Antoine Héroët, dict la Maison neufue. Avec aultres compositions dudict Aulteur. A Lyon, Chés Estienne Dolet. 1542.* Variants and a reproduction of the original title page are given. M. Gohin is to be commended for his liberal citing of passages from Castiglione's *Cortegiano* and Plato's works, and for emphasizing the influence of the *Cortegiano* (particularly the portion that deals with woman and love) not only on Héroët, but on other writers of the period.

To the volume printed by Dolet, the editor adds seventeen *Poésies diverses*, among which are to be noted epitaphs of Louise de Savoie and Marguerite de Navarre, the *Blason de l'œil*, Héroët's contribution to the *Blasons des parties du corps féminin*, *l'Amour de Cupido et de Psyché*, written in collaboration with Claude Chappuys and Mellin de Saint-Gelais, *Douleur et Volupté*, long attributed to Clément Marot, *l'Honneur des femmes*, and several quatrains, huitains, rondeaux, etc. Guillaume Colletet's manuscript notice on Héroët and a glossary complete the volume.

Héroët's high position in the French Renaissance has been won by the platonism of a single poem, *la Parfaicte Amye*, although several others, *l'Androgyne de Platon*, *Complaincte d'une dame* . . . , and *Douleur et Volupté* also show more or less platonic influence. M. Gohin rightly devotes a good part of his *Notice biographique* to a consideration of Héroët's masterpiece, which he calls "le grand

œuvre de l'école de Marot." But would he not have done better had he given the reader a clear idea as to the exact nature of the platonism of the *Parfaicte Amye*, "which owes much to the Italian humanists"? Some of the ideas advanced by Héroet are subtle in the extreme, hence a lucid, comprehensive statement of them in the introduction, with a word as to their origin, is more than desirable.

In order to emphasize Héroet's importance, M. Gohin should have given a brief summary of the slow but constant spread of platonism in France prior to the efforts of Marguerite de Navarre and Héroet; then the rôle played by the latter would have stood out more strongly, and even the casual reader could see why Héroet must be considered one of the chief precursors of the Pleiad.

For the sake of comparison the passage from the *Symposium* on which the *Androgyne de Platon* is based should have been given in a footnote.

And finally, mention should have been made of an excellent synopsis of the *Parfaicte Amye* by W. A. R. Kerr in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 20, pp. 567-583.

R. L. HAWKINS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-1582), Essai sur sa vie, son œuvre et son influence. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Caen. Par l'abbé CLÉMENT JUGÉ. Paris, 1907. Pp. xv + 449.*

When we consider the varied activities of Jacques Peletier, the interesting rôle that he played in the literary history of the sixteenth century, we are not surprised that he has received so much attention in recent years. He devoted his early youth to the study of law, but his passion for Greek and the poetry of Marot soon convinced him that literature was his real field. As secretary of René du Bellay, he made the acquaintance of the young Joachim and his friend Ronsard, and discussed with them many of the doctrines that were later to form a prominent part of the *Deffence et Illustration*. We next find him as principal of the Collège de Bayeux, but the teaching profession—although he was forced to it in later life—never appealed to him. Nevertheless, his pedagogical theories are original and interesting. His mathematical text-books enjoyed wide popularity throughout the century. But his remarkable mind, ever on the alert for new problems to solve, soon led him into other fields. One might say that Peletier is a typical representative of the spirit of the times. That unsettled century, rent in twain by religious wars and philosophical discussions, abounded in original scholars who foresaw the necessity of establishing all learning on a scientific basis. We are often inclined to consider comparative grammar as one of the distinctly modern sciences. And yet several comparative grammars, especially of the Semitic languages, were published during the sixteenth century. From mathematics Peletier turned to medicine, and began to revolutionize that science, still encumbered with the puerile theories of the past. While engrossed in the study of this subject, he yet found the time to delve into the mysteries of reformed spelling. He entered into this famous discussion, which lasted for several years, with all of the enthusiasm and intensity characteristic of a sixteenth century scholar. Those who agreed with him were his friends, those who dared to differ were his bitter enemies. And it is interesting to note in this regard that the arguments adduced by him and others for and against



reformed spelling, as well as the orthographical changes that he advocated—such as the omission of certain letters, the substitution of *s* for *x*, etc.—are astonishingly similar to those advanced in our own times by Meyer, Brunot, and other eminent scholars. But it was as a poet that Peletier was held in highest esteem by his contemporaries. His verse is not deficient in inspiration and bears the impress of originality. “Il est le docte, le fameux Peletier,” says M. Lau-  
monier, “pour du Bellay, Ronsard, Baïf, Montaigne, Pasquier, de Thou et d’autres.”<sup>1</sup> We are therefore grateful to Abbé Jugé for having given us the first complete study of the life and work of this interesting personage.

While in its most important features the monograph of Abbé Jugé deserves no little praise, we regret to say that it has some weak points. One fails to see, for example, why he insists upon the fact that his study differs essentially from that of Hauréau.<sup>2</sup> It is not in this spirit that a scholar should undertake such a work: he should, on the contrary, profit by all that his predecessors have accomplished. Hauréau may not be always a safe guide, but when he says that an edition of the *In Christophorum Clavium de contactu linearum Apologia* appeared at Paris (Guillaume Cavellat) in 1559, it seems that Abbé Jugé, instead of ignoring the statement because the book is not to be found in the libraries of Paris, should at least have attempted to verify it by means of catalogues of other libraries (cf. Graesse, *Trésor*, etc., mentioned below). The same can be said of the editions of the *Demonstrationes tres* (Paris, 1559, 4to), and of the *Dialogue de l'ortografe* (Poitiers, Marnef, 1559, 8vo), both of which our author has omitted. Abbé Jugé appears to accept Hauréau as a biographer, but not as a bibliographer.

As a matter of fact, the bibliography is the most incomplete and unsatisfactory part of this monograph. In no instance does the author give an accurate description of a work of Peletier. He does not even refer to Picot's admirable *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Rothschild*, which contains careful and minute descriptions of several of his editions. Baudrier's *Bibliographie lyonnaise* is nowhere mentioned, nor has Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* been consulted, although it contains mention of a 1549 edition of the *Annotationes in arithmetica Gemmæ Frisii* (Paris, Cavellat), which is not to be found in Abbé Jugé's study. We have said above that our author has limited his researches to the libraries of Paris; hence he is unaware of the existence of the 1554 edition of Peletier's *Arithmétique* (Poitiers, Marnef, 8vo), copies of which are in the libraries of Chaumont and Troyes, and of the 1628 edition of *Les six premiers livres des éléments d'Euclide* (Genève, Jean de Tournes, 8vo), of which a copy is in the library of Chartres.

Other editions of Peletier's works not noted by M. Jugé are: 1. *Les Iliades d'Homere . . . traduit . . . en vers François, par M. H. Salel . . . Avec le Premier et Second de l'Odissee d'Homere, par J. Peletier*, etc., 1570, etc., 8vo, Brit. Mus. 11315 aaa2; 2. *Les XXIV livres de l'Iliade d'Homere . . . traduits . . . par M. H. Salel . . . et . . . A. Jamyn . . . Avec le premier et second de l'Odyssée par J. Peletier*, etc., 1580, 12mo, *Ibid.* 1349a; 3. *L'Arithmétique de*

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres poétiques de Jacques Peletier du Mans, publiées par Léon Séché et Paul Laumonier*, Paris, 1904, p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hauréau's study in the *Histoire littéraire du Maine*, Paris, 1876, pp. 35-63.

Jacques Peletier du Mans, *départie en quatre livres*, ff. 103, Poitiers, 1549, 4to, *Ibid.* 8507, pp. 39. M. J., not knowing of the existence of this copy, states merely that it is "cité par Deschamps et Brunet" (p. iii); 4. *L'Art poétique . . . départi en deux livres*, Lyon, 1555, 8vo, *Ibid.* 1088c39. This edition is mentioned by Hauréau, p. 40; 5. *J. Peletarij . . . Commentarii tres. I. De dimensione circuli. II. De contactu linearum. . . . III. De constitutione horoscopi*, Basileae, 1563, fol., *Ibid.* 531n12(1); 6. *J. Peletarij de conciliatione locorum Galeni*, in *H. Cardani contradicentium Medicorum libri duo*, etc., 1607, 8vo, *Ibid.* 1169c6; 7. *J. Peletarii De fractionibus astronomicis compendium de cognoscendis per memoriam calendis . . . Arithmeticae practicae methodus facilis*, Huc accesserunt *J. Peletarii . . . annotationes*, etc., 1556, 8vo, *Ibid.* 531d6; 8. Another edition. 1576, 8vo, *Ibid.*, 8503b13; 9. Another edition. 1578, 8vo, *Ibid.* 531d31(1); 10. Another edition. 1592, 8vo, 531d7(1); 11. *La Savoie*, published in the *Mémoires et Documents de la Société Savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie*, I, 1856, Chambéry. According to M. Mugnier, this is almost a fac-simile edition and contains a "notice de M. Joseph Dessaix sur Peletier et ses ouvrages." Cf. *La Revue de la Renaissance*, 1901, p. 207. Graesse, *Trésor de Livres rares et précieux* (Dresden, 1864, V, p. 188), Viollet Le Duc, *Bibl. poét.* I, 264, etc., and the *Bull. du Bibl.* (1847, July, p. 284 sq.) mention the following editions not noted by M. J.: 1. *Demonstrationes III, prima de anguli rectilinei et curvilinei aequalitate. II. De lineae in tres partes continue proportionales sectione. III. de areae trianguli ex numeris aestimatione*, Lugd., 1557, 4to; 2. *In Christophor. Clavium de contactu linearum apologia*, Paris, 1559, 4to; 3. *L'arithmétique départie en quatre livres revue et corrigée*, Poitiers, 1551, 8vo; 4. *Enseignement de vertu, au petit Seigneur Timoleon de Cosse*, Lion, 1554, 16mo.

Turning to the biographical section of this study, we fear that Abbé Jugé is, at times, inclined to emphasize too much the importance of the documentary evidence that he has discovered (cf. p. 13). On p. 11 our author has obviously undervalued the rank of the *imprimeur* in the sixteenth century in considering him as one of the *peuple*. At that time the word *imprimeur*, in its ordinary usage, was synonymous with *libraire*; and many of the publishers were not only scholars, such as Dolet, but of wealthy and aristocratic origin, as, for example, Guillaume Scève, of Lyons, who was, according to M. Buche, "un des correcteurs de l'imprimerie de Sébastien Gryphe." On p. 23, Abbé Jugé states that about 1543 Peletier "fixe d'une façon définitive son programme de rénovation littéraire," and communicates it to Ronsard and du Bellay, "qui bien plus docilement qu'on ne le supposerait, le reprirent dans ses affirmations essentielles." And he does not supply the slightest evidence to support this statement. There is no doubt, as we have said above, that Peletier, like Maurice Scève and many others, was, to a certain extent, a precursor of the Pléiade, but that he really composed the *Deffence* is hardly tenable. On p. 53, M. Jugé concludes that Peletier did not write the *Enseignement de vertu*, mentioned by du Verdier, Graesse and others (see above), because it is not to be found in the libraries of Paris, and, furthermore, because neither Colletet nor La Croix du Maine speaks of it. Stronger evidence than this is necessary to prove that a trustworthy bibliographer like du Verdier is incorrect. The *Messigneurs du Faur*, to whom *Science* in the *Euvres poétiques* (1581) is dedicated, are without doubt the famous Guy du

\* *Revue des Langues romanes*, 1896, p. 80.

Faur de Pibrac and Pierre du Faur de St. Jory. A typographical error on p. 124 may cause confusion—viz., “au lieu du *l* ou *p* latin, l'étymologie met un *v* arbitrairement” should read “au lieu du *b* ou *p* latin” etc.

Probably where Abbé Jugé is at his best is in the chapters devoted to Peletier as a poet. His criticisms are usually very judicious. However, it is unfortunate that he should dismiss Buttet, du Coudray, Lambert and Piochet, who are praised by Peletier in his poem on Savoy, with the statement that they are “peu connus ou entièrement obscurs” (p. 252). If he had known of M. Mugnier's excellent work on *Marc Claude de Buttet* (Paris, 1896), or had consulted any biographical dictionary of Savoy, he would have probably modified his words. In fact, he is unaware of the existence of the exquisite sonnet addressed by Buttet to Peletier, whom the poet calls “divin” and compares to a god. The closing verses are especially beautiful:

Et ainsi que jadis au vieil chancre de Thrace  
Les fleuves, et torrens, et pins lui ont fait place,  
Et pensant voir un Dieu, se sont émerveillés!

In a very interesting chapter entitled *Peletier, auteur populaire*, Abbé Jugé holds that Prof. Tilley is wrong in attributing the *Joyeux Devis* to Des Périers. He claims, on the contrary, that this well-known work is by Peletier. We do not believe he has proved his point, but lack of space forbids us to analyze his arguments here.

J. L. G.

*Nouvelles françaises inédites du Quinzième Siècle.* Par ERNEST LANGLOIS. Paris, H. Champion, 1908. 8vo, pp. xii + 158.

The fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* contains the hitherto inedited collection of *nouvelles* discovered in MS. 1716 of the Queen Christine collection at the Vatican by Prof. Ernest Langlois of the University of Lille. Prof. Langlois publishes the forty-five chapters comprising the manuscript in a well-edited volume with notes, indications of sources and vocabulary. The author of the collection seems to be an unknown compiler from Lens or its vicinity. Prof. Langlois places the composition in the second half of the fifteenth century, although his arguments are not conclusive. Roughly speaking, the collection may be divided into three groups: light tales on the model of the *Decameron*, pious narratives borrowed for the most part from the *Vie des Pères*, finally a group of religious exhortations and moral sentences. The author was evidently not a literary man, in fact, his fondness for exact numbers and for giving names to even minor characters in his tales shows evidence of a mind childish in its conceptions. Comparison with his sources, when they exist, at once betrays his mediocre talent in reproducing the narrative. Yet one thing must be mentioned in his favor—the rare quality, for his time, of avoiding the vulgar and salacious details common to his contemporaries. The twenty-fourth chapter, *De Herleus, hermite qui confessa Alisonnette*, when compared with its original in the *Vie des Pères*, demonstrates the author's chasteness of thought and simplicity of religious faith. With the exception of a bare half-dozen, none of these *nouvelles* has before been published. Their value to scholars will be considerable in the establishment of lines of relationship between their immediate predecessors and tales composed in later times. Some will be especially

interesting because of their connection with Boccaccio, Sercambi and Rabelais. Prof. Langlois's notes are always stimulating and suggestive.

A. G. PANARONI

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

*La poesia religiosa di Iacopo Sannazaro.* By GIUSEPPE MORPURGO. Ancona, tip. Centrale, 1909. Pp. 73.

The modesty of the author makes this volume quite as inaccessible as the few copies circulated some years ago. That it is a work of youth is to be gathered only from the preface. Nor does the mention of it by Flamini in the *Cinquecento*, nor the brief notice of it elsewhere diminish the value of a summary of it here.

Its major theme is the *De partu Virginis*, studied as an expression of that conflict of nascent paganism, of degenerate superstition, of scientific atheism, of militant Christianity, that constitutes the Italian Reformation. This movement seems to Mr. M. really a beneficent religious awakening (p. 6); we do not know how far he would accept the view which sees in it a resolute turning of Italy toward the past rather than toward the future; nor how far he would explain the pessimism of the Seicento as the work of the Council of Trent. One may still see in this trying epoch and in the way Italy came out of it, the ultimate cause of Custozza, Novara and Aspromonte;—and still be no more in sympathy with the Teutonic Reform than Mr. Santayana.

Mr. M. places the beginning of the poem in 1500 and its completion in 1521 (pp. 9-11); and then outlines the struggle through which Sannazaro passed in perfecting it, a history of minute yet passionate textual criticism, which resulted among other things in abandoning the original title of the poem: *Christiados* (pp. 11-16). The question, posed by Paolo Giovio in 1577, whether with Sannazaro himself and his contemporaries the *De partu Virginis* was considered inferior to the *Eclogæ piscatoriæ*, Mr. M. leaves in the hypothetical state; but concludes that the author could have had for it the Cardinal's hat; as the Pope, troubled by the chaos in Germany, saw in the poem a turning of the humanists toward the traditional religion. The delay of five years in the publication of the work, Mr. M. attributes to the doubts of Sannazaro as to the perfection of the style; and to his distrust of the printers, who had piqued his pride as a scholar in mutilations of the *Arcadia*;—a preoccupation behind which one notes the seething individualism of the Renaissance, that made of mistaken Latin cases evidence of moral turpitude, and of wrong word-endings a pretext for sword thrusts (pp. 16-19).

The meeting in the poem of Christian vagueness and the concrete splendor of classic form affords Mr. M. occasion for some of that acute esthetic analysis, of which Italians from the composite nature of their cultural inheritance furnish such brilliant examples. In Sannazaro's invocation, the angels are addressed as the inspirers of Christian truth; the Muses, as the guides to poetic ornament: here we have the usual Renaissance conception of poetry as the sweetener of moral teaching. The treatment of the Divinity in book I is too prolix and indefinite to be adequate; but the narration of the events that lead up to the Conception have certain perfect images, quite extraneous to the theme itself. Mary's person is made beautiful by reminiscences of Sannazaro's life beside the sea; but—and Mr. M. winces before his own conclusion with qualms that Carducci would not have felt—"how could the Immaculate Conception rise

to the pure beauty of classic art?" One has only to peruse a few studies of religious poetry to see how far from a platitude this courageous judgment is. The scene where David sings prophetically the life of Christ is an artistic compromise, between the necessity of not ignoring the great facts in the Christian story, and the need of not allowing that narration to become the main theme of the book, which Sannazaro centred around the Birth alone. This portion influenced the Demon chorus in Milton's *Hell* (pp. 19-29).

The severity of Mr. M.'s criticisms on the second cantica is tempered by a genial and delicate humor. The simple narrative of the Testament becomes ridiculous in the stately metre of Virgil and the pompous ornament of the Renaissance: Joseph arrives at Bethlehem and the inns are crowded: inflamed by the glory of his high mission, in the presence of the Father and mid the whisperings of the Holy Oracles, he goes—to find a boarding house. “Un parto [che] potesse estendersi per tre lunghi libri d'un poema virgiliano . . . sarebbe, convenitemi, un parto lungo e doloroso.” However Mary's approach to her house, with nature bursting into life before her, continues that beautiful popular adoration of woman which stretches onward through literature from Lucretius. So the scene in the manger after the birth recalls the beauty of the famous *Laude* of Leonardo Giustinian. Possibly in his arraignment of the catalogue of the nations, to introduce which the poet makes use of the legend of the Augustan census,<sup>1</sup> Mr. M. had not brought out all that Sannazaro had in mind. We have elsewhere shown how the religious poets of the Renaissance used this traditional device of the epic to emphasize the universality of Christ's mission, as in the *Mondo Nuovo* of Stigliani. But the critic rightly ridicules the mechanical manner in which the matter is introduced; and Sannazaro's painful hesitation as to whether he shall follow Strabo or Pomponius Mela, deciding finally to make the same circle of the Mediterranean which they adopt. In the whole book Virgil seems “suffocated by a mugginess that has an odor of the sacristy” (pp. 29-37).

Mr. M. associates the speech (in the third book) of the Father to the blessed in heaven, recalling the triumphs of the Divine Will over the forces of evil, with the speech of Satan to the Demons, in Milton. In the rest of the poem, inspiration fails completely; and the author has recourse, not without the same hair-splitting preoccupations, to various classic expedients. In proportion as the Christian force weakens, classic images usurp the imagination of the poet, till the whole narrative closes with the appearance of the river god Jordan with a retinue of piquant nymphs: the poet who begins with a dim vision of Christian mystery has ended in a blazing splendor of voluptuous pagan imagery. The anomaly is explained by the current concept of the ancient gods: on the one hand, they stood for general moral abstractions; on the other they suggested brilliant images, capable of being added to any variety of ideas. When Jordan

<sup>1</sup> I note with surprise that Mr. M. cites the authority of Renan's *Vie de Jésus* (which I suppose took on a modern appearance in the Neapolitan translation of 1901), for the statement that the tradition of the census at the time of the Birth is “contradicted by modern criticism.” With the date of the Birth itself problematical, the plausibility of Luke's narrative is shown by Nathaniel Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth*, MacMillan, 1905, p. 241; and by Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdisches Volkes*, Halle, 1901, pp. 508-543.

returns to his river bed again, Sannazaro goes out to take the air; and we are left with a picture of the rocks, the hills, the flowers, the groves of the Neapolitan shore (pp. 37-44). Expressing a general judgment (pp. 44-46), Mr. M. thinks that the *De Partu Virginis* has a double subject, the Birth and the Life, wherein the latter is really used to make up for the poverty of the former as a literary theme; the art of the poet, to atone for the inherent weakness of this composite subject, strove to create a lyric feeling, which however rises only to the pseudo-lyric. The vibration of the author's imagination between classic and Christian matter, shows the weakness of the initial impulse. The poem is still not mediocre, nor yet profound: it is elegant.

The great figure in the poem is not Christ but Virgil, to whose art Sannazaro has not been superior, but to whom the elegance of the verse and concept is due<sup>2</sup> (pp. 47-49). As a rule in Renaissance Christian poetry, the only personages with relief are those driven by sin; Sannazaro creates no exception to this rule; his characters are sticks and shadows, though that of Mary has a flicker of femininity (pp. 49-50).

Up to 1877, the poem was favored with a score or more of translations of which the best is that of Bartolomeo Casaregi, of 1780. The *De partu* exerted definite influence on Tansillo (*Lacrime di S. Pietro*, VIII) and on Marino's *Strage degli Innocenti*. Tasso owed to it "tutta la mossa iniziale della Gerusalemme," and much of the reputed Virgilian influence there really proceeds from Sannazaro. Indisputable is the imitation of him in the *Christados* of Vida. This poem is really Christian, and superior therefore to the *De partu* in all that regards plan. Further, Vida is interested in the narrative, Sannazaro in the dogma of Christianity. But Vida lacks the elegance and the lyric movement of Sannazaro (pp. 50-57).—The *Saggio di bibliografia* (pp. 51-61) cites fifty-one editions of the *De Partu* between 1526 and 1844.

The hymns to S. Iacobo and S. Gaudioso have nothing noteworthy. But Mr. M. cites some curious cases where Testament passages (e. g., the arrival of the bride-groom) are utilized but in forms that exist almost textually in Catullus and Horace—a fine evidence of the pagan temper of Renaissance Christianity. To S. Nazaro the poet had a peculiar relation: his family came from the village of S. Nazaro; and he was born on that saint's day. Sannazaro, therefore, inspired by what Mr. M. considers a degenerate anthropomorphism in the religion of his time, offered to S. Nazaro a cult that was especially serious; and in moments of unusual stress of circumstances—as for instance during his exile in France—the poet directed to him sapphics "delle più meravigliose di tutta la letteratura latina del Rinascimento." The *Tristia* however are still not religious; if sacred at all, they are sacred for their love of Italy. The *Lamentatio de morte Christi domini* was written under just such conditions and approaches nearest of all the religious poems to ascetic Catholic ideals; it is therefore somewhat in contradiction with the rest of Sannazaro's Latin poems, and shows the variation of feelings the minds of the period were capable of. The lowest ebb of his art also is found in his Italian religious verses; where not even the brilliancy of the humanist comes to the rescue of a cold and inefficacious inspiration.

A. A. L.

---

<sup>2</sup> Sannazaro cleverly assimilates Virgil to his Christian theme by putting the Fourth Eglogue almost textually into the prophecy of Jordan.

*Verzeichnis der Namen der altfranzösischen Chanson de Geste: Aliscans.* By Paul Rasch. Magdeburg, Carl Friesche, 1909, 8vo, pp. 44.

The present work was announced in the prefatory note of the edition of *Aliscans* published by him in 1903 in conjunction with E. Wienbeck and W. Hartnacke. The compiler has included in his list the proper names in the edition of the *Willame* published by Professor Baist, also those in the *Willehalm*, according to the edition of Lachmann and the study of San Marte. An uninformed person would probably infer from the words used concerning the "edition" of Professor Baist that this edition was the first to announce the discovery of the MS. of the *Willame*. The author might at least have spelled correctly the title (however unfortunate) adopted by Professor Baist.

A work which offered a careful list of the proper names in the three related poems mentioned would be of genuine value. The pleasant anticipations with which we take up Mr. Rasch's book are sure to be disappointed. The task has not been done with sufficient thoroughness, with sufficient reflection. Yet, surely, the compiler had no lack of good models, in the works of H. Hawickhorst, and E. Langlois.<sup>1</sup>

One aggravating blunder in the plan of the book soon strikes the reader: in many instances, not all the occurrences of a name are given. When the reader discovers this, a very large part of the supposed value of the work has disappeared. A defect of less importance is the author's gift in selecting an undesirable form of a proper name and making it the norm. For example, why *Ainquin*, and not *Aquin*? Why *Tiebaut*, instead of *Tibaut*? Why *Porpil-lart*? Why *Gerart* instead of *Girart*, *Geronde* instead of *Gironde*? Why *Baldevin* with *v* and *Corboran* with the second *o*? Why the double *l* in *Tollete*, and why *Rainceval*? Why *Vrabel*, when the form is *Urabel*? This last name recalls the lamentable fashion in which the compiler misuses and, apparently, misapprehends *u* and *v*. He seems to be under the impression that the scribes distinguish frequently between these letters. We find, for example, under *Buevon* a number of forms with *v*, but by their side others with *u*, such as *Bouon*. And what shall we say of such forms as (under *Folatille*) *Uolatile*, *Uolatin*, by the side of *Volatile*, *Folatin*? Is *Ualfondee* anything different from *Valfondee*, *Uermendais*, from *Vermandois*, *Uiuien*, from *Vivien*?

I venture to set down at random a number of suggestions, some of which might prove desirable for a second edition of Mr. Rasch's work.

On page 1, it seems to the writer worth while to mention as significant that Aelis calls Renoart *frere*, and the compiler makes a similar error in stating that Bertran is given as the uncle of Vivien because he calls him *nies*. It is astounding that such blunders exist.—The correction of *Alfais*, as found in the edition of Baist, into *Alfais* was properly made.—*Amoravins*, l. 2441 of the *Willame* should have been included, in view of *Pincenars* and numerous similar names. Under *Ansunne*, l. 2559 of the *Willame* should by all means have been mentioned.—The statement that *Archanc*, in l. 47 of MS. *e* is feminine, is incorrect, which renders grotesque the exclamation-point of the writer.—The visible error: *de Dasturges* (under *Dasturges* and *Turien*) should have been corrected to *d'Asturges*.—*Beleem* occurs in the *Willame*, and should not have been omitted.—I think that it would have been preferable to print *Bernard* and

<sup>1</sup> H. Hawickhorst, *Romanische Forschungen*, XIII, 1902, p. 689 ss.; E. Langlois, *Table des Noms Propres dans les Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1904.

*Tedbald* (with *d*, rather than *t*).—*Aspre* and *Cordres* are the better forms of the names given under *Apre* and *Cordes*. The statement made that *Bride* is in Galicia is unwarranted, and betrays an ignorance that would grieve Mr. Joseph Bédier.<sup>2</sup>—According to the list, *Garin* appears only in the *Willame*. Why then does the author speak of him as *Vivien's* father? This relationship nowhere appears in that chanson. Another point: the name *Garin* is to be found in the variants to *Aliscans* as given by Mr. G. Rolin in his edition, after l. 4635 and in l. 7736.—The definition of *Canaloine* as *Canaan* has no warrant known to me.—*Chastele* has been omitted. I am not familiar with *Grachardin* at the beginning of MS. *e* of *Aliscans*, but have seen there *Guichardin*.—The statement that *Glorianne* is a region near *Arles* is wide of the mark.—The name *Efforaon* should appear (*Aliscans*, MS. *e*, l. 30<sup>a</sup>).—Under *Timonier* (which the compiler does well to give), he should, as a concession to certain MSS., have included the name of *Landri*.—Having included *Timonier*, one is at a loss why he did not include also *Palasin*.—*Malo* would have been preferable to *Mallou*.—The statement made under *Hunaut* that MS. *d* has *Huez* in l. 7 of *Aliscans*, is incorrect.—Under *Haucebier*, the epithet *d'Erpin* should be added for l. 290 of MS. *d*, and *Erpin* should appear as a proper name.—Under *Vuisant*, MS. *d* has *Vicant*, not *Vincant*.—Hubert, who is named in l. 5902 of MS. *V* of *Aliscans*, should appear in the list.—It is surprising not to find the very important reading *Ermentrut* of MS. *M*, following l. 3875 of *Aliscans*.—It would probably be well to treat *Rufin*, in l. 1416 of *Aliscans*, as a proper name. The scribe of MS. *V* certainly understood it thus, for he writes: *Ruphin*. The city of *Rains* is mentioned in l. 2691 of this poem, MS. *V*, but, as in many other similar cases, the name is lacking in the present volume.—The author has done well in changing the *d'Urces* (?) of l. 1399 of *Aliscans*, edition of Halle (vid. variant of *C*), into *Durces*.—Doubtless the first *n* of *Sarragoncans* should be omitted.—The form given by MS. *C*, in l. 1854, is *Matusalans*, and not as printed.—Under *Tiebaut*, the reference to l. 335<sup>a</sup> should be to 355<sup>a</sup>. It would have been desirable to give the name *Rabie*, *Arabie*, in view of the variants of MS. *M*, which offer, in l. 1776 of *Aliscans*, *Tiber de Rabie*, and, in l. 2773, *Tibaus de Rabie*. There should have been a form *Naymer* given, in view of certain important variants. The writer distinguishes two heroes bearing the name *Bandus*; he might have shown the possibility, if not the extreme likelihood, that these heroes are one and the same person, and that an attempted distinction has been introduced by the remanieur.—Instead of *Lealme*, in the *Willame*, one should probably read unhesitatingly: *Alealme*. The words: *Gumebald, frere Alealme*, of l. 3422, were wrongly interpreted: *G., frere a Lealme*.—*Orguaquain* is mentioned under *Vaucrant*, but should be in the alphabetic list, with a cross-reference. Many names are in this situation. Concerning *Vaucrant*, which the author gives as a proper name, I suggest its being an ordinary participle; vid. *vaucrer* in Godefroi.—Certain *Terre* should certainly have been included in the list of proper names, however uncertain we may be of its significance.—The articles *Guibelin* and *Guibert* should have been united, for they refer to one and the same person, as is indicated in several published texts, and also in various unpublished MSS. *Fou-*

<sup>2</sup> A similar mistake was made by Mr. Willy Schultz in his *Handschriften-verhältnis des Covenant Vivian*, p. 70, concerning the *Larcant* and *Saint-Gilles*.



*con de Candie* mentions Guibert d'Andrenas by the name Guibelin; we read there of a precious sword:

Desous Nerbone li ceinst a .i. matin,  
Ce jor qu'il pristrent le petit Guibelin.  
(MS. de Londres, fol. 271 v°)

Similarly, in *Guibert d'Andrenas*, when Aymeri asks his wife to whom they shall leave their fief of Narbonne, she replies:

Sire, dist ele, Guibelin le hardi  
La doit avoir, par foi le vos plevi.  
...(MS. de Londres, fol. 176 r°)

It is not at all necessary to suppose that the Hugues mentiond in ll. 3216 is a son of Bertran, as reflection will show.—The name Jaceram occurs in the *Willame*, and shoud appear in the author's list.—*Limenes* is printed with the last vowel as *é*; we are totally in the dark as to the quality of this vowel.—It is not clear why Mr. Rasch speaks of Aimeri in the *Willame* (l. 298) as falsly presented as the grandfather of Vivien.—The *v* in the name *Macabeu* shoud be a *u*.—The Tedbald l'esturman of the *Willame* is the Tibaut, first husband of Orable, and shoud be treated with Tibaut. Again, the article concerning Tedbalt de Burges shoud probably include (at least with a question mark) the Tibaut d'Arrabe (error probably for: *de Berri*) of l. 2773 of *Aliscans*.<sup>1</sup>—Flori is put down as an enemy of Guillaume in the *Willame*. Professor George L. Hamilton has suggested in a letter to me that Flori may be the name of a horse.—The name Romaine is definid as Rumania in l. 582<sup>2</sup> of *Aliscans*: *Mais par saint Pere k'en requiert en Romaine*. This definition woud offer an occasion for returning to the writer at least one of the exclamation points of which he is so prodigal.

R. W.

*Trouvaille ou Pastiche? Doutes exprimés au sujet de la Chançon de Willame.*

Par Emile Tron, Bari, Joseph Laterza et Fils, 1909.

Professor Tron, of the Royal Technical Institute of Rome, believes that the *Chançon de Willame* may well be a forgery. A number of points appear to him suspicious: the fact that the owner and discoverer of the poem conceals his name, and refuses to let the MS. be seen;<sup>3</sup> that the MS. contains linguistic errors which are ascribed (by the scholars) to the scribe's being an "Anglo-Norman," who knew French imperfectly; that Gaston Paris had put forth the hypothesis that a chanson older than *Aliscans* and the *Chevalerie Vivien* had preceded these poems; also that Paris had conjectured that the original form of the epithet of Guillaume was: *au courb nez*, which is actually found a number of times in the *Willame*; that the *Willame* alone of all the

<sup>1</sup> One might at first suppose that there has been an identical contamination in the case of Hugon de Berri in *Orson de Beauvais*, who is calld Hugon l'Arabi in l. 2361. An examination shows, however, that the latter title was given him intentionally by the author, and that it signifies 'felon, criminal.'

<sup>2</sup> One of my friends, who is a skild paleografist, has seen the MS. of the *Willame*; I believe, too, that a second friend has seen it.

chansons of the geste exists in a single MS., not in a cyclic collection; the fact, asserted by Mr. Joseph Bédier, that the author of the newly found poem knew nearly all the chansons of the cycle, yet his poem announces itself as being as ancient probably as the *Chanson de Roland*, etc. The author ridicules the filological evidence brought out by me in the *Romania*:<sup>a</sup> for him, evidently, all such attempts at determining the origin and relativ dates of MSS. and texts are vain.

It is perhaps well, once for all, to have exprest some of the doubts which must have flasht over the minds of Romance scholars when the discovery of the *Willame* was announst. All at first must have felt some doubt, but it could not stand before the indubitable evidence of the text as publisht. Furthermore, it woud have been better to express these doubts in a form showing more acquaintance with and appreciation of modern critical scholarship. In fact, there is not one of the arguments adust in the present volume which has any value. In conclusion, let me draw attention to the author's unconscious self-deception: he early in his study puts forth the supposition that the *Willame* may be a forgery, and that its perpetrator may be at present laughing in secret over the success of his mystification; all of this is very well. But he immediately begins to assume that the poem is a forgery, and that its perpetrator does exist.

R. W.

---

<sup>a</sup> Vol. XXXIV, p. 243.

## BRIEF REPORT ON AMERICAN CONTRI- BUTIONS TO ROMANCE SCHOLAR- SHIP IN 1910.

### GENERAL

*Quindecim signa ante iudicium.* *A Contribution to the History of the Latin Versions of the Legend*, by H. E. Sandison, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 1910, pp. 73-83. Studies the question in Aquinas, Damien, etc. Review of D. Jones' *Intonation Curves*, by R. Weeks, *Maître Phonétique*, 1910, pp. 82-3.—*Origin of the Medieval Passion-Play*, by K. Young, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 309-354. Proposes that the passion-play could have developed independently of the *Planctus* from the *passio* itself. Discussion of the *Litterae* of passion MSS. and the dramatic character of the *depositio crucis*.—*An Early Italian Edition of Aesop's Fables*, by H. E. Smith, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, pp. 65-7. A relative of those collections which derive ultimately from that of Gualterus Anglicus (anno 1175).—*Antigone's Song of Love*, by G. L. Kittredge, *Mod. Lang. Notes*. It was inspired by Guillaume de Marchaut's *Paradis d'Amour*, not by the *Filostrato*.—*On Feeldes in the Knight's Tale*, *ibid.*, p. 28. Examples showing use of *pais*, etc., in similar figures, from *Perceval le Gallois*, *Troie*, Boiardo. Cf. also Miss Gildersleeve, *ibid.*, p. 30.—*The Bleeding Lance*, by A. C. L. Brown, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 1-59. A notable article proving the Celtic and non-Christian origin of the lance.—*A World Census of Incunabula*, by G. C. Keidel, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 161-5. Geographical distribution of incunabula.—*Professor Kastner's Hypothesis*, by J. M. Berdan, *ibid.*, pp. 1-4. On the mutual relation of the three forms of a sonnet appearing in St. Gelais, Wyatt and Sannazaro.—*L'Art pour l'art*, by J. E. Spingarn, *ibid.*, p. 95. Example in Constant's correspondence earlier than the occurrence in the lectures of Cousin, 1818, hitherto cited as the origin.—*The Sources of Stevenson's Bottle Imp*, by J. W. Beach, *ibid.*, pp. 12-18. In connection with the mandrake, we might expect a reference to Machiavelli's comedy of that name, which explains Roscoe's translation of the German title.—*Allgemeine Phonetik*, by R. Weeks, *Romanische Jahresbericht der romanischen Philologie*, X, I, 47-53.

### FRENCH

*The Boulogne Manuscript of the Chevalerie Vivien*, by R. Weeks, *Mod. Lang. Review*, V (1910), pp. 54-68.—*An Old French Metrical Paraphrase of Psalm XLIV published from all the known Manuscripts and attributed to Adam de Perseigne*, by T. A. Jenkins, *Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur*, XX, pp. LV, 128.—*A New Fragment of the Old French Gui de Warewic*, by T. A. Jenkins, *Mod. Philology*, VII (1910), pp. 593-6. Found in the Library of York Minster.—*Chauceriana*, by G. L. Kittredge, *ibid.*, pp. 465-83. Indebtedness of Chaucer to Guillaume de Machaut, Geoffroy de Vinsauf, etc.—*The Mediaeval Mimus*, by P. S. Allen, *ibid.*, pp. 329-44. Doubts any connection between the Roman *mime* and the mediaeval *jongleur* and *spielmann*.—*Duke Frederick of Normandy, an Arthurian Romance*, by E. Thorstenberg, *ibid.*, pp. 395-409.

Analysis of contents.—*Melite*, by T. A. Jenkins, *Romania*, XXXIX (1910), pp. 83-6. Identifies it with the Island of Malta.—*Anc. Franç. moisseron*, by D. S. Blondheim, *ibid.*, p. 87. Identical with modern French *Mousseron*, English *mushroom*.—*The Weavers' Inscription in the Cathedral of Chartres*, by W. P. Shepard, *M.L.N.*, pp. 170-1. Successful solution of a difficulty caused by peculiar methods of glass workers.—*On an Acrostic in Villon*, by J. W. Kuhne, *M.L.N.*, p. 160. *Martheos* contains a reference to an unidentified *Marthe*.—*Guillaume de Deguileville and the Roman de la Rose*, by S. M. Galpin, *ibid.*, 159-160. Figure of a virtue compared to a candle.—*Chantecler*, by M. S. Garner, *ibid.*, p. 159. Use of animals in *La Forêt mouillée* of Hugo.—*Une nouvelle Source d'Atala*, by G. Chinard, *ibid.*, 137-141. Studies *Les Aventures du Sieur Le Beau*. First of some noteworthy studies on Chateaubriand.—*The magic Balm of Gerbert and Fierabras*, by R. H. Griffith, *ibid.*, p. 102-4. Connects the balm that raises the dead with the Grail legend.—*Sainte-Beuve's Influence on Matthew Arnold*, by J. Warshaw, *ibid.*, 77-8. Nothing definite.—*Shakespeare's Julius Caesar*, by H. M. Ayres, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, XXV, 183-227. Considers its relation to Jacques Grévin's *César* (1558).—*Landericus and Wachterius*, by M. C. Spalding, *ibid.*, pp. 152-163. Corrects the reading of *Narciso* in a passage of Petrus Cantor to *Wacherio*, and modifies M. Lot's deductions from this passage in *Romania*, XXXII, 1 ff.—*On the Sources of Guillaume de Deguileville's Pelerinage de l'Ame*, by S. L. Galpin, *ibid.*, pp. 275-308. Careful study on Gregory the Great, Jean de Meung, Boniface, and vision literature in general.—*An Eighteenth-Century Attempt at a Critical View of the Novel: the Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, by J. M. Clapp, *ibid.*, pp. 60-96. The author's analysis of this *critical view* is insufficient, as it is based on mechanical rather than esthetic data. As the empirical method in criticism is already found in France in the sixteenth century, the author need not be surprised at the bibliographical interest shown in the eighteenth century.—*En Aller à la Moutarde*, by C. D. Frank, *ibid.*, pp. 97-113. Locution arose from the custom of children singing satirical songs as they went to get mustard. The author neglects to note that *en* is not an integral part of the locution as *aller à la moutarde* appears without even *de*. A discussion of the meaning of this *de*, on this theory of the locution, would have been instructive. The distinctions in meaning by which a sort of Darwinian evolution for the locution is worked out are quite imaginary; and the "example of this locution" taken from the *Bourgeois de Paris* has nothing to do with the phrase. It might be adduced to prove that children sang on the way to the wine shop. The long note on p. 112 is pointless and mostly inaccurate. Additional illustrations of mustard figuring in street calls may be found in the Italian *cacce* of the fourteenth century published by Carducci.—*Moliere, his Life and his Works*, by Brander Matthews, *New York, Charles Scribner's Sons*.—*Jean Pelisson de Condrieu*, by J. L. Gerig, *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1910, pp. 113-125.

## ITALIAN

*Some Unpublished Translations from Ariosto* by John Gay, by J. D. Bruce, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 1909, pp. 279-98.—*A Source of Euphuës. The Anatomy of Wit*, by S. L. Wolff, *Mod. Philology*, VII (1910), pp. 577-85. Indebtedness of Lyly to Boccaccio.—*The Belluno Fragment*, by E. H. Wilkins, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, pp. 45-47. A brief but important study: *avi bona part* means "triumphes"; the lines were a gloss to the chronicle, not

part of the original text; shatters the argument that the fragment is prose.—*The Origin of the Sestina*, by F. J. A. Davidson, *ibid.*, 18-20. The repetition of one rhyme in the following strophe suggested the repetition of all the rhymes in successive strophes.—*Vita Nuova and Dolce Stil Nuovo*, by A. G. H. Spiers, *ibid.*, pp. 37-9. In reply to Davidson, *ibid.*, Nov., 1909; *nuovo* has no connotation of *mystic* in the phrase *dolce stil nuovo*.—*Was Petrarch an Opium Eater*, by J. F. Bingham. *ibid.*, 82-6. The venerable author of this article, who has elsewhere given evidence of a real interest in Italian literature, proposes his query, curiously enough, on purely esthetic grounds, and assumes the scientific veracity of De Quincey's confessions.—*The Old Yellow Book: Source of Browning's The Ring and the Book*, review by A. S. Cook, *ibid.*, pp. 20-22. Objects to Hodell's translation of the Ital. *chirografo*. It is not clear that the translator misunderstood the word or that the term needs any comment. Naturally the only person who can sign a chirograph is, by the meaning of the term, the person who issues it.—*An Important Contemporary Cultivator of the Venetian dialect*, Orlando Orlandini, by A. A. Livingston, *ibid.*, pp. 145-9.

## SPANISH

*The Comédia Radiana of Augustín Ortiz*, by R. E. House, *Mod. Philology*, VII (1910), pp. 507-56. Univ. of Chicago dissertation. Introduction, text, and notes.—*Short Stories and Anecdotes in Spanish Plays*, by M. A. Buchanan, *Mod. Lang. Review*, V (1910), pp. 78-90.—*Studies in New Mexican Spanish*, by A. M. Espinosa, reviewed in *Literaturblatt*, XXXI, cols. 206-8.—*The Amadis Question*, by G. S. Williams, *Revue Hispanique*, XXI, pp. 1-167. Columbia dissertation. The whole question is reworked and brought up to date with much additional material. *The History of the Question*. Discusses the language of the primitive *Amadis*, and concludes that present evidence does not warrant a judgment in favor of either French, Spanish, or Portuguese. II. *Time and Place*. Identifies geographical names appearing in the text with names in the *Round Table Romances* and in actual geography. III. *Episodes*. Compares the content of the *Amadis* with that of earlier romances. Practically complete sources for the first three books, while the fourth is shown to be built largely upon the preceding ones. Parts of the first three books probably composed by Montalvo in preparation for his fourth book and the *Serges de Esplandián*. Appendix and bibliography of editions.—*La Selva Confusa de Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca*, by G. T. Northup, *ibid.*, pp. 168-338. Critical edition of an autograph manuscript in the Osuna collection at the *Biblioteca Nacional*. Though the play is not one of Calderón's best, it is nevertheless very interesting, because the manuscript contains many passages that the author indicated were to be suppressed. Their reproduction in this edition allows us to see the method of procedure of the poet.—*Un Hijo Que Negó Á Su Padre*, by J. P. W. Crawford, *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, 268-74. Another *entremés*.—*Notes to the Don Quijote*, by G. T. Northup, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, pp. 184-9. The confusion in Spanish literature of the Palladion with the Trojan horse; Smith's argument for the date of I, 3, 1 is unsatisfactory; explanation of the pun in *hacaneas* and *cananeas*; the significance of the names Aldonza and Sancho; *vaca* and *carbero*; the lion anecdote (II, 17) has points of analogy with *Bandello*, Nov. 49.—*A Note on Calderon's La Vida es Sueño*, by R. Schevill, *ibid.*, pp. 109-10. On the antiquity and nature of the title phrase.—*Ernesto García Ladevese*, by J. P. W. Crawford, *ibid.*, p. 32. Biographical note.

## NOTES AND NEWS

*Both of the editors-in-chief of this Review are advocates of the movement for the simplification of English spelling. Within appropriate limits, contributors may feel free to follow their individual predilections in the matter.*

We are often asked for the address at Paris of a skilful paleographer whose terms for copying and collation are entirely reasonable. We take pleasure in commending without reserve M. Louis Engerand, archiviste-paléographe at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. If any of our readers can give similar addresses at London, Florence, Venice, Madrid, etc., they are requested to communicate the information to some one of the editors of this *Review*.

The annual *Livret de l'Étudiant* of the University of Paris is now in circulation, and may be ordered at the Bureau des Renseignements à la Sorbonne. Needless to state, this catalog is of great interest.

Professor K. Pietsch, of the University of Chicago, has been made Professor of Romance Filology. Mr. E. B. Babcock, of the same university, has been promoted to an assistant professorship in Romance languages.

John P. Rice, A.B., Ph.D., of Yale University, has been appointed Instructor in Romance languages at Williams College.

Mr. S. G. Morley, Ph.D., of Harvard University, 1902, has been chosen Acting-Professor of Romance languages at Colorado College, during the absence of Professor Hills.

Mr. F. A. Waterhouse, A.B., of Harvard, 1905, A.M., 1906, until this year graduate student at Harvard, has been made Instructor in Romance languages at Dartmouth College. Mr. C. Goggio, also a graduate student at Harvard, has gone to Dartmouth to occupy a similar position. Another Harvard graduate student in Romance, Mr. S. M. Waxman, has been named Instructor at Boston University. Mr. Waxman was Instructor in Romance languages at Syracuse University in 1907-08.

The production in English of Goldoni's *Il Ventaglio* is announced for December and January, by the Yale Dramatic Association. A translation of the play, which is published by the Association, has been specially made for this production by Professor Kenneth McKenzie.

Dr. George D. Davidson, formerly Instructor in Romance languages at the University of Michigan, has accepted a similar position at Vanderbilt University.

Mr. James Young, of Williams College, has been elected to an instructorship in Romance languages at Miami University.

Mr. Russell P. Jameson, of Oberlin, has been made Associate Professor of Romance languages. Since 1908, he has been completing his studies for the doctorate at the University of Paris.

Mr. Donald M. Gilbert, Wesleyan University, 1908, has been appointed Instructor in Romance languages at Northwestern.

Mr. John Hill, last year Fellow in Romance languages at Vanderbilt, has accepted a position in the department at the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Gaetano Cavicchia, who has recently returned from a year's study in France, has been made Instructor in Italian and French at the University of Missouri.

Professor E. K. Rand and Dr. E. H. Wilkins, of Harvard, have finished the preparation of the Concordance to the Latin Works of Dante, the third and concluding volume in the series of Dante Concordances issued by the American Dante Society. The book is being printed by the Oxford Press. Professor Rand will pass the year 1912-13 as professor at the American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

Mr. John R. Fisher, formerly Instructor in Romance languages at Vanderbilt, and for the last year a student at Paris, has succeeded Professor D. B. Easter as Professor of Modern Languages at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia.

Mr. J. L. Borgerhoff, of Western Reserve University, has been made Professor of Romance languages at that institution.

The Corporation of Harvard University has received \$20,000 from the Duke and Duchess de Arcos in memory of Woodbury Lowery. The fund is to be held in perpetuity, the income to be awarded from year to year to some person, preferably an instructor or graduate of Harvard, to enable him to carry on research in historical archives, preferably those relating to American history in the archives of foreign countries and more particularly in Spain.

Inquiry has reached the editors of this *Review* as to the critical edition of the *Philomena* of Chrétien de Troies. Here is the title and description of the work: *Philomena, Conte raconté d'après Ovide, par Chrétien de Troies*, par C. de Boer, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1909. Price unbound, 10 francs.

According to the statistics for 1909, there were that year, in New England schools, 21,000 pupils studying French; 18,000 studying Latin; 10,000 studying German; 1,000 studying Greek.

Students of Old French literature will be interested in Professor Gustav Brockstedt's *Von mittelhochdeutschen Volksepen französischen Ursprungs*, of which the first part has just appeared at Kiel. In this work, Prof. B. shows that the well-known Middle High German *Eckenlied*, *Virginal*, *Gudrun*, etc., are of French origin. In a preceding work entitled *Das altfranzösische Siegfriedlied* (1908), Prof. B. pointed out the French origin of the *Siegfriedlied*, the *Nibelungenlied*, etc. These works will be reviewed later.

All who feel an interest in modern language instruction in America will read with profit a recent pamphlet by Professor Paul Shorey, of Chicago University. Professor Shorey believes that the ancient and the modern languages are "in the same boat" in this country, and that they are menaced by the same dangers.

Dodd, Mead & Co. have just published a *Dictionary of Hard Words*, pp. 646, price \$1.20 net. The compiler is Robert Morris Pierce, whose lexicographical work is well known. The preface contains valuable phonetic comment. The alphabet employed is practically that of the International Phonetic Association. No such scientific indication of English pronunciation has hitherto appeared in any American dictionary.

Dr. R. E. House, of the University of Chicago, desires to call to the attention of those who are working in the early Spanish drama that he is preparing an edition of the *Comedia Vidriana* of Jayme de Guete.

The new edition of the *Chanson de Guillaume* by Professor H. Suchier has been published by Niemeyer, Halle; price, 5 marks.

---

## OBITUARY

By the death at Baltimore on the ninth of November, 1910, of A. Marshall Elliott, professor of the Romance languages in the Johns Hopkins University, there has been stricken from the roll of active service the most conspicuous name in the contemporary annals of Modern Language instruction in America. Associated by family ties with the circle of Friends in the city of Baltimore, Mr. Elliott, from the earliest announcement of the Johns Hopkins endowment, was prominently mentioned in connection with a professorship in the new institution,—tho it is known that his own predilection was at that time toward the prosecution of Oriental rather than Romance investigation. At the opening of the University in 1876, Elliott was only thirty-two years of age, but his reputation was already re-enforced by academic degrees from Haverford and Harvard Colleges and by prolonged travel and study in Europe and the Orient.

It is no derogation from the fair fame of American scholarship to point out that, in the seventies, the teaching of the Modern languages in American institutions—as indeed in most institutions elsewhere—stood in strenuous need of overhauling and reorganization. Above all, it cried out to be set firmly on the true and only foundation of adequately trained, independent-minded and “first-hand” scholarship. For the younger generation of teachers it is difficult to conceive of a state of affairs in which there were no recurrent meetings of the Modern Language Association for friendly intercourse and mutual inspiration, no channels of special or periodical publication of any kind whatever. To cope with so discouraging a situation was a task peculiarly congenial to the energetic organizing power, the physical vigor and the indomitable exuberance of spirit so characteristic of Elliott’s career thruout the period of his early youth and maturer manhood. To his prompt and hopeful initiative was not only due the launching of the Modern Language Association, which was successfully effected at Columbia University in the Christmas recess of 1883, but—what was crucial and far more significant—the continued existence of the large adventure was almost solely conditioned on his unflagging industry and infinitely patient attention to detail during the long years of his secretaryship and editorial supervision. Much the same encomium may be made of his establishment and early management of the monthly journal, *Modern Language Notes*, which constituted from the outset and still continues an important concomitant to the Association’s work and mission; while from his efficient conduct of the department of Romance languages at the Johns Hopkins University there has gone forth a goodly fellowship of doctors of philosophy who are ever ready to bear testimony, by word and deed, to the master’s experienced and unflinching guidance, his genial and warm-hearted kindness, his unstinted service and devotion. May the gratitude of his many students and of the unnumbered teachers and scholars who have been less directly reached by his work and influence, lend a benediction to his memory and honor to his name.

H. A. T.

---







# NEW SPANISH TEXTS

This new series is appearing under the editorship of Professor J. D. M. FORD, of  
Harvard University.

## **Alarcón (Ruiz de): Las Paredes Oyen.**

Edited by CAROLINE BOURLAND, Professor in Smith College. [*In preparation.*]

## **Ayala: Consuelo.**

Edited by AURELIO M. ESPINOSA, Professor in the University of New Mexico.  
[*In preparation.*]

## **Calderón: El Magico Prodigioso.**

Edited by A. F. KUERSTEINER, Professor in the University of Indiana.  
[*In preparation.*]

## **Calderón: El Alcalde de Zalamea.**

Edited by B. P. BOURLAND, Professor in Adelbert College. [*In preparation.*]

## **Cervantes: Novelas Ejemplares. (Selections.)**

Edited by HUGO A. RENNERT, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania.  
[*In preparation.*]

## **Hartzenbusch: La Coja y el Encogido.**

EDITED by J. GEDDES, Jr., Professor in Boston University. [*In preparation.*]

## **Hills's Modern Spanish Lyrics.**

Edited by E. C. HILLS, Professor in Colorado College. [*In press.*]

## **Ibañez (Blasco): La Barraca.**

Edited by R. H. KENISTON, Instructor in Harvard University. [*In press.*]

## **Morley's Spanish Ballads.**

Edited by DR. S. GRISWOLD MORLEY. [*In preparation.*]

## **Selgas: La Mariposa Blanca.**

Edited by H. A. KENYON, Instructor in the University of Michigan.  
[*Ready.*] 60 cents.

## **Tres Comedias Modernas.**

Edited by F. W. MORRISON, of the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.  
[*Ready.*] 60 cents.

## **Valdés: La Hermana San Sulpicio.**

Edited by J. G. GILL, Professor in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.  
[*In preparation.*]

---

# HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

34 West 33d Street  
NEW YORK

378 Wabash Avenue  
CHICAGO



**The School of Household Arts**  
**of**  
**Teachers College**  
**Columbia University**  

---

**Department of Nursing and Health**

Under the above title there has recently been endowed in the School of Household Arts a Department designed to prepare Graduate Nurses for the various forms of social educational work in which skilled supervision by nurses is required. Students who are not nurses but who have had at least two years of College work with chemistry and biology, will also be admitted to the group of courses.

Instruction in the Department is offered in four Sections :

- I. Teaching and Supervision in Training Schools for Nurses.
- II. General Administration in Training Schools and Hospitals.
- III. Public Service as Teacher-Nurses, Visiting Nurses, Board of Health Assistants and Teachers of Hygiene.
- IV. Preparatory Courses for Nurses.

The Announcement of the School of Household Arts, including the circular of the Department of Nursing and Health, will be sent on request, by the

---

**Secretary of**  
**Teachers College**  
**525 West 120th St.                      New York City**



THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

This book is due on the last **HOURLY** stamped below.

30m-12,'70 (P1251s8)2373A-3A,1



